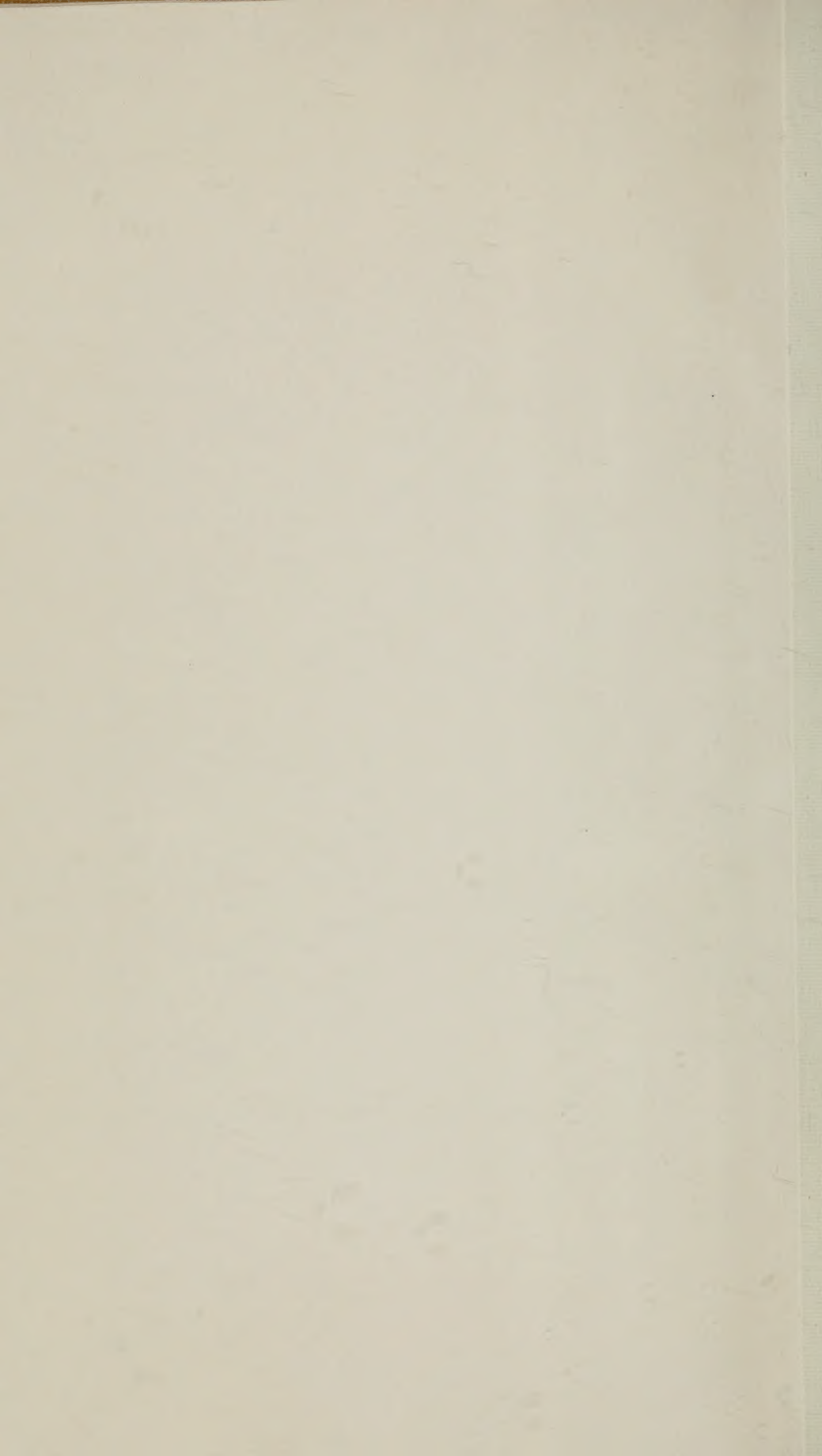
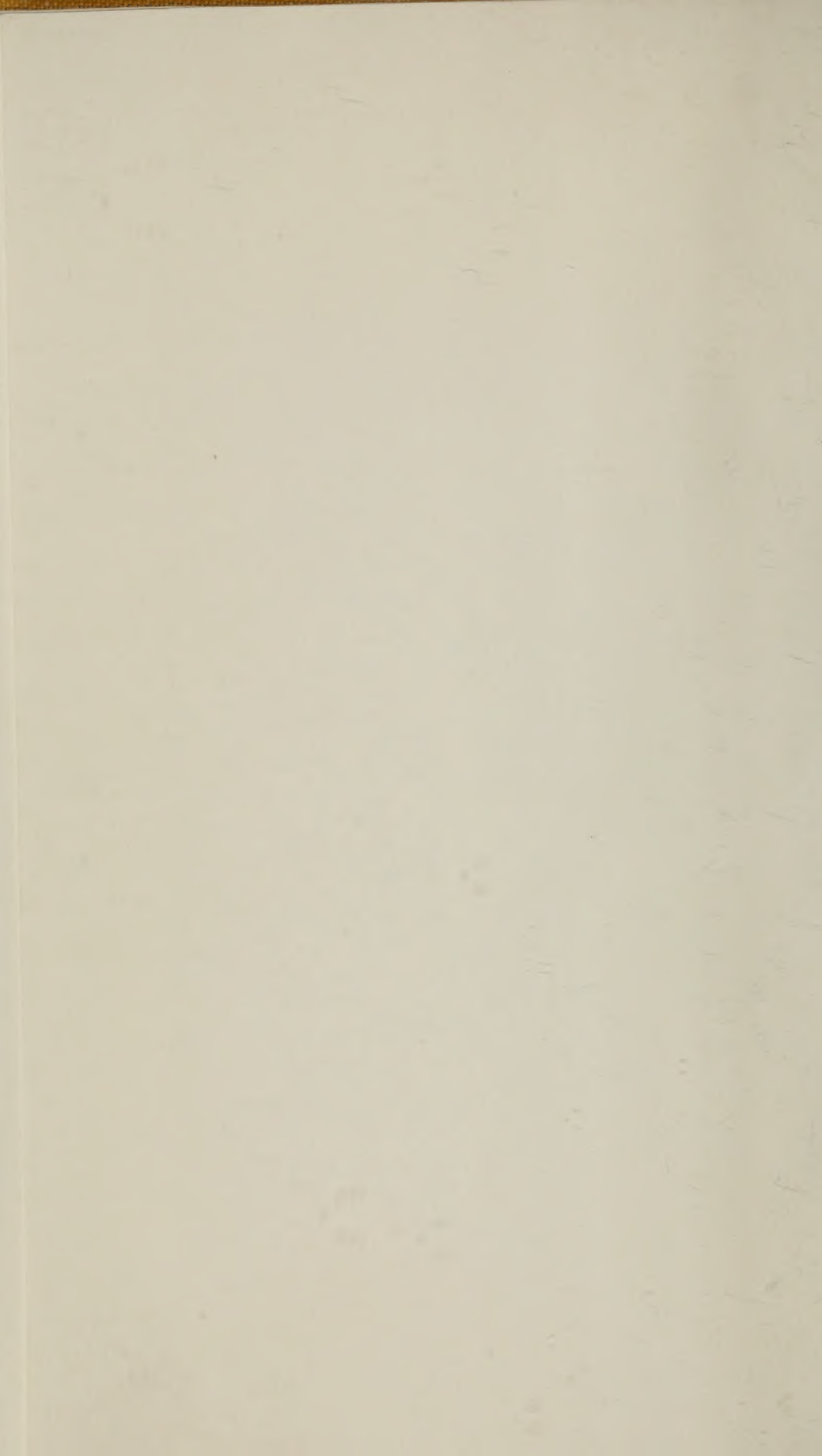


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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1806.



LONDON:

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1808.

ANNUAL REGISTER
OF THE
MISFORTUNES
AND
LITIGATIONS
FOR THE YEAR 1800



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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume of the Annual Register is some months later in appearing, than, from the arrangements into which the publishers had entered, they had reason to expect. This delay is solely to be attributed to the editor, whose over anxiety to render the historical part of the work as full and accurate as possible, prevented him from completing his labours within the time, in which he had undertaken to bring them to a conclusion. The publishers, however, have the satisfaction of assuring the readers of the Annual Register, that such delays need not be apprehended in future, and that henceforward no consideration shall be allowed to interfere with the regular publication of a work, which has been so long, and they will venture to say, so deservedly esteemed by the public. The editor of the present volume has, in the mean time, the satisfaction to reflect, that in consequence of this delay, he has been enabled,

enabled, by means of the numerous papers presented to parliament during the last session, to place in a clear and intelligible light, several transactions of the period of which he treats, which, till these papers had appeared, were involved in comparative obscurity. He alludes, in particular, to the origin of the war between Russia and the Porte; to the expedition of Lord St. Vincent to Portugal; and to the nature and grounds of our differences with the United States of America. He also flatters himself that his account of our domestic history will be found more than usually full as well as impartial.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the Year 1806.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

State of Europe, at the Commencement of 1806.—Consequences of the Battle of Trafalgar.—Animosity of Bonaparte against England.—Probability of Invasion.—Effects of the disastrous Coalition of 1805.—Ministry of England.—Meeting of Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—Address.—Amendment read, but not moved.—Last Illness and Death of Mr. Pitt.—Remarks on some Parts of his Character.—Honours rendered to his Memory.

THE situation of Europe at the commencement of 1806 was unexampled in history. Two rival nations had acquired, not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrouled dominion, the one over the seas, the other over the land. If the battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France over other nations, and left her without a rival on the continent, the victory of Trafalgar had no less decisively es-

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tablished the naval superiority of England, and crowned all her former victories on the ocean. The accumulated fruits of four years persevering labour and painful industry, on the part of France and her dependencies, to form and collect a navy, fit to cope with the maritime forces of England, had been swept away and annihilated in a single action. The importance of such a victory, at such a crisis, to England, cannot be easily exaggerated,

B

gerated or over-rated. For, it was not merely that the high-formed expectations of France from her newly repaired marine, in which she had so weakly indulged and prematurely exulted at the beginning of the campaign, were thus abruptly and thoroughly frustrated; or, that her projects of invading the British islands, under the protection of a powerful fleet, were again defeated: nor was it even that the most splendid victory had, on this occasion, been won by England, that was ever gained at sea; or, that the greatest number of vessels, of first-rate magnitude, had, in this action, been taken and destroyed, that ever rewarded a conqueror in any naval combat. But, the great and incalculable advantage to England, was the universal conviction arising from this victory, that, in the skill, bravery, and discipline of her naval forces, she was so incomparably superior to her enemies, that all their future efforts to contend with her for the empire of the seas, must be as unavailing as their past endeavours had been fruitless. It was now clear, that, if the contest for pre-eminence between the rival nations were to be decided solely on the ocean, England had nothing to fear from the conflict. It was now manifest, that if England could not be invaded, without her enemies obtaining a temporary superiority, at least, at sea, the period of her invasion was still distant. If the trident of Neptune be really the sceptre of the world, England was now its undoubted mistress. The maritime trade of all nations was at her mercy, and subject in many respects to her consent. It might now be said of her with greater truth, than when Gro-

tius addressed these lines to the most pacific of her monarchs:

Quæ meta Britannis,
Littora sunt aliis; regnique accessio
tanta est,
Quod ventis velisque patet—

There was no country which England could not visit with her fleets, to conciliate its friendship, or take vengeance for its enmity; and, what was of more importance to her true interest and permanent good, there was no independent state, out of the reach of France, which she might not hope, by a wise and enlightened policy, to attach stedfastly to her party. For, whatever petty jealousies and temporary grounds of discontent might occur, to embroil her with other nations, it was her permanent interest, that the blessings of peace and civilization should extend to every corner of the earth. No country, independent of her enemy, could prosper, without England partaking in its prosperity: no country could increase in wealth or population, without finding by experience, that the ties connecting it with England, were drawn closer by its own progress and improvement. While the dominion of France was founded on military force and usurpation, and her power was chiefly felt by her neighbours, in the acts of rapine and oppression, of which they were victims, the elevation of England was owing to a long and successful cultivation of the arts of peace and industry, and could not be maintained an instant longer than she persevered in the paths in which she had risen to greatness. The only tribute she could exact from other nations, was the price which they

they willingly paid to her for relieving their necessities and gratifying their wants: merchants, not armies, were the collectors of her foreign revenue: barter, not conquest, was her means of drawing to herself the riches of the world; and so fortunate for the general good of human society was the peculiarity of her situation, that it was impossible for her to increase her own wealth and resources, without communicating to other nations a portion of that spirit of industry which animated her people.

But, great and splendid as were the present circumstances, and fair as were in some respects the future prospects of England, her situation, on the whole, was, at this period, full of danger and alarm. She had embarked in hostilities with a most formidable adversary, and had hazarded a most unequal and disproportionate stake in the contest. The greatest injury which she could inflict on her enemy, was the destruction of his commerce, and the subjugation of his colonies—objects which she had already almost accomplished. She might also, if she were inclined, retard by her intrigues, the peaceful settlement of his domestic affairs, and prolong, for a few years more, the reign of military government in his dominions. But she was unable to make any serious impression on his territories, or to weaken in the least the solid foundations of his power. While the utmost exertions of her hostility were limited to such paltry, ineffectual warfare, the blow she was exposed to in return was of a most deadly nature. It was not her power and pre-eminence only, but her existence, that was threatened with danger: and this menace proceeded from an enemy, who was ac-

tuated by every motive of policy, ambition, and resentment, to pursue her utter ruin and destruction. England was the only power that had ever set bounds to his ambition, or maintained with him a successful contest. She had defeated, in a former war, his most favourite enterprise, and had rejected, with scorn and contempt, the offers of peace, which, in the first overflowings of unlooked-for success, he had addressed to her sovereign.—During the short interval of peace that succeeded to the revolutionary war, his pride had been shocked by the coldness with which she met his advances, and his vanity had been mortified and provoked, by the incessant libels against his person and government, that issued from her press. After a short and unsatisfactory experiment of peace, he had been disturbed by her interference, while employed in new-modelling his empire; in pursuing plans of commercial and colonial aggrandisement; and perhaps in meditating future schemes of aggression against the peace and liberties of mankind: and, without any adequate cause or provocation, he had been compelled by her, to make his choice between renewing the war, to which he was most averse, or renouncing, publicly, in presence of France and of Europe, that which was known to have been the favourite object of his ambition, and the point he had been most anxious to secure by the treaty of peace, which he had so recently signed. Since the renewal of hostilities it was to the machinations of England, he believed, that he was to attribute a dangerous conspiracy within his dominions, which had threatened the existence of his government, and endangered the

the safety of his person: and there could be no doubt, that it was to her enmity, he was chiefly indebted for the late confederacy against him, which, with such good fortune and distinguished ability, he had defeated and put down. England once subdued, he might plausibly argue, he would be the sole and undisputed master of the universe: but, while England retained her independence, her maritime superiority, and her inveteracy against him, he must expect to be thwarted in all his commercial and colonial views, confined to the continent of Europe, and compelled, for safety, to surround his throne with an armed force, instead of emerging, as he desired, from the precarious and uncertain condition of a military chief, to be the head of a regular government, and the founder of a dynasty of kings.

That Bonaparte, after the renewal of hostilities, was animated by the most implacable hatred against England, and that he thenceforward considered her government, as the eternal enemy of his peace and repose, cannot well be doubted: but why he chose to begin the war with such ostentatious threats of invasion, such insolent denunciations of vengeance, is a point not easy to decide. It may have been merely to give vent to his own spleen, or to spirit up his people to a new war, that he used such impolitic, such unbecoming language towards his enemy. He may have acted from a deeper, though mistaken calculation, and supposed, that if he could terrify the English nation with the sound of his preparations, their government would yield to his terms; and, indeed, the publicity which he af-

fectected to give at this time to all his plans and operations, would seem to countenance such a conjecture. He may possibly have under-rated the difficulties of invasion, and seriously intended at first to carry his menaces into effect. But, if his object in these measures was to obtain peace by intimidation, never was his sagacity more in fault. The English were exasperated, not intimidated by his threats, and the little confidence, which they reposed at that time in the vigour of their own government, served only to call forth, in brighter colours, their zeal and ardour in defence of their country. It would neither be consonant to reason to believe, nor agreeable to truth to assert, that it was patriotism alone, which filled the ranks of the volunteers. Exemption from more dangerous and more disagreeable service contributed, no doubt, to swell the numbers of these citizen soldiers. But, it cannot be denied, that the spirit which the English nation manifested on this occasion, shewed at once their belief in the sincerity of Bonaparte's threats, and proved how far he had been mistaken in supposing, that their minds were enervated by luxury, or their military ardour extinguished by commerce.

But, though the body of the English people were thoroughly persuaded, that Bonaparte meant speedily to invade them, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to embark his forces; and, though there were men of talents and consideration in the country, who believed, or affected to believe, that such was his intention; those who had considered well his character, when they reflected on the difficulties and uncertainty of the attempt, could

could not bring themselves to believe, that he was in earnest in his threats. Such reasoners alledged, that, of all men, who had risen from an obscure situation to a throne, Bonaparte was the most prudent and wary; that his caution and circumspection in forming his plans, were as remarkable as his boldness and activity in carrying them into execution; that no man had ever trusted so little to fortune, or used so many precautions to ensure success in all his enterprises; that though no one had ever displayed greater presence of mind, or manifested greater resources in danger, no man had ever shewn himself more averse to engage unnecessarily in hazardous undertakings, or more disposed to distrust his fortune in the hour of success. His moderation in victory, which he affected to call magnanimity, they attributed to his prudence; and the offers and professions of peace, which he was continually addressing to his enemies, they regarded, not as mere traps for popularity, but as indications of a frame of mind, which, though actuated by the most restless ambition, and the sport at times of the most ungovernable temper, was nevertheless too thoroughly impressed with the instability of human affairs, not to seek every opportunity of guarding against the uncertainty of fortune. But, with such an opinion of Bonaparte's character, it was difficult to believe him sincere in his threats of invasion against England. For, though the numbers and discipline of his army, the excellence of his officers, the genius and experience of his generals, might inspire him with the most confident hopes of success, provided the military force of his

empire could be brought into contact with that of England; what expectations could he reasonably entertain, of transporting to her shores an army of sufficient force to subdue the country; and, if he landed with an army of inferior, and therefore inadequate strength, what chance had he, deprived of the assistance of a fleet, of maintaining his communications with the continent? But, while the invasion of England was difficult and unpromising of success, the consequences of failing in so great an enterprise, deserved the most serious consideration. Besides the disgrace that necessarily attends miscarriage in affairs of such magnitude; the injurious effects of the loss of reputation to a military chief, whose popularity was founded on his uninterrupted successes; the probability of discontent and mutiny in his army, at the sight of so many thousands of their comrades sacrificed to an experiment, which, if it failed, every one was sure to condemn; was it not clear, that the continental powers, whom France had recently humbled and defeated, would be roused by her misfortune, to try once more with her the chance of war? Was the disaster of Aboukir already forgotten, or the formidable coalition to which it gave rise? Was Russia less hostile to France than in the time of Paul, or Austria better reconciled to the loss of so many of her ancient provinces? But, while there were so many reasons against attempting the invasion of England, Bonaparte had no urgent cause for stirring at all, and the prospect of many advantages by remaining perfectly quiet. The presence of his army at Boulogne was sufficient

without invasion, to give occupation to a great part of the English army, and to keep England in a state of constant preparation and alarm. The expences of the war were exhausting the resources of England, while the evils attending that state of things in France were comparatively small. The interruption of her foreign trade had produced little inconvenience, except in some particular districts, after the first six months of the war. Her agriculture was flourishing. Her domestic manufactures were encouraged by the difficulty of procuring manufactured articles from abroad. Her capital was invested in occupations, which the hostility of England could not materially disturb. There was nothing to precipitate Bonaparte's measures, except the impatience of his army, which was pining in inaction at Boulogne. But it was not difficult to foresee, that, if the discontents of his troops should ever compel him to take the field, he would contrive to carve out for himself some easier work on the continent, than the perilous expedition against England.

But, whatever opinions might have been held with respect to the probability or improbability of invasion, antecedent to the period of which we treat, the issue of the late unfortunate campaign upon the continent had, at this time, materially altered the grounds, on which the question might formerly have been argued. It belongs not to us, as historians of 1806, to enter at length into the history, or to expatiate on the errors of the ill-concerted and worse conducted coalition of 1805. Without any definite or attainable object in view, it was formed of discordant mate-

rials, which accident had lately brought together, but which time had not cemented. Russia, recently in the closest connection with France, had been disgusted with her ally, on account of an atrocious and unprovoked act of violence, committed by order of the French government within the territory of the German empire, the independence of which Russia as well as France was bound by treaty to protect. The resentment of Russia for this offence had been increased by the bad faith of the French government towards herself, in some private transactions between them, not very reputable to either party; and the petulant and insolent tone, with which her complaints and claims of redress were answered by France, had provoked her to recall her minister from Paris, and to break off all intercourse with the French government. In this moment of disgust and ill humour, she was unfortunately prevailed upon by the solicitations of England to come forward as the champion and protector of the liberties of Europe, which only two years before she had lent her aid to oppress and subvert. Austria, who still owed her a grudge for her conduct on that occasion, was, next, most unwillingly and reluctantly dragged into the confederacy. Prussia, without whose co-operation, hostilities against France should never have been resolved upon, was unaccountably neglected or overlooked in the formation of the alliance; and so little were her sentiments with regard to it known, that, even when the allies had taken the field, it was doubtful whether she would not throw her weight into the opposite scale, and declare against

against them.* To recapitulate the mistakes and oversights of the disastrous campaign that followed, would be a task as useless as it would be painful. Suffice it to say, that the armies of Austria were ruined without a battle; her capital was taken without resistance; and scarcely had the miserable remains of her army joined the Russians, who were coming up to their assistance, when they were compelled to hazard an engagement, which decided the fate of Europe, and completed the triumph of France over the continent. In this too memorable action it is true that a small part only of the Russian army was engaged. But, as the French justly boasted, the secret of the Russians was discovered, and the inferiority of their blind, though steady courage, when tried against the disciplined valour and scientific tactics of their opponents, was but too clearly and fully ascertained. Russia, indeed, was still unconscious and unapprehensive of this truth. Further and more severe lessons from experience, were necessary to convince her, that the power of an empire is not to be measured by its extent, and that Serfs and wandering Barbarians are removed by an immense interval from an equality with the civilized nations of the west of Europe.

After the peace of Presburgh, France was at liberty to direct her whole force and energies to the subjugation of England. No longer deterred from invasion by the

fear of a continental confederacy, she had only to decide what was the most expedient and practicable mode of conducting it. If it appeared possible to convert the Boulogne flotilla to any useful purpose, and employ it in the service for which it was prepared, Bonaparte might now risk a part of his army in such an expedition, without fearing a mutiny of his troops, or rebellion of his people, in case it failed. If transports and ships of war were thought necessary for carrying over his army, he had (besides the ports of France) Flushing and Ferrol, and Lisbon (when he chose), to receive and give shelter to the naval forces which he destined for the enterprise. If England had nothing to apprehend from any number of troops, which he could land upon her shores, there were other parts of the British empire, not equally invulnerable to his attacks. Ireland was exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and easily accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army. Rebellion had in that country been put down, but discontent still existed in the minds of the people. The fire, which had lately blazed with such fury, was smothered, but not extinguished. The late rejection of the Catholic petition by parliament had not tended to conciliate that body: and, though the more moderate of the Catholics were ready to postpone the discussion of their claims, till the only obstacle to the

* "The arrival of the second Russian army was delayed more than a month by the first armaments which the court of Berlin threatened to oppose to those of Russia." Extract from a memoir on the situation of affairs, communicated by Count Stahrenburg. Sup. Papers, p. 52.

full redress of their grievances was removed; and the prudent and considerate were disinclined to those violent counsels, from which they had already suffered so much; it was not to be supposed that all the Irish Roman Catholics were moderate and prudent, but that many of them would join themselves to a French army, as soon as it made its appearance in their country.

At this moment of danger and dismay, when the surrender of Ulm and battle of Austerlitz were still recent events, when the extent of the late calamities was still unknown, and the immediate consequences were apprehended to be more fatal than they have yet proved, there was no efficient government in England. Mr. Pitt, in whose wisdom and patriotism the great majority of the people had, for many years, reposed their confidence, was sick at Bath. His colleagues were men of very inferior parts, and at that time they had credit for still less ability than they possessed. By giving effect to a system of exclusion, in the formation of his ministry, he had suffered his country to be deprived, at the late critical period, of the services of her ablest statesman, and he had now the mortification to behold his schemes on the continent baffled by the enemy, and his government at home destitute of any effective support but his own. If any thing could have lessened the public opinion of his colleagues, it would have been the publication, at this time, of their demi-official *bulletins*, in which they announced a great victory of the allies over the French, after the battle of Austerlitz, on no better authority than the report of a prating messenger, whose idle hearsays

they had the weakness to believe, in preference to the official dispatches, of which he was the bearer. This miserable fabrication was eagerly circulated by the ministers then in town, and for some days it met with universal credit among their adherents; but when the history, as well as the falsehood of their intelligence was known, it covered them with shame and ridicule, and exposed them to the derision even of those who had been the dupes of their story.

In this posture of affairs, parliament, after repeated prorogations, was at length suffered to meet, on Tuesday, Jan. 21; and, as the state of his majesty's eyes did not permit him to open that assembly in person, it was done by commission, the commissioners being the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord Ellenborough lord chief justice, the earl of Dartmouth lord chamberlain, and lord Hawkesbury principal secretary of state for the home department. After the usual formalities, the commission was read by the clerk at the table, and the lord chancellor then read the speech from the throne.

The principal topics of the speech were congratulations on the splendour of our late naval successes, mixed with suitable expressions of regret for the lamented loss of lord Nelson, and a recommendation to parliament to bestow some mark of national munificence on his family. His majesty next informed parliament that he had directed the treaties to be laid before them, which he had concluded with foreign powers; and while he lamented the late disastrous events on the continent, he congratulated them

them on the assurances which he continued to receive from the emperor of Russia, of that monarch's determination to adhere to his alliance with Great Britain. He then signified to the house of commons, that he had directed the sum of one million, accruing to the crown from the droits of admiralty, to be applied to the public service of the year; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy, as by such means alone the present contest could be brought to a conclusion consistent with the safety and independence of the country, and with its rank among the nations of the world.*

The address, which, as usual, was an echo of the speech, was moved, in the house of lords, by the earl of Essex, and seconded by lord Carleton, and in the house of commons, it was moved by lord Francis Spencer, and seconded by Mr. Ainslie.

The speech, as was stated by lord Hawkesbury in the house of lords, had been intentionally couched in such language, as, it was supposed, would create no difference of opinion, as to the terms of the address; and, accordingly, the only part of it, which could lead to any discussion or debate, was a passage, in which his majesty, in allusion to the late war and coalition on the continent, had been advised to "express his confidence, that his parliament would be of opinion, that he had left nothing undone, on his part, to sustain the efforts of his allies, and that he had acted in strict conformity to the principles declared by him, and recognized by parliament as essential to

the interests and security of his own dominions, as well as to the general safety of the continent." But where, and in what manner, it might be asked, had his majesty's government sustained the efforts of his allies? Was it by landing an army in the north of Germany after the capitulation of Ulm; or, by disembarking troops in Naples, after the French had evacuated that kingdom? or, by sending an expedition to a distant part of the globe, under sir David Baird, and sir Home Popham, instead of employing the whole disposable force of the empire in some effective diversion in favour of Austria? Had proposals of peace, of any sort, been made to France by the allies, antecedent to the recommencement of hostilities? as from repeated declarations of his majesty's government, and more particularly from the tenor of lord Mulgrave's letter to Talleyrand, (14th Jan. 1805.) the public had been led to expect. Whatever might have been the principles on which the late coalition was formed, could it be denied, that the consequences to which it had led, were so disastrous as to call for the enquiry of parliament? Could any acquiescence, however slight, in the late measures of administration, be expected from those, who, at the conclusion of the preceding session of parliament, taking it for granted that some term of peace would be offered to the enemy, had entreated ministers that they might be reasonable, and such as his majesty's government, if in the place of the French government, would not think it unreasonable to accept? who had expressed an opi-

* For the speech itself, see State Papers; page 654.

nion,

nion, that if an alliance could be formed with Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the other powers of the continent, which might gain their good will without attempting to rouse them, before their own interests, in their own view of them, would call for their exertions, such an alliance would afford hopes, that we might obtain reasonable terms of peace? but, who had objected to the ministerial phrase of rousing Europe to exertion, because the attempt to do so had the effect of producing a disinclination to co-operate with us; and who had argued against the project of instigating the powers of the continent to a renewal of hostilities, whilst they wished to remain at peace, because it would alienate from us the affections of Europe, where, whatever we might say of our disinterestedness, our forbearance and moderation, a different opinion was entertained of us, and the character of our government was, that it was actuated by selfish motives in instigating the powers of the continent to war for British interests? Was it to be expected, that they who had foretold the disasters of a coalition, formed of such materials, and under such circumstances as the late coalition, would remain silent, when the most gloomy of their predictions were thus fatally verified? Austria, as foretold in the last session of parliament, had, after the most serious disasters, wisely chosen to abandon her allies, rather than hold out to the last at the risk of her destruction. What were now our hopes of continental

connection? what of the liberties of Europe? what of the prospect of setting limits to the power of France, justly and rationally considered, before the disasters of the late coalition, as too formidable? Could the authors of the ruin of Europe imagine, that parliament would meet, and no observations be made on their fatal labours in hastening the catastrophe?

An amendment to the address had, therefore, been prepared by opposition; and it was read in the house of lords by earl Cowper, and in the house of commons by lord Henry Petty, in the following words:

“ That this house feels the deepest concern at the series of disasters which have attended the arms of your majesty’s allies on the continent; and will, without delay, proceed to enquire into the cause of such disasters, as far as they may be connected with the conduct of your majesty’s ministers. This house is perfectly sensible that the alarming and unexampled state of public affairs renders the most vigorous exertions necessary for the preservation of the empire; and we feel it our peculiar duty, when we call for these extraordinary efforts, to provide that the resources we furnish, and the powers we confer, may not in future be so employed as to increase the perils they were intended to avert, and to aggrandize that power to which it is the common interest of all Europe, as well as of Great Britain, to set proper limits.”

But this amendment, though read

* See Debate, June 21, 1805, in a committee of supply on his majesty’s message to the house of commons, brought down by the chancellor of the exchequer, June 19.

in both houses of parliament, was not brought forward as a motion, on account of the indisposition of the person, who was at once most deeply interested in the defence, and best qualified to vindicate the measures of administration. Mr. Pitt, as it afterwards appeared, was, at that moment, on his death-bed. A report had been circulated in the morning of the 21st, that he was dangerously ill, and this had induced opposition to give up their intentions of moving the amendment they had prepared. But, the very dangerous state to which he was reduced; was far from being suspected; and that very evening, in the house of commons, some of his most intimate friends gave it out, that he was no longer in danger, but in a fair, though slow way of recovery.

He had left Bath. January 10, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, he took up his residence at his own house on Putney-heath. His health had been for some time in a most alarming state. He was reduced to the greatest possible weakness and extenuation, and as the functions of his stomach were greatly impaired, there seemed to be little hopes of his speedy re-establishment. A suspicion having been entertained that his complaints proceeded from some organic disorder of the stomach or liver, a consultation of physicians was held on his case, and he expressed great satisfaction at being told that they saw no reason to adopt such an opinion. He was then advised to seclude himself entirely from business, and to abandon every other care but that of his health, and upon these terms he was flattered with hopes of re-

covery. Whether he would have submitted long to this prescription, cannot be known, for a few days thereafter he was seized with symptoms of fever, of that sort called *typhus* by physicians. His pulse rose to 130, and his tongue and lips were dry and furred. He was occasionally delirious, and he talked incoherently on various subjects, but in general he was drowsy and lethargic. When spoken to, he gave a pertinent answer, but relapsed immediately into rambling or insensibility, and he was quite incapable of any rational or connected conversation; nor, whatever stories have been circulated to the contrary, was he ever sensible of the danger of his situation. A constitution so exhausted as his had previously been, sunk rapidly under the violence of the fever, and early on the 23d of January he expired.

Thus died William Pitt, in the 47th year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country, for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. It is not our province to enter at large into his character and merits. That he was a person of the most rare and splendid qualities, a powerful orator, a skilful debater, an expert and enlightened financier, his greatest enemies must admit. That he was disinterested with regard to money, and sincerely and ardently attached to the honour and welfare of his country, can as little be doubted. But, whether the appellation of illustrious statesman has been justly applied to him, is a question on which men may reasonably differ. The French revolution was the great event of his time, and
his

his conduct in regard to it is the touchstone by which posterity will try his claims to that honourable distinction. It is in vain to say, that the French revolution was an event without a precedent. It is the part of a great statesman to steer his way in safety, where there is no precedent to direct him. But though it must be always a matter of uncertainty, whether a different policy from that pursued by Mr. Pitt would have been more fortunate than his, it cannot be denied, that a more complete failure of success than attended his efforts to check the progress of the revolution, cannot well be imagined. Had he interfered, as Mr. Fox in his situation would probably have done, at an early period of the revolution, to prevent the great continental powers from intermeddling in the affairs of France, and disturbing the settlement of her government, the direful events that followed, might possibly have been prevented, and France, at any rate, if left to herself, could never have become such a military power as she is at present. Had he, on the other hand, followed the counsels of Mr. Burke, and taken part decidedly with the royalists, he might possibly have destroyed the republican government in its infancy, and re-established the Bourbons on their throne. But he chose to take a middle course, which, though commonly the safest in ordinary occurrences, has been always found the most dangerous in great emergencies. Its effect on the present occasion was to rouse the republicans against him, without attaching the royalists to his party, and to excite an alarm among Frenchmen of all

descriptions, that his intentions were merely to weaken the power and dismember the territories of France. His wavering and uncertain policy, so unlike that of a great statesman, is not, however, to be entirely attributed to his want of original genius, but was owing in part to his excessive love of popularity, and to his habits of contemplating all objects with reference to their effect in parliament. If he could not destroy French anarchy, it was something to boast of in the house of commons, that he had taken the French sugar-islands. If he could not restore the throne of the Bourbons, he was, in some degree, satisfied with having a new sceptre to place in the hands of his own sovereign. If the French armies were victorious, he comforted his countrymen with accounts of the lowness of their funds; and argued to the conviction of his hearers, that there could be no stability in the republican government, because the French five per cents were only at 17, when the English three per cents were above 50. It is extraordinary, that, with so little system in his operations against France, he was so pertinacious in his hostility towards her; that, when he ceased to have any rational object in the war, he continued to be so obstinately averse to peace. The true key to this inconsistency in his conduct, it may be difficult to give; but, the fact is much to be lamented; for, to the long continuance of the war, may, in a great measure, be attributed all the evils that Europe suffers, or is likely yet to suffer, from the arms of France.

His power as a minister was for many years unbounded, but the circum-

circumstances attending his return to office in 1804, deprived him of the support of the ablest and most respectable of his friends, and in his second administration he was reduced to shifts and difficulties to maintain his authority. The disastrous termination of his last coalition against France, had lessened considerably, at the time of his death, the public confidence in his administration, but the general opinion of his merits and past services, was little, if at all, affected by these misfortunes.

We proceed, in the next place, to give an account of the public honours rendered to his memory.

On Monday, January 27, Mr. H. Lascelles moved, in the house of commons, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the right honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expence, and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty, that this house will make good the expences attending the same."

This motion was seconded by the marquis of Titchfield, and supported by lord Lovaine, Mr. I. H. Browne, Mr. H. Addington, sir R. Buxton, general Tarleton, lord Temple, Mr. R. Ryder, Mr. Rose, lord Castle-reagh, and Mr. Wilberforce. It was opposed by lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, Mr. Pytches, the marquis of Douglas, Mr. Windham,

Mr. G. Ponsonby, and Mr. Fox. The numbers on a division were,
For Mr. Lascelles' motion 258
Against it - 89

Majority - 169

The chief arguments for the motion, were the great merits, splendid talents, and important public services, of the eminent character to whom it related, and these points were illustrated at considerable length by some of the members who supported the motion.

It was objected, on the other side, that it was not customary to confer public honours, unless where merit had been conjoined with success; and, it was urged that no example, but one, could be found, where such honours had been conferred on a statesman, and in that instance (that of lord Chatham) the success as well as the merit was indisputable.

"If I were to divide (said Mr. Windham) the whole of the political life of the distinguished person here spoken of, into two distinct periods, one the period before the breaking out of the French revolution, and the other the period subsequent to that event, and that I were called to declare, that either separately, or both conjointly, were of a sort to call for the honours now proposed, or to justify the character ascribed in the resolution, of "An excellent statesman," I must say, "No." I have no wish to bring forward my opinion in that respect at the present moment, but when compelled to declare myself, I must say what I think: I cannot consent to pronounce an opinion different from what I think the true one, and thus to contribute to mis-

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lead both the present time and posterity, on a period of our history which it is most important for them to judge rightly of. With the fullest acknowledgment, both of the talents and virtues of the eminent man in question, I do not think, from whatever cause it has proceeded, that his life has been beneficial to his country. For the earlier part of it, including the commencement of his power, I must contradict every principle that I ever maintained, if I said that it was so. For the succeeding period, the greatest in which a statesman was ever called to act, I cannot say that he acted his part greatly. I do not judge merely from the event; though the event, for the present purpose, might be all that need be considered. The French revolution was, indeed, a storm, in which vessels the best formed, and constructed with the greatest skill, might easily founder: but, what I mean to say, is, that in my opinion the vessel was *not* conducted with the greatest skill, and that it is, in all human probability, to the fault of the pilot, that we are to ascribe our present fearful situation!"

"Public honours (said Mr. Fox) are matters of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity. They ought not, therefore, to be conferred lightly, but only where merit is clearly seen and acknowledged. Certainly, when I look at lord Chatham's monument,—when I find the inscription bearing upon the face of it, the grounds upon which this monument was voted,—when I find it there stated, that he had reduced the power of France to a very low ebb, and raised the prosperity of his country to a very high

pitch, I must say that this case can never be compared with that of lord Chatham. I must say, that the country at present is reduced to the most dangerous and alarming situation—a situation which might call for any thing rather than honours to be conferred upon him who had the direction of the measures that brought it to this state. In deciding upon the present question, I should be unwilling to take any one particular act of the administration of the late minister: I have always thought, and do still think, that an unfortunate system of government has pervaded the whole of the present reign; and I firmly believe that system to have been the cause of all the disasters and disappointments, which the country has experienced, almost uniformly, throughout the whole course of it. Being of this opinion, how can I conscientiously say, that he who followed this system, was an "excellent statesman?" Thinking as I do of the disastrous effects of that system, I cannot but accuse the late minister of having, I will not say criminally, (for the expression might sound in some ears too harsh) but, most unfortunately, lent his brilliant talents and his commanding eloquence, to the support of it. In having done so, and with the knowledge he must have had of it, I esteem him the more culpable, as, without that splendour of mental endowment, which enabled him to throw a veil over the hideous deformity of the system alluded to; I am firmly persuaded, that it could not have resisted the attacks made upon it, and consequently could not have existed, and spread its baneful influence half so long. No man can be more de-

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sirous than I am, to bury in oblivion the remembrance of those contests in which we were so long engaged. This I shewed plainly enough while he was alive. But I cannot consent to confer public honours, on the ground of his being an "excellent statesman;" on the man, who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief supporter of a system, which I had been early taught to consider as a bad one."

Lord Castlereagh said, in reply to Mr. Fox, "that upon the arguments of that honourable gentleman, in opposition to this motion, it was not his intention to reason. This, in fact, was not a question to be determined by argument, it was quite a question of feeling. The acquiescence of that house and the country, in such a proposition, was more to be looked for from intuitive feeling than from cold reason; and if that feeling did not exist, it was vain to think of arguing men into it. But, although the support of the honourable gentlemen on the other side was not to be calculated upon, he had no doubt that the motion would be adopted. Indeed, he felt confident that it would. The house would act inconsistently with its own opinion, repeatedly expressed, if it hesitated to recognize the merit, if it declined to distinguish the memory, of Mr. Pitt."

Mr. Wilberforce rose "to bear testimony to the great public virtues, and splendid talents of Mr. Pitt, in whom he declared the love of country was to be found as sincere and ardent as ever yet existed in any human bosom. With regard to the assertion, that success was a proper criterion by which to appreciate the merit of a great man, the honour-

able gentleman reprobated the idea, as inconsistent with wisdom and justice. But, if the character of Mr. Pitt were to be tried by that rule, where were we to look among the great men of ancient or modern times, for any who had stronger claims to the gratitude and respect of their country, than those which could be advanced in favour of that illustrious personage? When the revolutionary spirit had convulsed France, and alarmed the whole civilized world, that distinguished statesman completely succeeded, by the vigour and sagacity of his measures, in preventing that dreadful plague from reaching us. This was the main source of his distinction—this was the great pedestal of his fame."

The opposition of Mr. Windham to this motion, whatever opinion men may entertain of the soundness of his argument, must appear to all a striking illustration of the manliness and firmness of his character. Disapproving of the motion, he could not bring himself to give a silent vote upon it, or to absent himself from the debate, though perfectly aware, that the part he felt it his duty to take in the discussion, would give, as it did, the greatest possible offence to all the personal friends, and to many of the political admirers of Mr. Pitt. The speech of Mr. Fox was feeling and conciliatory, and though he opposed the motion on the same grounds with Mr. Windham, he had the good fortune to incur no part of the obloquy from the friends of the late minister, that fell, most unjustly, on the latter for his conduct on this occasion.

A few days after Mr. Lascelles' motion, Mr. Cartwright moved,
(Feb.

(Feb. 3.) that a sum, not exceeding 40,000*l.* should be voted for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts, which motion was carried without opposition.

At a meeting of the common-council of London, on the 6th of

February, it was moved, that a monument be erected in Guildhall, to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Pitt, and after some debate the question was carried by a majority—Ayes 77, Noes 71—Majority 6.

CHAP. II.

State of the Ministry on Mr. Pitt's Death—Lord Hawkesbury refuses to undertake the Government, but accepts the Cinque-Ports—Lord Grenville has an Audience of his Majesty—Reflections on the result of it—Component Parts of the New Administration—New Opposition—Old Opposition—Lord Sidmouth's Party—The Catholic Question—Lord Grenville has a second Audience of his Majesty—Difficulty started about the Army—Third Audience—New Administration finally settled—New Cabinet.—Mr. Fox declines being first Lord of the Treasury—Auditorship of the Exchequer Bill—Debates on the Lord Chief Justice being appointed to a Seat in the Cabinet—Disposition of the Court and Country towards the New Ministry—Opposition of the Ex-ministers—Imperfect Union of the Parties composing the New Ministry—Reflections on the Coalition between Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox.

IT was doubtful, if Mr. Pitt had lived, whether the administration over which he presided, could have gone on, without some radical change in its composition, or some material addition to its strength. The principle of exclusion, on which it had been originally founded, was odious and unpopular, and the late misfortunes on the continent, had diffused a very general opinion over the country, that some essential change was necessary in the conduct of our foreign affairs, in order to extricate us from the unprecedented difficulties in which we were involved. But, whatever might have happened if Mr. Pitt had survived, his death at so critical a juncture, was considered as a virtual dissolution of the administration. His colleagues were men of

little weight or consideration in the country. Small account was made of their talents or experience, and since the affair of lord Melville, the reputation in which they stood for integrity was far from being clear. If they were not peculators themselves, they were regarded by the public as abettors and defenders of peculation. If they had not ventured openly to justify that offence, they had endeavoured to extenuate its guilt, and to screen from punishment those accused of it. But, besides the want of public confidence in these ministers, they were disinited and without a head. As they were connected together by no public principle, or party attachment, no sooner had the death of their patron dissolved the only tie that united them, than symptoms of disunion

and disagreement appeared amongst them. Many respectable individuals broke off from them entirely, and went over to the opposition. Old jealousies and animosities revived between their leaders, which they had suppressed in Mr. Pitt's life time but not extinguished. The general good of their party was sacrificed to the private interests and resentments of individuals. Instead of keeping together and acting in a body, they split into factions, which regarded one another with aversion and distrust, and took their measures separately, without concert or cooperation. So little were they actuated by party principle, or disposed to make common cause with one another, that every little faction, into which they were divided, was ready to conclude a separate bargain for itself, and to accept of office under any administration without a stipulation for its associates. It contributed not a little to this disunion and dispersion of their party, that while many competitors appeared for the place of leader, there was no person belonging to the party, so pre-eminent for his station or abilities, as to be raised by general consent to that distinguished situation. But, without a leader capable of inspiring confidence, and of maintaining a due communication between the members of the party, it was obviously impossible they should long act together in concert. In circumstances so discouraging and so unpromising of success, it is not wonderful, that the surviving members of Mr. Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle, and even refused to take charge of them when pressed to it by the court.

But, though the ministers were disposed to give way to the general cry of the nation, for an administration on a comprehensive basis, including all the men of the greatest talents, character and experience in the country, the court was steady to its principle of governing by the strict letter of the prerogative, and of resisting with firmness the invasions of party on what it considered its indubitable rights. To secure to the crown the free and uncontrolled nomination of the ministers of the country, and to defeat the attempts of opposition to exercise through parliament an indirect negative on its choice of the persons employed in the administration of public affairs, had been objects pursued by the court with equal perseverance and ability, during the whole of the present reign. Though obliged on some occasions to yield and consult the wishes of parliament and of the nation, in the selection of its ministers, yet by dextrously availing itself of the mistakes and jealousies of public men, and by seizing on favourable opportunities for trying its strength on the question, its efforts had been, in general, successful. The ground which at one time it lost, it never failed to recover at some future period, and at length it had established a prevailing opinion in the nation, that in the exercise of this, the most important of its prerogatives, the crown ought to be absolute, and without control. The last victory which it had gained on this subject, was in 1804, when by detaching one of the parties in opposition from the others, it broke the strength, and disappointed the expectations of those to whom it was most hostile, and extricated itself from every

every difficulty by the sacrifice of a small part only of its friends,—a sacrifice which it thought amply compensated by the defeat and disappointment of its enemies. But, it too clearly foresaw, that to make overtures, on the present occasion, to the leaders of opposition, for their advice in forming a new administration, was to relinquish the advantages of the victory it had at that time gained; and perilous as was the state of the country, it determined to embark in a contest with opposition, rather than give up a point, which it esteemed of such importance to its dignity and interest. An offer was therefore made to lord Hawkesbury of the offices and situation vacant by the death of Mr. Pitt. This dazzling proposition, flattering as it was, deprived not the noble secretary of his habitual prudence. Fully sensible of the value of the gift, but aware also of the difficulties and responsibility attached to it, he requested to have some time for deliberation. Had the circumstances of the moment been less unfavourable, he would probably have caught with eagerness at the high situation proposed to him; and, had he accepted of it, such is the prodigious influence of the crown, when exerted in good earnest, and managed with ability, that, unless he had fallen a victim to unfounded fears, or a sacrifice to antiquated scruples, or suffered from the treachery of some associate, who had access to the royal ear, he could hardly have failed to maintain himself in his post against all the efforts of opposition, however numerous, respectable and popular. But the present time was less favourable for such a

struggle on the part of the crown than any period that had occurred since the end of the American war. The country was alarmed with the dangers of its situation, disgusted with the juggle practised on it in 1804, and clamorous against a patched up administration, composed of subalterns and clerks. Great and immediate advantages were universally expected from a change of system and union of parties. To frustrate these expectations by an obstinate resistance to the wishes of the people was a hazardous attempt, while to comply with their inclinations and gratify them with such a change of ministry as they unanimously called for, was sure to conciliate their affections. Nor could it escape an attentive observer of the usual course of popular opinion, that the most effectual expedient for destroying the influence and popularity of opposition was to invest them, for a short time, with the *insignia* of power. To fulfil the expectations of the public by restoring the country to its former eminence abroad, the court well knew, in the present posture of affairs on the continent, was utterly impracticable. Such reforms as were expected from the past language and declarations of opposition, it could easily frustrate and prevent, without any visible interference. For, without the cordial support of the crown, or such an ebullition of zeal on the part of the people, as it would be neither reasonable to expect nor prudent to excite, no ministry could succeed in the herculean task of reforming abuses, unless by steps the most slow and gradual; and, while more pressing objects, of no less intrinsic importance to the country, were attainable

tainable by its exertions, a patriotic ministry would not, in such circumstances, hastily embark in extensive plans of reform, when success was hopeless, miscarriage ruinous and destructive. But, if the public should be disappointed on these important subjects, and shocked with any appearance of tergiversation or even of delay in the conduct of its favourites, it required no great sagacity to foresee, that the current of popular opinion, now so strong in favour of opposition, would change with proportional violence to an opposite direction.

Influenced by such considerations, and deterred by the state of his party from adopting any hazardous resolution, lord Hawkesbury, after consulting with his friends, declined to take upon himself the government of the country. His refusal, when made known to the public, communicated universal satisfaction, and men were disposed to give him credit for forbearance and self denial as well as for prudence, till they were informed, that he had obtained for himself a grant of the wardenship of the Cinque-Ports, and had procured the warrant, conferring on him that lucrative appointment, to be passed with unusual expedition through the public offices, as if he were afraid that it might be stopped and the propriety of the grant questioned by his successor. Such haste on his part, the public allowed, was not unwise, for much might have been urged against the grant of this sinecure to a person in lord Hawkesbury's situation. Sinecure places of emolument, it was said, could be justified on no other principle, than as enabling government to supply the deficiency of salary in places of real business, or

to reward past services either in the person of him who performed them or of his representatives. Without the prospect of such a provision, men of talents, unless possessed also of competent fortune, might be discouraged from embarking in the service of the state; and, therefore sinecure places, when given away with a strict attention to these principles, were to be considered, not as a lavish and useless expenditure of public money, but as a recompence for services, which would not otherwise be so well performed. But, which of these pleas, it was asked, could be applied to the case of lord Hawkesbury? By declining the danger and responsibility of the government, he took away all pretences to the first; and with regard to the second, the public inquired, what had been the merits of lord Hawkesbury, or of his family, that entitled him to one of the most valuable sinecures the crown had left to bestow? Was it for having made, or for having broken the peace of Amiens? Was it for his own, or for his father's services, that he was so well rewarded? Was one large sinecure so inadequate a recompence for his services, that another and a greater one must be added to it? His father, it was true, had been in office during the greater part of his life, but during the same period he had risen from the condition of a private gentleman with a moderate income, to a splendid fortune and a peerage. The noble lord himself had been brought forward at an early period of life in the public service, and had ever since enjoyed high and lucrative situations under the crown. At the age of thirty he had been secretary of state for foreign affairs, and though

removed from that office on account of the unpopularity of his administration, he had been recompensed for his loss with the seals of the home department. Whatever view was taken by the public of his past life and services, no reason could be found for conferring on him so distinguished a mark of the royal favour. Was it said in justification of this transaction, that the ministers going out of office were under no obligation to consult the interest of their successors; and that in a party view, taking party in its most grovelling acceptation as a mere scramble for places and emoluments, it was unreasonable to expect, they should leave so lucrative an appointment to their opponents? It might be answered, that not only did this plea ill accord with the disinterested professions of the old ministers, and with their declarations, that they had no thoughts of engaging in opposition, nor intention of harassing or disturbing any government his majesty might appoint; but why, in that case, not give the appointment to lord Eldon, by which means his pension might have been saved to the public, or to lord Chatham, whose moderate fortune required some addition to his income, and whose near relationship to the late minister gave him a claim to some remuneration from the public, as the representative of his brother, whose life and talents had been devoted to its service?

The wardenship of the Cinque-Ports having been in this manner disposed of, and every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late ministry having proved unsuccessful, his majesty was at length advised to call in the assistance of lord Grenville. A

message was conveyed to his lordship on the 26th of January, by lord Dartmouth, desiring his attendance at Buckingham House on the following day. Lord Grenville having obeyed the summons, was graciously informed by his majesty, that he had been sent for, to consult with about the formation of a new ministry; to which he is said to have replied, with proper acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of his majesty's confidence, that his majesty was already in possession of his sentiments on that subject; he was convinced, that an administration, to be of any effectual service to the country, must not be formed on an exclusive principle, but must comprehend all the leading men of the country. His majesty having graciously replied, that it was his wish to have lord Grenville's opinion, who ought to be included in such administration, his lordship is said to have answered, that he felt it his duty thus early in the business to apprise his majesty, that the person he should consult with on the subject was Mr. Fox. "I thought so and I meant it so," is said to have been his majesty's most gracious reply.

Many were the reflections and conjectures to which this answer gave rise. They who recollected the result of a similar audience in 1804, could not conceal their surprise and wonder at so different a conclusion to the present. Could his majesty, they asked, have changed in so short a time the opinion which he was then said to have entertained of Mr. Fox, as from his gracious answer to lord Grenville it was most natural to infer? But, in that case, what were the causes, to which so great

and sudden a change of opinion could reasonably be attributed? Was not the difference of result, in the last audience, rather to be ascribed to the difference of character in the negotiator, than to any change of sentiment in the royal breast? Was it not owing to the known firmness and honour of lord Grenville's character, that his majesty was advised to make so gracious an answer, without first attempting, what was known to be impracticable, to detach him from Mr. Fox? Was it not, therefore, owing to the greater flexibility of character of the person his majesty had to deal with in 1804, that the public expectations were at that time disappointed? Or, was it true, as some persons have insinuated, that the result of that celebrated audience was privately settled, before the ostensible negotiator entered the closet, by the mediation of a noble lord, whose station gave him access to the royal ear, and who was suspected of having recently availed himself of that advantage against a minister by whom he was trusted? These are points on which as we cannot form, so we presume not to offer an opinion. Such were the surmizes and conjectures current in the political world at the period of which we treat. It is our duty to repeat them, and to leave to future historians the task of disengaging the truth from falsehood, and of clearing up what is at present obscure in these transactions.

It was now the business of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox to prepare the plan of an administration, which they could recommend to their sovereign, as adequate to the present exigencies and expectations of the country. The basis of such

an administration, would in their hands, it was obvious, consist of what were called the new and the old opposition. The new opposition, which looked to lord Grenville as its leader, was composed of the whig families, (with the exception of the house of Bentinck) which had separated from Mr. Fox at the beginning of the revolutionary war, in order to support the measures adopted by government at that critical period, together with the personal friends and family connexions of lord Grenville, and many persons of rank and talent throughout the kingdom, who from confidence in the abilities and integrity of that nobleman, had attached themselves to his party. The old opposition consisting of those whigs, who, undismayed by the French revolution, had stood by Mr. Fox in his opposition to the late war, and had remained steadily attached with him, to what they conceived to be the true principles of liberty, during the whole of that eventful period. To this part of opposition also belonged the friends of the late marquis of Lansdowne, and the greater part of those, who in the late war had been the advocates of peace and reform. With this branch also of opposition may be classed the persons more particularly connected with Carlton House, the politics of which were at this period in the most perfect unison with the opinions of Mr. Fox. Of the two branches of opposition, the old was the most popular with the great body of the nation; the new had most the confidence of men of rank and property. But the united strength of both did not exceed 150 members in the house of commons, a number, which though perfectly sufficient

sufficient for undertaking the government of this country, when accompanied by the cordial support of the crown, is far from being equal to that service, when destitute of this advantage. To have become responsible for the administration of public affairs, with such inadequate means for carrying their measures into effect, would have argued extreme rashness and precipitancy on the part of Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, and would have been, in fact, to have delivered themselves up, bound hand and foot, into the power of the court, without reserving the means of future resistance or defence. It was, therefore, highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary for them, to look out for some third party, by the assistance of which they might strengthen their government in the house of commons. But, the only quarters from which additional strength could be procured, were either from the late ministers or from the friends of lord Sidmouth. Many reasons concurred for giving a preference to the latter. The friends of the late ministers were so dispersed and disunited, that without bringing back the whole party to office, little aid could be expected from them, as no individual among their leaders had any number of followers, on whose attachment he could certainly reckon. The friends of lord Sidmouth, on the contrary, were united under a single head, and would form no inconsiderable accession of strength to the administration. The late ministers had, with the single exception of one man of talents, been raised to situations above their deserts, and would not, it was supposed, be inclined to accept of inferior offices. But, among

the friends of lord Sidmouth were many excellent men of business, qualified for the subordinate employments of government, and not prevented from accepting them, by having filled higher situations. The ex-ministers were the authors of the late calamitous coalition, which had sealed the final doom of the continent, and if they were pledged to any public principle, it was to resist every inquiry into domestic abuses. But, lord Sidmouth had been dismissed from office by these very men, because his friends would not support them in their attempts to screen lord Melville from public trial, and it was to the inquiries set on foot in his lordship's administration, that all the discoveries of peculation were justly to be attributed. The government of lord Sidmouth had been frugal and economical. That of the late ministers had been distinguished by its prodigality and immoderate expence. Lord Sidmouth was favourably disposed towards peace. The ex-ministers breathed a spirit of eternal war. The popularity of lord Sidmouth in the country, though greatly lessened, was still considerable. His influence at court was not extinguished; though, we believe, that his present accession to the administration of Mr. Fox and lord Grenville gave a most fatal blow to his interest in that quarter. In addition to all these reasons for preferring a connection with lord Sidmouth to a coalition with the ex-ministers, it was understood, that the introduction of lord Sidmouth into the cabinet was a measure not unacceptable at Carlton House.

The most specious objection to the admission of lord Sidmouth into the ministry, was founded on the

opinions he was known to entertain of the catholic claims ; and if there had been any intention of bringing that subject into immediate discussion, or any probability of being able to bring it forward in parliament as a ministerial question, there can be no doubt that the objection would have been conclusive. But, unfortunately, lord Sidmouth was not singular in his opinions upon that matter. His majesty's objections to any further concession to his catholic subjects were unabated, and as they were founded on scruples of a religious nature, they were considered by those who best knew his character, to be wholly insurmountable. But, while his majesty's scruples remained in force, it seemed to be, and was in fact, of little importance what part lord Sidmouth was disposed to take in the question, should it happen ever to come into discussion while he was in office. The real point to be considered, was, not whether Mr. Fox and lord Grenville ought to take lord Sidmouth into their administration; knowing his opinion of the catholic claims to be diametrically opposite to theirs, but whether they ought to come into office at all, without some express stipulation with their sovereign for redress of grievances to the catholics. In other words, when they foresaw that it would be impossible for them, by going into office, to carry the question of catholic emancipation, ought they not to have continued in opposition ? The determination of this as of most other points of practical wisdom, where a balance must be struck between opposite inconveniences, ought to depend, in a great degree, on the collateral circumstances of the moment. It was

clear, that lord Grenville and Mr. Fox had better remain out of office, than forfeit the confidence of the catholics, and leave that numerous and powerful body, full of indignation and resentment against all parties in England, to fall a prey to the arts and machinations of France. No good that could possibly result from their administration, would compensate so great an injury to their country. But, if the catholics were willing to postpone the discussion of their claims to another season, and disposed not to petition again the same parliament, which had so recently refused to hearken to their complaints, was it necessary for Mr. Fox and lord Grenville to stand out upon a question, which they knew it was impossible for them at that moment to carry, and which those most deeply interested in its success were ready to defer till a more favourable opportunity ? Important as they judged catholic emancipation to the welfare and safety of the state, was there no other service they could perform to their country ? Was it not worth trying, whether peace was unattainable ? Experience had shown that every effort to reduce the power of France upon the continent, had ended in her further aggrandisement, and that the continuance of the war served only to increase the danger and difficulty of peace. A greater good could not be rendered to England and to the world, than the restoration of general tranquillity, and preservation of peace, though for a few years only. Was the probable chance of being able to confer so great a blessing on mankind, to be lightly, or without the most urgent necessity, thrown away ? If complete emancipation could not be procured

procured for the catholics, their subordinate grievances might be redressed by a constant succession of measures for their benefit, and their affections might be conciliated and their attachment to England increased, by a fair participation of all the honours, distinctions and emoluments, which by law were open to them. A *visible* as well as a *real* change in their domestic government might be effected. Their oppressors might be banished from the castle, or coldly received there when they appeared. The inferior tyrants who had flogged them and persecuted them, might be struck with ignominy out of the lists of the magistracy. The chancellor who had, wantonly and without provocation, insulted their religion and aspersed their morals, might be dismissed from his office with disgrace. If to these means of conciliation, was added a frank and unreserved disclosure of the insuperable obstacle to the immediate gratification of their hopes, it was fair to suppose that the catholics, though disappointed in their expectations of complete and immediate emancipation, would not rashly discard their friends, nor lose confidence in their fidelity. Mr. Fox, accordingly, made no scruple of avowing to such catholics as consulted him on the subject, that in his opinion it was impracticable for them at that moment to carry the question of emancipation, and he therefore advised them not to bring it forward; as the discussion of it in such circumstances could not possibly lead to any good, but might do them harm in future, by the ill will and irritation it would naturally produce on both sides. He added at the same time, that if they should determine after all to

bring forward their petition, they might, at all times and in all situations, depend on his voice and influence in support of it. The candor and openness of this declaration, from one so zealously attached to their interest, and so well known to them for the frankness and fairness of his character, had the effect upon the catholics that was to be expected. They were satisfied with Mr. Fox's assurances, and resolved to abide by his advice.

The plan of the new ministry being at length arranged, it was submitted to the king on the 31st. of January; and on the following day lord Grenville had an audience of his majesty; at which it was understood, that no exceptions were made by the king to any of the proposed appointments, but that difficulties of a most serious nature arose about the government of the army, which threatened to put an entire stop to the new arrangements. A paper it seems, was read to his majesty by lord Grenville, containing some of the plans of his new ministers, and some account of the measures they proposed to recommend to him, in which it was hinted that certain changes might be necessary in the army; and lord Grenville having admitted when questioned with respect to the nature of these changes, that they related to the department of the army under the superintendence of the duke of York, his majesty is said to have objected, that the army had been kept distinct from the other branches of the administration since the time of the first duke of Cumberland, and had been considered as under the immediate control of the king, through the commander in chief, without any right of interference on the part

part of the ministry, except in matters relating to the levying, clothing and paying of the troops. As this claim of exemption for the commander in chief from the control of the other ministers could not be acceded to by lord Grenville, consistently with his notions of the constitution, the conference broke off abruptly; and the same evening the public were informed, that the new arrangements were not likely to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. But on the 3rd of February lord Grenville was called to another audience, at which his majesty is said to have read a paper containing his assent to what was asked, with this proviso only, that no changes in the government of the army should be carried into effect, without his knowledge and approbation. During these negotiations, it was remarked by the public, that the lord chancellor and lord Hawkesbury had frequent interviews with his majesty.

The new administration being thus finally settled, the cabinet was composed of the following members: lord Erskine, lord high chancellor of England; earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick, first lord of the admiralty; earl of Moira, master general of the ordnance; earl Spencer, Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice of England.

The duke of Bedford went as lord lieutenant to Ireland, and Mr. Elliot accompanied him as chief se-

cretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and sir John Newport, chancellor of the Irish exchequer. For the other changes we must refer to the lists of promotions in a subsequent part of the volume. We have only to remark, that so thorough and complete a change in all the departments of the state had not been seen since 1784.

As some of the new arrangements led to interesting discussions in parliament and to much conversation out of doors, it is necessary to say a few words on the circumstances that led to them.

After the treaty of Amiens, the great objects for which Mr. Fox had been drawn, with unfeigned reluctance, from his favourite retirement, and induced to embark again in the business and contentions of public life were, first, the maintenance, and next, the restoration of peace; these objects he had never ceased to recommend, and when unexpectedly invested with power, and at liberty to chuse whatever place best suited him in the government, he shewed how sincerely he had them at heart, by the department of the state which he selected for himself. Though to the leader of a party, which had struggled with him through twenty-two years of opposition, the place of first lord of the treasury must have been peculiarly acceptable, by the opportunities it would have afforded him of rewarding the zeal and attachment of his adherents; and though it be an office, which, in the hands of a man of talents, necessarily constitutes him the real minister of the country, yet the reflection, that by taking the place of

of secretary of state for foreign affairs, he should be in a situation where he could more effectually contribute to the restoration of peace, decided his choice, and determined him to prefer a place with little or no patronage, to one which has infinitely the greatest influence and patronage of any in the government. When Mr. Fox declined to be first lord of the treasury, that place naturally devolved on lord Grenville. But, lord Grenville held the office of auditor of the exchequer, which is incompatible with that of a lord of the treasury. It could not be expected that lord Grenville would resign the auditorship of the exchequer, a place which he held for life, on being made first lord of the treasury, from which he might be removed at the pleasure of the crown. It was, therefore, necessary to bring a bill into parliament; to enable the auditor of the exchequer, if appointed to the place of a lord of the treasury, to accept of that office without forfeiting his place of auditor; and that this might be done without injury to the public, he was empowered to name a trustee to hold the office of auditor, while he continued to be a lord of the treasury; which trustee should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of the office. No opposition was made to this bill in parliament. One of the ex-ministers, in recommending some alteration of the bill as originally proposed, declared, that "If what he had to say should induce the noble lord (Grenville) to take another office, he should feel very serious concern from the circumstance." Yet, this measure, though unattended with the slightest

risk or inconvenience to the public, has been made a subject of the most frivolous and unfounded censure out of doors, against both the mover of the bill, and the noble lord on whose account it was passed; and, ridiculous as it may seem, it has been swelled into a serious charge against the administration of which it was the act.

The appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, was a measure of a more doubtful policy. When lord Sidmouth joined the administration, he is said to have stipulated, that, besides himself, one of his friends should have a place in the cabinet, and the known constitutional principles, and personal character of lord Ellenborough, are supposed to have pointed him out to Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, as the most eligible of lord Sidmouth's friends for that situation. But lord Ellenborough was lord chief justice of England, and, with the exception of lord Mansfield, there had been no instance, since the revolution, of a lord chief justice who had taken an open, undisguised part as an adviser of the crown upon state affairs. Lord Ellenborough's appointment to a seat in the cabinet was, therefore, a subject of general discussion and animadversion out of doors, and at length it was brought before parliament, by the earl of Bristol in the house of lords, and by Mr. Spencer Stanhope in the house of commons.

Lord Bristol moved (March 3d.) a resolution, stating it as the opinion of the house, "That it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee or assembly of the privy council, any of the judges of his majesty's courts

courts of common law." This motion was supported by lords Eldon, Boringdon, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury; and opposed by lord St. John, the earls of Carlisle and Carnarvon, viscount Sidmouth, and lords Holland and Grenville. The question being put, the motion was negatived without a division.

On the same day resolutions of a similar tendency were moved in the house of commons by Mr. Spencer Stanhope. They were supported by Mr. Canning, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Wilberforce; and opposed by Mr. Bond, lord Temple, Mr. Fox, lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Sheridan. The previous question being put on the first resolution, was carried by a majority of 158. Ayes 222—Noes 64.

It was contended by the opposition, that there had been no precedent since the revolution, of a chief justice being at the same time a cabinet minister, except the solitary case of lord Mansfield, which, from its injurious effects on the character and reputation of that celebrated judge, was rather a beacon to be shunned than an example to be followed. It was argued from Montesquieu and Blackstone, that it was a fundamental maxim of all free governments, and a recognized principle of the English constitution, to keep separate and distinct the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of the state. It was urged, that in vain had parliament passed the most salutary acts to secure the independence of the judges, if the allurements of so high and honourable a situation as a place in the cabinet, could be used as an enticement to detach them from their proper business, and connect them with the parties and

politics of the day. It was demanded, whether a judge, who had been associated with the deliberations of the ministers, and become a party to all their measures and feelings, could be deemed a proper person to conduct state trials, or to preside at trials for libels or sedition, to which those ministers must of necessity be parties, either as prosecutors or as culprits? Was it right in itself, or compatible with the pure and unbiassed mind, which should belong to a judge, that the same person who had been present at the deliberations of the council which determined to try an offence, who had possibly been the individual counsellor by whose advice that resolution had been adopted, and who had assisted and taken an active part in all the previous inquiries and examinations of the case, should at length preside over, and conduct the trial, charge the jury, and, if a verdict was found for the prosecution, award, and in many cases arbitrarily fix, the degree of punishment? An upright judge might preserve his impartiality in these circumstances, but it would be difficult to persuade the public that he had no bias, no leaning towards his colleagues. He might administer justice with purity and integrity, though a cabinet minister, but his acceptance of a cabinet place would materially lessen the confidence of the public in his decisions, whenever questions of a political nature were tried before him. But a judge should not only be above all bias, but above all suspicion of bias. "It was not enough that the administration of justice should be perfectly free and uninfluenced by government; it was not enough that it should be pure, but

but it should also be beyond the reach of suspicion, and so exercised as to give perfect satisfaction to all his majesty's subjects. The appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, was not illegal nor unconstitutional, but it was unadvisable and inexpedient."* Much stress was laid by some members of opposition, on a doctrine which they had collected from newspapers and pamphlets, that the cabinet, as such, is responsible for the advice given to his majesty, and consequently for the measures of administration; and it was asked triumphantly, whether it was desirable that the chief justice of England should be involved in that responsibility? "Why should his character and influence, in short, all his best means of doing good be unnecessarily embarked in the frail and uncertain fate of any administration †."

It was answered by the ministers, that we were not to take our principles of the English constitution from the theories of Montesquieu and Blackstone (though the latter had been misunderstood by those who had appealed to his authority on this occasion) but to gain our knowledge of it from the study of precedents, and from the practice of our forefathers. It was idle to talk of the separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers in England, where one of the branches of the legislature was the supreme court of law, and had usually for its speaker the first law-officer of the kingdom; where the servants of the crown sat in both houses of parliament, and where the chief justices were privy counsellors and

sworn advisers of the crown, in all matters relating to the honour of the king and to the good of his people. It was contended, that from the earliest periods of our history, the judges had been employed and consulted by the crown, in the executive department of the state. Various instances were adduced from our history, where chief justices had been specially named as constituent members of councils appointed to advise the king, or in the case of his absence or minority, to administer the government of the kingdom. In the celebrated privy council of Charles II. which that monarch adopted at the suggestion of sir William Temple, for the express purpose of conciliating the confidence of his people, the chief justice of the common pleas had, by right of his office, a seat. In the bills of regency passed during the reign of queen Anne, as well as in those enacted in the reigns of George II. and of his present majesty, the chief justices were included; and, though much debate had arisen on some of these bills, no person had objected to them on that account. Lord Mansfield was not the only chief justice, since the revolution, who had attended the committees of the privy council, called cabinet-councils; nor was it admitted, that because he attended them he had become unpopular as a judge. Lord Hardwicke had held the office of chief justice for six months, along with a seat in the cabinet. Chief-justice Parker had been one of the council of regency, in the interval between the death of queen Anne, and the arrival of George I. Chief-justices Lee,

* Lord Eldon.

† Lord Castlereagh.

Wedderburne,

Wedderburne, Eyre and Kenyon, had occasionally attended select committees of council, for the express purpose of being present, and assisting at examinations, and giving their opinion of cases, which, in their capacity of judges, they were afterwards to try. Strange it must appear to the movers of the present question, that the most numerous precedents since the revolution, for summoning judges to select committees of the privy council, were precisely in those cases, where, according to their representations, the interference of a judge was most to be deprecated. So differently thought our ancestors from these modern speculatists, who are filled with such alarms for the purity and reputation of our judicature. But in truth, the judge who attends the privy council on such occasions, “is not more liable to be seriously prepossessed by these previous examinations, than the magistrates are who commit prisoners, or than the judges of the king’s bench are, when they grant an information on the affidavit of one of the parties, without sending the charge to the grand juries*.”

The temptation of a seat in the cabinet, it was urged, might induce a chief justice to swerve from his duty, and the fear of losing it, when obtained, might render him more obsequious to the court, and more compliant with its ministers, than became his station as the head and guardian of the laws. But they who urged this objection seemed to have forgotten that the chief justice is always a privy counsellor, and usually a peer of parliament, and therefore accessible to the same

channels of influence, as if he were a member of the cabinet. “Was not,” it was asked, “a seat in the privy council an object of ambition also, and was not the circumstance of being struck off from that body a cause of disgrace †.” “It was worthy of remark, that the noble and learned lord, whose situation had given rise to this discussion, had been himself called upon to advise his majesty, through the means of persons who now supported the motion. After having advised his majesty to make him lord chief justice of the court of king’s bench, they advised that he should be called to a seat in that house, the great council of the nation. The patent by which he was so called, stated expressly, that he was to advise his majesty on the arduous concerns of his reign, and the great dangers thereon impending ‡.” But after converting a judge into a politician, by making him a peer of parliament, and a privy counsellor, was it decent to say, that he could not act in his new character, without sullyng his purity as a judge, or at least forfeiting the confidence of the public in the integrity of his judgments? Could one hear without astonishment, “that a class of officers, who are admitted to be perfectly eligible to the privy council, should not be allowed to discharge the functions of a privy counsellor—should in fact, be excluded from the performance of duties, which, on their admission to the privy council, they are sworn to perform? We have heard of the dinner placed before Sancho Pança: if he wished for fish, that was objected to, and if he wished for meat, an objection

* Mr. Fox.

† Mr. Fox.

‡ Lord Grenville.

was started also ; so between the objections, poor Sancho had no dinner at all. Just in a similar manner do the friends of the motion propose to deal with lord Ellenborough. —The noble lord is made a privy counsellor, but yet he is not to be consulted upon points of law, lest his mind as a judge should be prepossessed, nor is he to be consulted on points of state, lest he should be made a politician. Thus it was proposed to destroy his functions as a privy counsellor altogether.* But, the very circumstance, that a chief justice is always a privy counsellor and usually a peer of parliament, is a sufficient proof, that our ancestors had not such horror of a judge being consulted on matters of state, nor such apprehension of his mind being prepossessed by the opinions he might give as a privy counsellor on points of law. Evil consequences may possibly result from this mixture, and what to some may appear confusion of characters : but let us follow the example of our forefathers, and without seeking to anticipate imaginary evils, apply a remedy to them when they occur. If to secure the due administration of justice it were necessary that a judge should have no possible temptation to unlawful compliances with power, the object would be unattainable, while “ persons in the situation of judges had relations with the rest of society, while they had friends and children, and were not divested of all the feelings common to human nature.”† To satisfy such theorists, the judges of England must be placed on a footing with the ecclesiastical order in catholic countries, and even that expedient would be ineffectual to

detach them from worldly interest. But such forced and unnatural expedients are unnecessary in this country, where the due administration of justice is secured not only by the integrity of the judge, but by the presence and control of the jury, the superintendence of the bar, and the publicity of all judicial proceedings.

A privy counsellor was bound to to give his advice to the king, in all cases and at all times, when his advice was demanded. But a cabinet counsellor was only one of those privy counsellors whom the king consulted with upon state affairs. No privy counsellor could be excluded from the committee where these deliberations were carried on, when summoned to it by his majesty's commands, except for such personal objections as would be a ground for addressing his majesty to remove such an individual from his councils. The committee of the privy council, called originally the committee for foreign affairs, and known at present by the name of cabinet council, was unknown to our law, and had in no instance whatever been recognised by parliament. It had not even a fixed or permanent existence, but consisted of those privy counsellors, who, each time it was convened, received a summons to attend its meetings. It was a mistake to suppose, that the cabinet, as such, was responsible for the measures of government. “ It would be difficult to point out in our statutes or in the recorded proceedings of parliament, evidence that the cabinet or any individual belonging to it had been, as such, held to be legally responsible.”‡ Nor for practical purposes was it fit that it should be otherwise. If

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* Mr. Fox.

† Lord Holland.

‡ Mr. Fox.

an attempt were made to attach responsibility to all the members of the cabinet, for every ministerial act, it would be apt to endanger, and in most instances to defeat, the object of responsibility, for this obvious reason, that the difficulty of producing conviction and punishment is greater in the one case than in the other. Every minister was separately responsible in his own department of the government; but no man nor body of men could be made responsible for the whole acts of an administration. The advisers of pernicious measures might be punished for their bad advice, but the fact of their having given such advice, must in the first place be proved against them. "The immediate actor can always be got at in a way that is very plain, direct and easy, compared to that by which you may be able to reach his advisers. When parliament have tried to get at the advisers too, how have they proceeded? Look at the mode, and that mode alone will sustain the argument, that the cabinet counsellors are not legally known. For in the addresses presented on such occasions it will be found, that parliament apply to know by whom any measure to which the address alludes, may have been advised. Surely then, such an application serves to shew, that the cabinet has never been deemed a responsible body; for, if it were, such an application would be quite superfluous. But, do not confine your research to those addresses; look at the journals throughout. Examine the several articles of impeachment on record, and you can discover no instance of any man, or body of men, being impeached as cabinet counsel-

lors. 'Take the end of queen Anne's reign. See the articles of impeachment exhibited against the earl of Oxford for the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht. Lord Bolingbroke, who was the person principally concerned in that transaction, being then out of the country and beyond the reach of parliament, it was eagerly endeavoured to implicate lord Oxford. In prosecution of this object a variety of shifts and expedients were resorted to, which would have been totally unnecessary had the cabinet council been considered as a responsible body. No, in that case it would have been all smooth and easy. But, it appears, that not a word was mentioned, which could countenance the idea of any recognition of a responsible cabinet council. From this, and from every other circumstance that applies, I infer that such a council was never legally conceived to exist." * Such were the solid and irresistible arguments, by which Mr. Fox confuted and brought to disgrace the flimsy and superficial hypothesis of the cabinet council being, as such, responsible for the measures of administration.

On the whole it was satisfactorily made out on the side of ministry, that the cabinet, as such, is not responsible for the measures of government; that no individual minister is responsible for more than his own acts, and such advice as he is proved to have actually given; that a cabinet counsellor performs no duties and incurs no responsibility, to which as a privy counsellor he is not liable; that the judges of England are not intended by the constitution of their country to be such insulated beings as speculative writers

* Mr. Fox.

writers represent them ; that the nomination of lord Ellenborough to a place in the cabinet, was not only strictly legal, but justifiable, on the ground of precedent and constitutional analogy ; and that the tendency and effect of his appointment had been misunderstood or misrepresented, in many particulars, by the supporters of the motions before parliament. But, the public could not but perceive the difference between the actual duties of a privy counsellor's, and those of a cabinet counsellor's place ; between the occasional and the habitual exercise of the same functions ; between the right of taking a part in the political discussions of the day, and the necessity of giving an opinion on all state affairs as they arise : and they who reflected on the slow and beneficial progress, by which judges had been detached from state intrigues, and removed out of the pernicious atmosphere of the court, could not but regret, that the stream had now taken a retrograde direction, and threatened to fall back into that gulph, where so many judges had perished in former times. In this view of the subject the appointment of a lord chief justice to a cabinet place was to be considered rather as a precedent that might lead to evil consequences, than as a measure from which any mischief was at present to be apprehended ; and such, after the conclusion of this debate, we believe to have been the impression that remained with many excellent and enlightened persons throughout the kingdom.

Before we bring this chapter to a close we shall take a short and general view of the disposition of the public mind towards the new ministers, at their first entrance in-

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to office and during the early part of their administration.

Much, then, was expected from their exertions ; but, though some good will existed towards them, there was no enthusiasm in their favour. Little popular feeling, in deed, of any sort was left in the country. The violence engendered by the French revolution had long since spent its fury, and had given place to universal apathy and indifference on all political subjects, that did not affect directly the public purse, or concern the safety or naval glory of the kingdom. Hatred of speculation, and aversion to France, were the only springs that moved or even touched the public mind. But, while the new ministers could reckon little on the zealous or ardent support of the country, they had to contend at once with the secret disinclination of the court, and with the active and indefatigable opposition of the persons whom they had recently displaced from office. The friends and adherents of the late ministers, though disunited in every other respect, were agreed in the most cordial hatred of their successors ; and though the ex-ministers themselves had little name or popularity to boast of, their followers were numerous and active, and from their past habits and occupations they were particularly fitted to give annoyance to any administration against which they had an interest to combine. Many of the public journals were under their influence, and from long practice and experience in the art of leading and governing public opinion through the press, they perfectly understood how to avail themselves of that powerful engine to the best advantage. They had

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intimate connections in the city, in the bank, in the India house, and in most of the great trading corporations, and were able to communicate a party impulse to these bodies whenever it suited their purposes. In all the public offices, in all the boards of revenue, customs, excise and taxes throughout the kingdom, in all the civil and military departments of the state, the superintendants, subalterns, and clerks were in general persons who had been indebted to the ex-ministers for their places, who had looked up to them for further preferment, and who now trembled lest they should suffer from their disgrace. Among the discarded adherents of the late ministers, it happened, that all those were included, who had ever served as secretaries of the treasury under Mr. Pitt, and they who know the interior of our government, will be at no difficulty to understand, of what importance to the new opposition was the acquisition of so many persons of that description. In short, the whole of that noisy, bustling, forward, self sufficient part of the community, which is usually most loud and zealous on the side of government, was at present, when best affected towards the ministers, silent and indifferent, but more frequently openly hostile to them, or secretly employed in thwarting their measures and reviling their characters. This sort of opposition, despicable as it may appear, is doubly injurious to the ministers against whom it is directed, because every individual of this description, who adds one to the number of their opponents, takes one at the same time from the natural strength of their government. The new opposition, thus constituted, directed their at-

tacks, at first, exclusively against the Foxite part of the administration ; but, when they found, that their flattery and cajolery were thrown away upon lord Grenville ; that their praises of his talents were unheeded ; their expressions of confidence in the integrity and soundness of his principles received without gratitude or reward ; and that even their admonitions on the unworthiness of his colleagues, though intended solely for his benefit, were slighted by him and disregarded ; their resentment quickly overleaped the boundaries to which they had originally confined their hostilities, and all parts of the administration began to share alike in their censures and invectives.

But the great strength of the new opposition, lay in the opinion which they were careful to circulate, that they had the secret wishes of the court in their favour ; and many circumstances, it must be confessed, tended to impress the public with a suspicion, that at least the new ministers had little of hearty support in that quarter. It was notorious, that the necessity of the times had alone brought about the change of administration. It was observed during the first months after the new ministers came into office, that the persons connected with the household seldom attended in their place, when the measures of the new government required support, and that when any decent excuse could be given for their conduct, they were always ready to vote against it. The language of that description of persons, best known by the name of courtiers, was from the beginning unfavourable to the new ministers. As the administration declined in popularity, because the greatness and suc-

cess of its measures did not correspond with the over sanguine expectations of the public, the people were industriously reminded, that the king, in trusting the government of the country to the hands where it was now lodged, had consulted less his own opinions and inclinations, than what he understood to be the wishes and expectations of his people. The new opposition professed those principles and followed that line of conduct, which they understood to be the most acceptable at court. They disclaimed with horror the intention of a systematic opposition to his majesty's government, and showed indeed by their conduct that nothing could possibly unite them in any system, except the being together in office ; and yet in the midst of these professions, they contrived to harass the ministers as effectually as the most factious opposition could have done. It is immaterial, whether these symptoms of how the court stood affected towards the administration were rightly interpreted or not. The belief that ministers were unacceptable in that quarter was equally prejudicial to their interest in the country, as if the fact had been so ; and the effect of it, on the whole, was to weaken the public confidence in the stability of their administration, which every one concluded, whether rightly or not is out of the question, would last no longer than the necessity that had imposed it.

In addition to all these circumstances, the component parts of the new administration had been too recently brought together, when they first came into office, to be thoroughly united. Lord Sidmouth had been unconnected with the

other leaders of the party at so late a period as the death of Mr. Pitt. Had an amendment to the address been moved on the first day of the sessions, it was understood that lord Sidmouth and his friends would have supported the original address. The two other branches of the government, which had been known by the names of the new and old opposition, had begun to cooperate in parliament, and to concert together their proceedings in that assembly, in the spring of 1804, but without making any formal compact or agreement for a union of parties. In so much, that when Mr. Addington resigned in the beginning of the summer of that year, there existed no positive or formal engagements between Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, of a nature to have prevented the latter from accepting the offers of Mr. Pitt, and going into office without the other. The refusal of the noble lord to act in that manner arose from the operation of public principle alone, unfettered by any private compact or engagement. Since that period the greatest union and confidence had subsisted between the leaders of the two parties ; but the same good understanding was not yet thoroughly established between their respective adherents. Many of the old opposition trembled, lest the popular principles of their party should be diluted or neutralized by the influence of their new connections. The friends of Lord Grenville had not yet quite banished from their minds their former alarms of what they apprehended to be the revolutionary principles of some of their new associates ; and from private intimacy and long habits of acting with the ex-ministers, they

could hardly bring themselves to look upon them or treat them as political opponents. Time could alone overcome these difficulties, and bring these two parties to act heartily in concert, and to consider their friends and interests as the same.

Though there never was a junction of parties, which had been less the work of design and intrigue, and more the result of circumstances, and the natural course of things, than the coalition which had taken place between Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, it had produced, to a certain degree, the effect of all coalitions, on the adherents of both, by weakening and cooling their zeal and attachment to their party. It always happens, that the lower we descend in a party, the more of personal animosity and rancour we find to prevail in it, and these passions are so intimately mixed and blended in the minds of the multitude with the principles of the party, that the one cannot easily be eradicated without weakening or even destroying the others. When the leaders of opposite parties coalesce, their adherents, who supposed them actuated with their own passions and resentments, are commonly surprised and offended by their reconciliation, and are apt without further examination to exclaim, that the principles for which they have contended are betrayed. It is not enough for them to be told, that the grounds of former disagreement have been changed or removed by time; that the points, on which their leaders formerly differed, and still possibly differ in opinion, have ceased to be subjects of discussion; that there exists between them, at present, no fundamental difference, on

any practical question of importance, that is likely to call for their decision; that new questions have arisen, on which those who differ from the government, must either unite their efforts, or give up the contest, and leave the interests of their country to be disposed of at the will of the court; and that the true point for consideration is whether two parties should coalesce, in order to increase their means and ability of serving their country, or should remain separate, because they have formerly differed in opinion, or, because there are still some points on which they differ, of a speculative nature, of subordinate importance, or, confessedly unattainable at the present moment.

That the coalition of parties leads to mutual concessions and compromise, cannot be denied; but where is the party or association of men, united for any common purpose, whether lawful or unlawful, meritorious or blameable, where a compromise of opinions is not necessary for the existence and continuance of the party? Does any one imagine, that, because a body of men act together on every occasion, they also think alike without any shade or difference of opinion, on every question that comes before them? But, if there must be compromise of opinions in party the vindication of coalitions turns upon the question, whether party is not the best, if not the only system for supporting the cause of liberty in this country; and, however that question may be resolved, a party man cannot consistently find fault with the principle of coalition. To vindicate party, and shew that it is a necessary counterpoise in our government,

vernment, to the power and influence of the crown, it is sufficient to remark that government with us is always a party, that every placeman either gives up his opinion to the government or resigns his office. But, if every placeman, whatever be his private opinions, votes upon every question, as if he had no opinion but that of the government, how can any opposition to the measures of government be effectual, or have even the remotest chance or slightest possibility of success, unless they who disapprove of the general conduct of the government, combine together on a similar principle, and while they agree on certain fundamental tenets, make mutual concessions of opinion on subordinate questions. If such a party is formed for the mere purpose of forcing itself into place, it degenerates into a miserable faction; but, when founded on public principles, it has been found by experience, to be the safeguard and defence of our rights and liberties.

While, however, we are of opinion, that without party the power of the crown, which nominates directly or indirectly to all the offices of the government, would be absolute and irresistible; and that the coalition of parties is to be justified on the same ground on which party itself is to be vindicated; we admit, that great caution and deliberation ought to be used, before resolving on any particular coalition. The leader of a party has no means of resisting the weighty arguments and substantial logic of the treasury, but through the opinion, which his friends and the country entertain of his virtues and integrity. He had better, therefore, remain in oppo-

sition, at the head of a small party devoted to his cause, than obtain a temporary victory over his opponents at the hazard of alienating and offending his friends, or of appearing to the country to have deserted the principles, which he has professed. It is at the same time true, that the public is often unreasonably fastidious with respect to coalitions of parties. From the severity of its judgments on that subject, men should seem to have forgotten, that there has been no strong or popular government in England since the revolution, in which individuals of the most opposite principles and most obnoxious characters have not been included. In so much, that we might be tempted to conclude from the frequency of coalitions among English parties, that it is to that cause, that party divisions are marked with less inveteracy in England, and attended with less danger to the public safety and tranquillity, than in any other free country with the history of which we are acquainted.

These general remarks, into which we have been led on parties and coalitions, apply not, however, to the case before us. None of the inconveniences, to which we have alluded in the last paragraph, were to be apprehended in the first instance from the coalition between Mr. Fox and lord Grenville; though a sagacious observer might have foreseen, that, if Mr. Fox delayed long the execution of his plans of reform, or failed in his negotiation for peace, many of his adherents would abandon his party, and set up a separate standard for themselves; and on the other hand, it might have been safely fore-

told, that if lord Grenville remained faithful to his connection with Mr. Fox, many of those persons, who professed the greatest regard and attachment to him at present, would desert him on the first intimation from the court, that there was any serious intention in that quarter of changing the administration.

CHAP. III.

Military System—Army of Reserve Bill—Additional Force Bill—Notice of a Motion for the Repeal of the Additional Force Bill—Petitions against it—Conversation in the House of Commons arising out of a Question put to Mr. Windham by Mr. Long—Conversation in a Committee of the House on the Army Estimates—Mr. Windham Refuses to fix a Day for bringing forward his Military Plans—Debate on the Ordnance Estimates—Debate on the Motion for Leave to bring in a Bill for the Repeal of the Additional Force Bill—Debate on the Production of Military Opinions on Enlistment for a Term of Years—Additional Force Repeal Bill—Debate on the First Reading—On the Second Reading—On the Motion for going into a Committee—in the Committee on the Third Reading—in the House of Lords on the Second Reading—Mutiny Bill—Debate in the House of Commons on the Clause introducing limited Service—On bringing up the Clause—On filling up the Blanks in the Clause—On the Third Reading of the Bill—Debate in the House of Lords on the Production of Military Opinions—On the Clause of the Mutiny Bill introducing limited Service—On the Third Reading of the Mutiny Bill—Debates in the House of Commons on the Chelsea Hospital Bill—The training Bill—The Volunteer Officers' Bill—and Militia Officers' Bill—Increase of Pay to Infantry Officers, and to Officers and petty Officers of the Navy—Greenwich Hospital Bill—Foreign Troops Enlistment Bill.

WE shall proceed, in the next place, to give an account of the measures of the new ministers, and, first, of those submitted to the consideration of parliament; beginning with their military arrangements; which, in our opinion, of all their legislative regulations, were the most important in their object, the most wise in their contrivance, the most beneficial in their tendency, and considering the formidable opposition made to them, the most creditable to the character of the administration.

No subject had, of late years, so frequently engaged the attention of parliament, as to devise a mode of increasing and recruiting the army, effectual for the attainment of its object and suited to the circumstances of the country. Project after project had been proposed. Experiment after experiment had been tried. The coarsest instruments had been used till they were worn out, and the most complicated machinery had been resorted to, without success. Every possible variety of form had been given to our military establishments,

establishments, as if our rulers had been desirous of indulging a speculative curiosity to contemplate their subject under every aspect it could assume, or had been unable to judge, without inspection, of the species of military force, best adapted for the defence of their country and annoyance of its enemies. It is the merit of Mr. Windham, to whom this department of the public service was committed by the new administration, that, abandoning the complex plans and visionary speculations of his immediate predecessors, without recurring to the severe and odious system of the former ministry, he trusted to the simple and obvious expedient of bettering the condition and prospects of the soldiery, for the future increase and supply of the army; on the sound and universally acknowledged principle, that, wherever men are wanted for any occupation in society, they may be obtained for that service, by holding out to them a suitable encouragement; and in no other way, except by compulsion. If

any fault or imperfection were to be pointed out in the system recommended by Mr. Windham, and adopted by parliament, it would be, that the encouragement held out to the military profession, was still insufficient, and inadequate to the expectations, which men of the same rank in life with the soldiery, may look forward to, with reasonable confidence, in other occupations. We particularly allude to the smallness of the pensions allotted to soldiers disabled by their wounds, or having completed their periods of service. We think also, that honorary distinctions might have been introduced, with peculiar effect, among the inducements to enter a profession, where a sense of honour ought to be the predominant feeling. But, whatever defects may exist in the details and subordinate provisions of Mr. Windham's system, we are convinced that the principle of it is sound, and that he, who shall depart from it, will render a material disservice to his country.*

The army of reserve bill, the first measure

* On a subject of this nature no argument is so conclusive as the evidence of facts. We therefore subjoin the following statements, from the adjutant general's returns of the number of recruits raised half yearly (exclusive of foreign and colonial corps) during the years 1805, 1806, and 1807.

Number of Recruits.

	Ordinary Recruiting.	Additional Forc.	Total.
1805—1st. half year	- 6,736	— 4,187	— 10,923
2nd. —————	- 4,941	— 4,101	— 9,042
1806—1st. —————	- 4,949	— 5,834	— 10,783
2nd. —————	- 6,276	— ———	— 6,276
1807—1st. —————	11,412	— ———	— 11,412
2nd. —————	- 7,734	— ———	— 7,734

It is to be observed, that of the number of men raised by ordinary recruiting in the first half of 1805, there were 3089 raised by officers recruiting for rank in the cavalry. It is also to be recollected, that after midsummer, 1807, the operation of Mr. Windham's system was disturbed by the new ballot for the militia. The first half of 1807 is therefore the period by which we are to judge of its effects, after it began to be understood by the country; and from the preceding returns, it appears, that the number of recruits raised during that period, by Mr. Windham's

measure taken for encreasing the army, after the commencement of the present war, was avowedly a temporary expedient, and, though unjust in its principle; and partial and unequal in its application, as all levies by ballot must necessarily be, except in cases of clear and urgent necessity, and for purposes of self-defence, it had in a considerable degree attained its object. It had added, in less than ten months, more than 40,000 men to our army, and though the troops levied under this act, were bound to serve only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent islands, it indirectly increased the amount of our disposable force, by enabling us, if necessary, to send abroad a greater portion of our regular army, on any service, for which it might be required. But, the injustice of employing the odious and oppressive operation of the ballot for producing this effect, appeared from the single fact, that, of 40,000 men obtained by the army of reserve bill, there were only 2,000 of those who were drawn, that served in person, and consequently 38,000 were substi-

tutes, procured by private individuals, through the means of high bounties and voluntary enlistment. But, if 38,000 substitutes could be procured for money by private individuals, the same number of recruits might have been obtained by government, and, consequently, the ballot, which is only to be justified on the ground of urgent necessity, might have been dispensed with, without the loss of a single man to the army. Not only was the operation of this bill partial and unjust, because, instead of raising men at the expence of the community, out of the general revenue of the state, it compelled private individuals, of a certain age, on whom the lot happened to fall, to find substitutes at their own expence and out of their private funds; but, in consequence of the competition of so many eager and unpractised recruiting officers, as it was sure to produce, the bounties for enlistment rose so high, that, after destroying the ordinary recruiting for the regular army, the operation of the bill was suspended by its authors, while the number of men to be raised by it was still in-

ham's plan, was greater than the number raised in the first half of 1805, by the ordinary recruiting, the recruiting for rank, and the additional force bill, taken together.

The superiority of Mr. Windham's plan will be rendered still more apparent by shewing the progressive rise in the rate of recruiting, during the year of its undisturbed operation, that is, from the 1st. of July, 1806 to the 1st. of July 1807.

Rate of Recruiting for the Year

From 1st. July to 1st. of October 1806	-	- 11,000
— 1st. October 1806 to 1st. January 1807	-	- 13,000
— 1st. January to 1st. April 1807	-	- 21,000
— 1st. April to 1st July 1807	-	- 24,000

It is no less true that desertion from the army became less frequent during its operation. In the second half of 1805, desertions from the army of Great Britain and Ireland were in the proportion of one to 157. During the year when Mr. Windham's plan was undisturbed, they were reduced to the proportion of one to 263: but as soon as the succeeding ministry began to tamper with his system, desertions became more numerous again, and in the second half of 1807, rose to the proportion of one to 227.

complete,

complete. Before this measure was adopted, bounties had risen in some parts of the country to 50*l.* and 60*l.* and substitutes could not be procured at any price. The desertion of recruits had increased to an alarming degree, in consequence of the temptation of high bounties, on re-enlisting successively in different corps. The character of the army was therefore degraded by a measure, which added, at such exorbitant expence, to its numbers.

It must be confessed, that, after the pernicious influence of the army of reserve bill, he, who attempted to establish a better system for recruiting the army, had serious difficulties to overcome, nor could he expect, whatever measures he adopted, that their effect would be at first considerable. Of militia, supplementary militia, army of reserve and troops of the line, more than 140,000 men had been raised in the short space of 18 months, so that the country was, in a great measure, drained of that description of persons, who form the great body of our soldiery; and, as it was essentially necessary, that the excessive bounties should be diminished, to which the army of reserve bill had given rise, it was not to be expected, for some time at least, that recruiting, in any form, would be attended with success. Mr. Pitt's additional force bill professed, however, to have the twofold object, of raising immediately for the army of reserve and militia, a sufficient number of men to complete these corps; and of providing for the army, in future, a permanent supply of recruits to the number of 9,000 annually. In the attainment of the first of these objects it confessedly failed. How far it had

answered, or, when repealed, how far it was likely to answer the second purpose, is a subject to which we shall afterwards revert; nor shall we, at present, make any observations on the principles or provisions of the bill. It will be sufficient to remind our readers, that the recruiting service was, under this act, entrusted to the parish officers, who were prohibited from giving a higher bounty than three fourths of the bounty allowed for recruits in regiments of the line, and in case their efforts, thus limited and restricted, should prove unsuccessful, the parishes were to be fined 20*l.* for every man deficient. Great opposition had been made to this bill, when brought into parliament, and, the following year, an unsuccessful attempt had been made in both houses to procure its repeal. It had been passed into a law about a year and a half, when parliament assembled in January 1806.

On the first day of the session Mr. Sheridan gave notice of his intention to move for the repeal of the additional force bill, but without fixing any particular day for his motion; on which lord Castlereagh observed, that some alterations were intended to be made in the bill, which might possibly obviate the honourable member's objections. Mr. Sheridan replied, that no alteration could possibly render it fit to be continued any longer.

Next day (January 22) a petition from the county of Berks for the repeal of the same bill was presented by Mr. Charles Dundas one of the members for that county, in which it was stated that "eleven men only had been raised in the said county by the overseers, and the enormous sum of 6,620*l.* had been imposed on the county

county for penalties." This petition was followed (February 18) by another from the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne in the county of Middlesex, setting forth, "that the number of men required to be raised in the said parish, under the provision of the said act, amounted to 225; that it had been found impossible to raise a single man in the manner and upon the terms prescribed by the act; that the parish had in consequence been assessed in the enormous sum of 4,500*l.* of which 2,000*l.* had been already paid to the treasurer of the county of Middlesex; and concluding with a prayer, that the said act may be repealed, as it had failed in its intended object in every respect."

The change of ministry, which followed within a few days after Mr. Sheridan's notice, rendered it unnecessary for that gentleman to bring forward his motion, as the subject naturally devolved on Mr. Windham, secretary of state for the war department, whose attention was known to have been long directed, in a particular manner, to the military branch of the public service.

Mr. Windham did not resume his seat in the house of commons, after he received the seals of secretary of state, till the 24th of February, and ten days having afterwards elapsed, without any motion from him on the military establishments of the country, the new opposition became impatient of further delay, and on the 5th of March, Mr. Long asked Mr. Windham, whom he saw in his place, at what time he intended to propose to the house his plan, respecting the arrangement of the military establishment. He (Mr. Long) disclaimed any inten-

tion to produce inconvenience, or to embarrass the government by this question, but he felt it of high importance that any alteration intended to be made, should be known as soon as possible. Mr. Windham declared himself ready to give every satisfaction in his power, relative to the point alluded to. "The right honourable gentleman had, however, in asking the question, desired to know, when he meant to bring forward his plan? He did not understand what was meant by the words 'his plan.' He had never talked of any plan, nor had he ever heard that any member had done so for him." He added, that as soon as the business of the military establishment for the present year, which had already engaged the serious, minute, and attentive consideration of ministers, should be brought to a state of sufficient maturity, both their duty and inclination would lead them to lay it as speedily as possible, before the house. To a question from Mr. Canning, relative to the additional force bill, Mr. Windham replied, "that in the plan of defence now in contemplation, that bill certainly would not have a place."

Two days afterwards (March 7), in a committee of the house on the army estimates, general Tarleton expressed his surprize that the new ministers had not yet brought forward their plans for the defence of the country. - "After all the activity which the secretary for the war department had displayed in his speeches, and all the plans which he had given grounds to expect, nothing had yet been produced." Mr. Windham replied, "that the rapidity and decision recommended by the honourable general, might be

be proper in the field but not in the cabinet. All delay must be viewed as relative to the object to be accomplished. He objected to gentlemen calling for plans from him, as the frequenters of the theatre called for an entertainment. He did not feel disposed to indulge them, and their impatience should never provoke him to lay any thing before the house that seemed to himself immature."

Mr. Windham having spontaneously announced, on the 14th of March, that he hoped in the course of the following week, to be able to fix a day, for laying before the house the measures which his majesty's ministers meant to propose for the defence of the country; general Tarleton took occasion, on the 20th of March, to ask him, whether, according to the half notice he had then given, he meant to bring forward the subject on the Mouday following. Mr. Windham replied, "that he saw no necessity for hurrying measures of such vast importance and delicacy, requiring the maturest deliberation; that it appeared to him, that the object of the greatest importance was, to give the fullest consideration to any changes that were to be proposed, and that he saw no other inconvenience that could result from the unavoidable delay, than that it would disappoint the curiosity and anxious expectation of a number of persons."

So eager were the opposition to provoke discussion on the military plans of the ministry, that in the interval between the 14th of March, when Mr. Windham announced his intention of bringing the subject speedily before the house, and the 20th of that month, when the pre-

ceding conversation took place, they contrived to produce a debate on the subject, on a motion for the second reading of a report of the committee of supply on the ordnance estimates. General Tarleton began by stating, that the additional force bill had become highly productive, having furnished in the last week 353 men. After some comments on the hostility which the secretary for the war department had shewn towards that respectable body of men, the volunteers, he wished to know the determination of government with regard to them. "It was now near the end of March, and our military preparations were standing still. The ordnance estimates before the house were those which had been formed by the late ministry, unaltered and unimproved." After some remarks on a continental confederacy, and the probabilities of invasion, the honourable general concluded by suggesting, that Woolwich should not be the sole depositary of our means of defence, and that government should establish some great depôt, more in the center of the kingdom than the one forming at Wendenbeck.

Mr. Calcraft, secretary to the board of ordnance, having confined himself in his reply to general Tarleton's speech, to those parts of it which related to the ordnance, lord Castlereagh rose, and, after a variety of observations and questions with regard to the measures that were meant to be taken for the defence of Ireland, and of the east coast of England, objects which, he said, the late ministers had in contemplation when they went out of office, and, after animadverting on the dread and discouragement with which the volunteers must look to any

any counsels which the right honourable secretary for the war department was supposed to influence; he urged that gentleman in the strongest terms, to disclose what his intentions were in regard to the additional force bill. "On this and other questions connected with the military defence of the country, it was indispensable that an immediate determination should take place, and that the men of talents, of which the new administration was said to be composed, should hasten to exert those talents in a way calculated to be of advantage to the public. The patient might otherwise expire before the state physicians had made up their minds as to the prescriptions that ought to be adopted."

Mr. Secretary Windham observed in reply, that the delay complained of by opposition, arose from difficulties which they had themselves created. "Their military system had been so bad, that it naturally, produced those difficulties. The noble lord had very properly compared the present military system to a sick patient. But who had reduced the wretched patient to that languishing state? How came the patient to be in his present situation? Was it not the noble lord and his friends who had brought him to death's door? And yet they who had brought the country to that state, were now loud in their reproaches of their successors, for not restoring the patient instantly to health." After some observations on the questions put to him by the noble lord, he ended by saying, "that the subjects alluded to were now under the consideration of government, and would, in due time, be submitted to parliament."

Mr. Canning then rose, and after denying that the inferences were just, which the last speaker had endeavoured to deduce from the noble lord's speech, expressed his surprise that an administration, combining, as had been asserted, and as they themselves had represented, all the talents, all the abilities, and all the experience and wisdom of the country, should require so much time to mature and bring forward their measures. He acknowledged "that if these questions were agitated with a view to draw from the right honourable gentleman a premature disclosure of his plans, opposition would ill discharge their duty to the public;" but he nevertheless went on, stating his reasons for wishing to have an answer on the subject of the volunteers and additional force bill, and expressing, in the course of his speech, his total want of confidence in the secretary for the war department, as a war-minister, in which opinion he was sure that nine tenths of the nation coincided with him.

Mr. Whitbread, after some remarks on the tone and spirit of Mr. Canning's and lord Castlereagh's speeches, observed, that the recent efficacy of the additional force bill, was not owing to its natural operation, but to the activity of crimps and recruiting officers, in turning over to the parish levies, men under-sized for the line and militia.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Canning, observed, that "that right honourable gentleman had stated, that the present ministry comprised all the talent in the country; and he had even stated it in such a manner as might lead to a supposition that they had so represented themselves.

selves. He should be happy that the right honourable gentleman would state on what occasion he had heard them so represent themselves. It was impossible that they could have said so, when they saw the right honourable gentleman on the other side of the house. It would be ridiculous in any person to insinuate that ministry comprised all the talent of the country, when the right honourable gentleman was out of office. Not only the right honourable gentleman, but his colleagues on the same bench with him, had made such a representation impossible, particularly by the display of talent which they had already made in opposition.—If some of the friends of the present administration, thinking too highly of their merits, had, from prejudice or partiality, so described them, he thought it was hardly for the friends of the right honourable gentleman, lately deceased (Mr. Pitt) and least of all for the gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) to object to that species of panegyric.” After pointing out the inconsistency of Mr. Canning, in first declaring that he had no confidence in the secretary for the war department, and then requiring that right honourable gentleman to make a premature disclosure to him of his plans, he proceeded to contrast the opinion now expressed of his right honourable friend, with the endeavours used to make him take a part in the late administration, when it was forming. He reminded the gentlemen opposite, that when Mr. Pitt came last into office, he did not, for four weeks after his return to power, bring in his additional force bill; though in that case a single act only was to be in-

troduced; here there was a new system to be founded. Then, however, no objection of delay was started, neither were any premature enquiries made into the nature of the plan which he had in contemplation to introduce. The right honourable secretary declared, he could figure no reason for putting a question like the present, but a wish to embarrass. “What good motive could the persisting in it proceed from, when his right honourable friend had stated, that he was not quite ready to bring forward his measure? What advantage could arise from a premature declaration, similar to that now required? From what good motive could the wish to procure such a declaration proceed? If his right honourable friend had begun by moving the repeal of the additional force act, would not the right honourable gentleman have argued, that till a substitute was provided in its stead, that act should be allowed to take its course? and, if his right honourable friend now said, that that act formed no part of his plan, did it not follow, that this was not the time to investigate or discuss its merits.”

We have been more diffuse in our account of these preliminary skirmishes, than their importance, perhaps, strictly merits, but we were desirous of enabling our readers, by these extracts from the parliamentary debates, to judge for themselves of the spirit of carping hostility which marked, on so many occasions, the conduct of opposition during the present session, particularly in discussions, where the secretary for the war department was in any manner concerned.

On the 3d of April Mr. Windham introduced the subject of his

new military arrangements, by stating, that the expectations entertained on the other side of the house, that some radical change in our military system, would be the consequence of the present ministers coming into power, were reasonable and just, and warranted by the language of himself and his friends when in opposition; but that the expectation of some immediate change following, without the smallest delay, his own appointment to office, was neither justified by his past declarations, nor countenanced by the nature of the proceedings he had uniformly recommended; that it had never been his object to limit our views to a temporary expedient to meet the present exigency, but to provide a permanent security against a permanent danger; that in the measures he was about to recommend, "care was of more importance than time, and it was better that whatever was done should be done rightly, than that it should be done speedily." After some sarcastic and ludicrous observations on the conduct of the gentlemen opposite, who after having "clubbed the battalion," or, in other words, thrown every thing into disorder, seemed to exult in the confusion they had made, he proceeded to his main argument, the purport of which was to shew, that the defence and security of civilized nations must depend entirely on the excellence of their regular armies; that no species of irregular force could be employed with any chance of success against regular troops, except in very peculiar circumstances, which were totally inapplicable to the warfare between France and England; that to mix irregular

with regular battalions, volunteers with troops of the line, would expose to certain destruction the army where such an expedient was resorted to; and that, consequently, the great object to which our attention should be directed for permanent security against invasion, was the increase and improvement of our regular army. The superiority of an army over every species of irregular force being established, the next question was, how were we to recruit that army, and augment it to the number necessary for defence. There were only two modes by which an army could be recruited "force or choice." Force, Mr. Windham shewed, was peculiarly unfitted for England, where its operation would be at once less efficacious and more oppressive, than in countries subject to arbitrary government. But, force being excluded, choice, or voluntary enlistment, was the only means left us for procuring soldiers, and we were then to consider, how it might be made effectual for that purpose. If we inquired why, of late years, this instrument had failed in England (for it used not formerly to be inefficacious) we should find that the military profession in this country was not sufficiently rewarded; when compared with the other occupations open to the lower orders, and was, therefore, considered by the body of the people as less eligible than other callings. The necessity for bounties to procure soldiers, shewed that the service of the army did not stand upon its true footing; for there was no other profession to which it was necessary to allure men by such means. Comparing govern-

ments to manufacturers, and the people to the buyers of manufactured goods, our government was one that carried an inferior article to market, and was, therefore, compelled to give a premium to its subjects, in order to induce them to become purchasers of its wares, or it had recourse to artifice and deception, in order to tempt the ignorant and the thoughtless to be its customers. Nothing, then remained, if we were to have an army by voluntary enlistment, but to improve the trade of a soldier, and to bring it into fair competition with a sufficient portion of the trades and callings of the lower orders; and, till this was done, we should be striving in vain, in the hopeless task of persuading men to embrace a profession, in opposition to those motives which usually decide them in the choice of one. On this principle, then, did Mr. Windham mean to found his plan for recruiting the army. He would improve the article which government had to dispose of, and he trusted, when that was done, there would no longer be any complaints heard of the want of purchasers.

To reduce these principles to practice it behoved us to consider what was the most eligible mode of improving the condition of the soldiery, so as to render the military profession an object of general desire among the people. The most simple and obvious expedient was to raise the pay of the army, and no doubt we might carry that principle so far as to ensure an abundant supply of soldiers. But besides the objections on the score of expence, the pay of an army cannot be increased to a great extent without rendering the troops licentious, and

in proportion as the army becomes licentious, a severity of discipline must be resorted to which deters from enlisting. Little therefore was to be done by encreasing the pay of the army, though much might be effected by encouragement of a different sort. A better provision might be made for those persons who were disabled from further service by their wounds, infirmities or age. The severity of discipline might be lessened without relaxing its strictness. But the great change which he proposed to introduce in the army was in the terms of its engagement. Instead of an engagement to serve for life he proposed that the soldiers in future, should be enlisted to serve for a term of years. Such was the system of service, he said, in all the states of Europe, except in England, and in part even of our army the same system was established. No inconvenience had any where resulted from it, while its tendency to make men enter more willingly into the army was obvious and apparent.

He proposed therefore, that the term of military service should be divided into three periods, of seven years each for the infantry; and for the cavalry and artillery the first period to be of ten years, the second of six years, and the third of five years. At the end of every period the soldier should have a right to claim his discharge. If he left the army at the end of the first period, he should be entitled to exercise his trade or calling in any town of Great Britain or Ireland; if at the end of the second period, he should be entitled, besides, to a pension for life; and at the end of the third period, after a service of twenty-

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ty-one years, he should be discharged from the army, with the full allowance of Chelsea, which by judicious regulations might be raised to a shilling a day. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he should receive the same pension as if he had served out the full term. During the second period he should also receive sixpence a week of additional pay, and during the third period a shilling a week. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years service, and though corporal punishments could not be banished entirely from the army, they might be diminished both in number and in severity. By these means a better description of men would be induced to enter the army; the profession of a soldier would rise in the estimation of the country; desertion would become less frequent; and, though the necessity for bounties could not be expected to cease immediately, the bounties would begin soon, in the language of 'Change Alley, to "be looking down;" and if the system, now recommended, was steadily pursued and faithfully adhered to, the army would be placed in a situation, where its own attractions would be the only bounty required for recruiting its ranks and procuring for it any number of men, which the exigencies of the state might require.

After explaining the principles and defending the expediency of these measures with equal force of argument and felicity and copiousness of illustration, Mr. Windham proceeded to anticipate some of the objections, and remove some of the difficulties, that stood in the way of his plan. The additional expence, to which it would lead, had been greatly over rated, on the false prin-

ciple, that the present high bounties would always continue, and that at the conclusion of every term of service it would be necessary to repeat them. Expence at any rate was a secondary object when placed in competition with security: and the only fair question was, whether the end could be attained by cheaper means. It had been erroneously stated, that according to the provisions of this plan, we should be liable to lose at once a seventh part of our whole army. But they who made that calculation had forgotten to take casualties into the account; and, besides, it was unreasonable to suppose, that of those entitled to their discharge, none would enlist again for another period. A discretionary power, however, might be given to government, in time of war, to retain men for six months in the service, after the term of their engagement was expired. A more serious difficulty had been started with respect to the embarrassments, which this change of system might occasion in our foreign and colonial service; but expedients would be found to remedy this objection, and we had proof at any rate, from the example of the East India Company, whose troops are enlisted for a term of years, that the inconvenience is less in practice than it appears to be in theory. To the question put to him, what he intended to do with our present army, Mr. Windham replied, that in strict justice the existing army was entitled to no other conditions than those on which the soldiers composing it had engaged to serve; but that he meant to make an increase, in their favour, of the Chelsea allowance, and to extend to those who had served seven years, the addition of sixpence, and

to those who had served fourteen years, the addition of a shilling a week of pay. No man, however, of those now in the army, would be entitled to his discharge till after the expiration of twenty-one year's service.

After having stated the measures which he proposed to adopt for the improvement of the regular army, Mr. Windham proceeded next to enquire what should be done with that part of the population of the country, which does not exist in the shape of an army. This subject led him into a history of the origin and progress of the volunteer system, in the course of which, while he did full justice to the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers, he lamented bitterly that so much time and money had been fruitlessly expended, in attempting to give to that species of force a degree of perfection, of which from its nature it was totally unsusceptible. His own opinion was that there ought to be no corps of volunteers, except those formed of persons in the better ranks of life, who would serve at their own expence, with no other allowance from government but arms, and no other exemption but from service in other sorts of irregular force, which it might be advisable to constitute. But, as he found the volunteer system already established, he meant not rashly to put it down, but would content himself with reducing its exorbitant expences. It was a fact, that in three years and a half the volunteer system had cost the government five millions, and as much more at least had been expended in support of it by private individuals. The total amount of the reductions which he proposed in this

establishment would produce to government an annual saving of more than £800,000 a year. He should reduce the number of days for training from 85 to 26. The rank given to volunteer officers he considered to be a scandalous abuse, most injurious to the regular army. He proposed, in future, that no volunteer officer should have a higher rank than that of captain; that is, that no officer of the line of a higher rank than that of captain, nor any captain commanding a corps, should be commanded by an officer of volunteers.

The peasantry, artisans, and other persons of the same class, he wished to see, not locked up in volunteer corps and vainly employed in adopting the dress and imitating the evolutions of the troops of the line, but loosely trained under officers of the militia or of the regular army, so as to be qualified, under their direction, to act as an armed peasantry and harass and impede the motions of the enemy if he accomplished a landing, or be prepared at least to take their place in the regular army, and repair whatever losses it might sustain in action. This training he meant to be compulsory, but it should last only for 24 days in the year. The persons so trained should have no particular dress, nor be carried to a distance from their homes. For the days they were employed in training the same allowance should be paid to them as to the volunteers. As it would be impossible to train the whole population of the country at once, the persons liable to that duty might be limited to 200,000 men; and of these the government should select for actual training the proportion which

which it judged to be most expedient. But the whole number of persons liable to that service should be enrolled in classes according to their age, and on any emergence a discretionary power might be left with government to call out and embody whatever classes it should think proper, and in whatever parts of the country it should find necessary.

With respect to the militia Mr. Windham had at present no alterations to propose. He meant to continue the suspension of the ballot, and he would certainly recommend, in future, recruiting for that service on the scheme projected in Ireland, and at a limited bounty. He was also disposed to promote a measure, introduced by the late government, of permitting the Irish militia to enlist in the line; and he intended, in conjunction with the Irish government, to propose some permanent arrangement for that purpose.

Mr. Windham concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act passed in the 44th of his majesty called the additional force bill.

Lord Castlereagh after enlarging on the inexpediency of undertaking a fundamental revision of any of the leading establishments of a country in time of war, contended that it was unnecessary to enter into such a revision of our military establishments at the present moment. In proof of this position, and to shew how much the army had been increased in its numbers during the late administration, he stated, 1st, that, the gross strength of the army at home and abroad, including militia and artillery, in effective rank and file, was

1st January, 1804	234,005
1st March, 1806	267,554
	increase 33,549

2dly, That the regular army, including artillery, as distinguished from the militia, was

1st January, 1804	148,486
1st March, 1806	192,372
	increase 43,886

3dly, The regular army disposable for general service, was

1st January, 1804	115,947
1st March, 1806	165,790
	increase 49,843

He admitted that the annual loss of the army, independent of extraordinary occurrences, amounted to 15,000 men; and that the annual supply, by the ordinary means of recruiting, did not exceed 11,000, or at most 14,000 men. He admitted also that an addition of 43,000 men was still wanting to raise the army to its full establishment. But, he contended that the annual supply which might be expected from the Irish militia, and the operation of the bill now proposed to be repealed, were fully adequate to supply these deficiencies. He entered into a detailed account of the reasons why this bill had been so long unproductive; but he contended, that since the progress of the inspecting field officers through the counties, it had furnished 300 men a week, being at the rate of 16,000 men a year; and he endeavoured to shew that, in future, it would afford a still greater number. He argued against the plan of enlisting men for a limited term of years on various and not very consistent grounds. He seemed to think the experiment was dangerous, and yet argued it would produce little real change in
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the condition of the soldiers. He was apprehensive that if the same privilege was not extended to the existing army, it would excite discontent among the troops, and yet he considered it so small a boon that none would be induced by it to enter the army, who would not have done so though it had not been granted. It would increase the annual waste of the army, and might create at certain periods a still more alarming deficiency. It was not a practice that had been followed by any of the great military powers, except by France before the revolution, and by Austria since the peace of Campo Formio. After reprobating the indirect course, which he alledged the right hon. secretary was pursuing to get rid of the volunteers, the noble lord concluded by a studied eulogium on the present greatness and prosperity of the country. "I do not hesitate to assert, said he, that on the essential points of the finances, the navy, and the army, compared with the difficulties and embarrassments under which they represent themselves to have undertaken the government, the present administration may be considered as on a *bed of roses*."

Our limits will not permit us to give at length, and we shall not attempt to abridge, the spirited and indignant reply of Mr. Fox to this extraordinary assertion, that the ministers with whom he acted had succeeded to a *bed of roses*. The right hon. secretary proceeded afterwards to point out the numerous and striking inconsistencies in lord Castlereagh's arguments with respect to limited service, and in answer to his complaint, that, in repealing the additional force bill, Mr.

Windham substituted nothing in its place, he observed "that it was the merit of his right hon. friend's plan, that it proposed no complicated machinery to produce an effect, which would be gained by the simple mode of recruiting. All the schemes adopted for raising men had, as far as they were successful, only defrauded the ordinary system of recruiting, and that with a great expence and no inconsiderable oppression. It was something that the market would be again left open to the government as the only recruiter. The noble lord might call this theory, and say that no more men would be obtained. "Now I should think," said Mr. Fox, "that the theory which tells me that you have the best chance of being cheaply provided, when you are the only bidder, is preferable to the noble lord's practical argument, that the more competitors you let into the market, the more recruits you are likely to obtain, and at a smaller bounty."

Mr. Fox concluded with expressing his opinion, that we should find it necessary to maintain a large army, even in time of peace, for he saw no prospect of any peace, that would exempt us from the necessity of watchful preparation and powerful establishments.

Mr. Yorke was averse to the plan of limited service, which he considered as a dangerous innovation; and he argued that the soldiers of our army could not be said to be enlisted for life, when the existence of the army itself depended on the annual votes of parliament. He added that it was an invariable practice in our army to give a soldier his discharge after 24 years service.

Sir James Pulteney and general Tarleton objected in the strongest terms to the plan of the right hon. secretary. The former was of opinion, "that the character of British soldiers would be materially injured by the introduction of limited service," and among other objections to that form of engagement, he suggested, that the prospect of returning to their friends and families might have a mischievous effect on the minds of those, whose term of service was nearly expired, and lessen materially their promptness and alacrity to encounter danger. The latter boasted that "he had in his pocket the clearest proofs of the efficacy of the additional force bill," and from its success in Lancashire, he inferred, that where it had failed, the fault lay with those who had been charged with the execution of it. Whereupon sir W. W. Wynne rose and observed, that Denbighshire had procured the men it was bound to furnish by the act, from Manchester and other manufacturing towns in Lancashire, by means of crimps, and he had no doubt that Lancashire had raised its own quota from the same places, and by the same instruments.

Colonel Crawford, colonel Graham, and Mr. Huddleston spoke in favour of limited service; and lord Temple, Mr. Charles Dundas, and sir William Young vindicated those entrusted with the execution of the additional force bill from the imputation cast upon them of having neglected to do their duty.

The subject of limited service was again brought before the house (April 17th) by Mr. Yorke, who moved for the production of copies of "all such military opinions in writing as may have been given, in consequence of a requisition of his ma-

jesty's government, on the subject of recruiting the army in future, by enlisting for a term of years." This motion was objected to by ministers on the ground, that the opinions called for were private and confidential communications from certain general officers to the commander in chief, and that to lay them before the public would be unfair to those officers, and would tend to prevent such unreserved communications from being made in future. It appeared in the course of the debate, which was desultory and uninteresting, that there was great diversity of opinion among the officers consulted with regard to limited service. Of 14 opinions given to the commander in chief, 7 were in favour of limited service, 6 against it, and one doubtful. During this debate the house was reminded by general Walpole, that the experiment of recruiting for a limited term of years had been tried in the American war with the best effects to the recruiting service.

On the same day the additional force repeal bill was read a first time. It was opposed by Mr. Percival on the ground, that the additional force bill had been gradually and progressively becoming more productive since the question was debated last year, and that it was now actually furnishing from 300 to 400 recruits a week. It was maintained on the other side that not a single man had been obtained for the army by the operation of this bill, who would not have been procured without its operation.

The repeal bill was read a second time on the 30th of April. Before it was read, Mr. Canning moved as an amendment, that the second reading of the bill should be postponed till that day three weeks, in

order, as he said, that the new military plan might first be taken into consideration. The house divided on the question that the bill be now read; ayes 235; noes 119; majority 116.

This debate was distinguished on the side of opposition, by a very brilliant and able speech of Mr. Canning, which was, however, rather a general review and examination of Mr. Windham's military plans, than a defence of the additional force bill. In this speech Mr Canning argued at great length for the practice and policy of compulsory service in certain parts of our military establishment, and expressed his fears, that if that principle were abandoned in the militia, as seemed to be in the contemplation of the right hon. secretary, that species of force would cease to be, what was intended by it, a constitutional check on the standing army. If limited service was a boon to the army, the right hon. gentleman contended, that the proposal of it should have come from the crown and not have originated with the commons. He had no dislike to the trial of limited service on a small scale, but he objected to the whole of our army being put upon that footing. He was no enemy to variety in our military establishments. He then enlarged on the danger of soldiers being entitled to have their discharge in time of war, on the inconvenience that must result from limited service in our foreign and colonial possessions, on the discontents that were to be apprehended in the existing army, when they saw the new levies placed in a situation so infinitely preferable to their own. He ridiculed the additional six-pence a week that was to be given as an

equivalent for the present high bounties, and he reprobated strongly the language held on the other side of the house, against the employment of crimps, and the other artifices used in recruiting. He repeatedly called upon the house to maintain consistency in its proceedings, and not to abandon a measure to which it had formerly given its sanction, at the very moment when that measure was about to realize all the expectations that had been formed of it. He insinuated strongly, that the repeal of the present bill was urged less from a conviction of its defects, than from the desire of throwing a slur on the memory of his late right honourable friend, whose measure it had been, and upon that ground he endeavoured to interest the feelings of the house in support of his amendment. After a long and able speech, he concluded by a comparison of the volunteer system with the right honourable secretary's plan of training the peasantry, and gave of course a decided preference to the former.

It was contended on the other side, that the bill the repeal of which was the only question then before the house, had failed to accomplish any of the objects for which it had been enacted. Instead of raising 41,415 men, in the whole United Kingdom, as by the several acts for raising the additional force it ought to have done, before the 1st of October, 1805, it had furnished only 12,925 men, on the 14th of March, 1806; that is, it had raised less than one third of the number which ought to have been procured by it six months before. Of the men obtained by its operation, only 8,975 had been raised really or nominally by the parishes, and the rest had been procured by regimental recruiting; so that

that one fifth only of the whole number of men that ought to have been raised by the act, had been procured by those persons, whose employment in a service of this nature, as it constituted the chief novelty, so, in the apprehension of the friends of the bill, it had formed the chief recommendation of the act. Such were the returns for the United Kingdom in general. But, if England and Wales were taken apart from Scotland and Ireland, the failure of the bill would appear still more remarkable. In England and Wales not one fourth of the number of men had been raised, which ought to have been procured by the act, and not one seventh of their quotas had been raised by the parishes themselves. But the act had not more egregiously failed in procuring men, than in attaining the other objects which were to have been accomplished by it. While the original provisions of the bill had been adhered to; while none but parish officers had been employed in carrying it into effect, or, in case of their failure, regimental recruiting parties; while the recruiting under the act had been confined within the districts prescribed by law, and the bounties had not exceeded the sum allowed by the act of parliament, the bill had been entirely, or almost entirely inefficacious. The boasted improvements which it had lately received, were owing to a departure from all the original provisions and restrictions of the bill. Crimps had been employed to recruit instead of parish-officers; the recruiting districts of the parishes had been enlarged; and, instead of the small bounty prescribed by the act, large

bounties had been given, which had raised a competition against the recruiting of the regular army, and interfered with it to such a degree, as to threaten, if not speedily done away, its total destruction. As the parishes were liable to a fine of 20*l.* for every man in which they were deficient, many parish officers were in the practice of taking credit for that sum, and adding to it the bounty of 12*l.* allowed by government, they employed crimps to procure men for them at any price, not exceeding 32*l.* In consequence of these changes in the manner of carrying into execution the act, it had become a partial and oppressive tax on the parishes, instead of being, as originally intended, a new and effectual instrument for increasing the army. The friends of the bill boasted of the number of persons who enlisted in the army from the additional force. The wonder was, that every person who intended to enlist in the army, did not begin by first entering the other; for, instead of the bounty of 16*l.* the utmost given by the regular army, the sum of 12*l.* might first be obtained by enlisting in the additional force, and afterwards 10*l.* more by enlisting out of the additional force into the army. It had been one of the arguments for the bill, when first brought into parliament, that its operation would not interfere with the ordinary recruiting; but experience had shewn, that since the new mode of carrying it into effect had been adopted, the ordinary recruiting had sensibly declined, so that the whole number of disposable men procured for the army, had been little, if at all, increased since it came into operation. During the

Last six months, where the bill had been most productive, it had furnished for general service 1,960 men, but the defalcation in the ordinary recruiting had amounted, in the same time, to 1,898 men, leaving a small balance of 62 men, in favour of the bill. Lastly, the character and description of persons raised by this bill, were adverted to. Of 11,453 men, who had been raised by means of it for limited service, not less than 2,116, or nearly one fifth of the whole had deserted. It was, therefore, contended, that whatever might be substituted in its place, the getting rid of this bill was getting rid of a loss.

In the course of this debate Mr. Hawthorn complained of the false impression, which lord Castlereagh's statements on a former night were calculated to convey, of the services of the last administration in recruiting and augmenting the army; and to shew how inferior in that respect their exertions had been to those of their immediate predecessors in office, he read the following statements, which, as we have given lord Castlereagh's statements, we shall also insert.

1st. increase of the gross force of the army, during eighteen months, when the late ministry were in office.

Amount, 1st July, 1804,	246,419
1st Jan. 1806,	259,952

Increase of the gross force of the army 13,533

2dly, Increase of the disposable force during the same period.

Amount, 1st July, 1804,	125,000
1st Jan. 1806,	161,541

Increase 36,541

This increase of the disposable force, according to the statement of the honourable member, proceeded from the following sources, viz.

Volunteers from the militia to the line	14,685
From the army of reserve	6,000
From the additional force bill	3,154

23,839

The remaining 12,702, he could not trace to their source with the same minuteness, but he asserted in general, that they were obtained from the Irish levies, from the foreign corps, the augmentation of the additional cavalry, and from the ordinary recruiting.

3dly, Increase of the gross amount of the army, during eighteen months of Mr. Addington's administration.

Amount, 1st Jan. 1803,	104,911
1st July, 1804,	246,419

Increase 141,508

So pertinacious were the opposition in resisting the repeal of the additional force bill, that the debate was resumed at great length on the 6th of May, on a motion for going into a committee on the repeal bill. But, as there was little variation in the line of argument on either side; as the opposition rested the defence of their bill less upon its own merits, than upon the alleged inferiority of Mr. Windham's new plan; while the ministers contended, that the bill which they proposed to repeal, was positively injurious to the service, as well as vicious and unjust in its principle; we shall not enter further into the debate, than merely to remark, that some of the heaviest charges against the

the bill, were proved by such a multitude of individual facts, brought forward by county members, unconnected with party, that no reasonable or candid man, could doubt for an instant of the justice and propriety of its repeal. Lord Castlereagh having boasted that Leicestershire had raised its quota of 200 men, at the rate of five guineas a head, Mr. Babington, one of the members for Leicester, rose and stated, that these 200 men had been furnished to the county by recruiting officers, and consisted of persons who, being under-sized, were admissible into no other corps.

A debate arose in the committee, (May 8th) on a clause of the repeal bill, remitting, in favour of the parishes, the penalties which they had incurred, for the non-execution of the act, and refunding the fines which had been already paid. It was argued, that by this proceeding the parishes which had raised their quotas were placed on a worse footing than those which had neglected to comply with the law. It was answered, that it was not from any reluctance or ill-will that the parishes had not found their quotas, but because it had been impossible for them to get men, without violating the provisions of the act, and that it would be unfair to fine them for not doing that which it was impossible for them to do. After some debate the clause passed without a division.

Thoroughly as the merits of the bill had been already canvassed, and convinced as was every impartial person, that whatever might be the value of the new system that was proposed to be adopted, the additional force bill had failed in its operation, and ought to be repealed,

as in itself a positive evil, opposition, with unexampled perseverance, renewed the debate on the third reading of the repeal bill, and brought again into the field all the old topics of discussion. Mr. Percival having on this occasion suggested some amendments in the bill, which were adopted by the ministers, the third reading was postponed till next day, (May 14th) when the bill at length passed the commons, after having encountered a most active opposition; in every stage of its progress through the house.

In the house of lords it met with comparatively little opposition. As the new military plans had not been submitted to that house, it was impossible for their lordships, in discussing the merits of the additional force bill, to introduce the same topics, which had given rise to so much debate in the commons. On the second reading of the repeal bill (May 20th) a division took place on an amendment proposed by earl Camden, similar to that moved by Mr. Canning in the house of commons. On the question, whether the bill should now be read, contents were 71, proxies 26; total 97.—Non-contents 30, proxies 10; total 40—majority 57.

The spirit of determined hostility to the new military system, which had marked the conduct of the opposition, in their defence of the additional force bill, continued to animate them throughout the subsequent debates, when the different parts of that system came in detail before the house. The Mutiny Bill, the Chelsea Hospital Bill, the Training Bill, and the Militia Officers' Bill, gave occasion to very long debates, which, from the continual recurrence of the same topics, became

became at length tiresome and uninteresting. We shall, therefore, in our account of these transactions, rest satisfied with giving a mere outline of the proceedings of the two houses; selecting such arguments only, as when first used on either side, had the merit of novelty to recommend them.

In a committee of the whole house (May 30th) the introduction of limited service was proposed, by the insertion of a clause to that effect in the Mutiny Bill. The engagement of the infantry was limited by this clause to seven years, that of the cavalry to 30, and that of the artillery to 12; but a discretionary power was given to commanding officers on foreign stations, to retain the men under their command, for six months after the expiration of their engagement; and, in time of war, a power was given to his majesty, by his royal proclamation, to extend this additional term of service to three years, provided peace should not in the mean time be restored, in which case the additional term of service should cease and determine, within six months after the ratification of any definitive treaty. In submitting this clause to the committee, Mr. Windham entered at length into the defence of his military system, and answered the objections brought against it. He denied that any of the measures he had proposed were of that nature, that should their result be different from what he anticipated, they could not be recalled or corrected. That there was a necessity for something to be done, he argued from the innumerable plans and projects for the improvement of our military system, which had been proposed and acted upon

since the commencement of the present war. After so many temporary expedients he wished now to give a fair trial to the effect of voluntary enlistment, without competition, and would resort to no other means for promoting its success, than to make the article of proper value to the purchaser. It was true, that limited service existed in the army at present, but then it was service limited with respect to place as well as limited with respect to time. Unlimited service with respect to place, might be a boon, where unlimited service with respect to time was a check. Fears had been entertained lest the character of the army should suffer by this innovation; but, how the character of soldiers should be injured by limiting their service to a term of years, had not been very intelligibly made out, and every known fact was against the supposition. It had been the practice of the French to enlist for a term of years, from the time of Louis XIV. to the revolution; in the Swiss regiments the same rule had universally prevailed; and during the American war a great part of our own army had been raised on the same footing. The mischief apprehended from men demanding their discharge in time of war, was obviated by the power given to his majesty, of extending, in that case, the term of their service. When regiments were in future ordered to the colonies or foreign possessions of the country, those soldiers, whose term of service was nearly expired, might be drafted into the second battalions and left behind. The benefits he expected from limited service, were not confined to an increase in the number of recruits. He looked also to an improvement in

in the quality and description of the persons who would be induced to become soldiers, and he trusted, that in consequence of this improvement, the necessity for severity of discipline in the army would be diminished. It might be worth consideration at some future period, whether the elective franchise ought not to be extended, in the English counties at least, to soldiers who had retired from the army, after completing their full term of service.

The speeches of the opposition side of the house, besides containing a repetition and amplification of all their former objections to limited service, and calculations of the vast expence which it would entail upon the country, were distinguished upon this occasion by the introduction of a new topic, from which the most important consequences were expected to arise. They alleged, that, as the new mode of enlistment could be carried into effect by his majesty's prerogative, without the interposition of parliament, it was disrespectful to his majesty to insert such a clause as this in the mutiny bill; that it seemed to imply what it was highly improper to insinuate, that the same faith was not to be placed in a pledge from the crown as in a pledge from parliament; that, as his majesty could at present enlist men either for limited or for unlimited service, the new clause, by prohibiting the latter entirely, was a direct invasion of the royal prerogative, and by its insertion in the mutiny bill, neither the king nor the house of lords could express their disapprobation of it, without refusing to pass the mutiny bill, and thereby disbanding the

army. It was acknowledged, that in general when a measure of this importance was brought forward by his majesty's government, it was fair to suppose that his majesty's approbation had been previously obtained; but very broad hints were given, that, on the present occasion, his majesty's sentiments were far from being in unison with those of his ministers. A distinction was attempted to be drawn between the regular army of the crown, raised by voluntary enlistment, and the other descriptions of force, such as the militia, army of reserve, and additional force, which were raised by means more or less compulsory, and which, it was said, might fairly be called the parliamentary army, and were, therefore, regulated in their term of service by act of parliament.

The ministers in reply, ridiculed the distinction of a royal and parliamentary army, as one which no writer, no speaker, no man at all acquainted with the constitution, had ever taken notice of. A parliamentary army had never been heard of before, except in 1641. Every army in this country was royal, and every army was also parliamentary. If the present measure had been introduced in the mutiny bill, it was because such was the constant usage of parliament. They who declaimed against the interference of popular assemblies or parliaments, with the army, forgot that they were making this objection in a house, where the mutiny bill was annually passed, for the avowed purpose of subjecting the army to parliamentary control. When a bill was annually passed, declaring it lawful for his majesty
to

to make articles of war *for one year only*, and to hold courts-martial *for one year only*, it was absurd to represent a clause, limiting the engagement of the soldiers to a term of seven years, as an infringement of the royal prerogative: for it was undoubtedly competent to the house to regulate any power which it conferred; and to talk of the prerogative of the crown to levy men on any conditions, was very idle, since the concurrence of parliament was necessary to pay and regulate the army raised by prerogative.

To those persons who, in the course of the debate, had represented the plan of limited service as unpopular in the country, and had warned ministers to desist from that measure, before they were compelled to it by the general odium which it would bring upon them, Mr. Fox answered with dignity and firmness, "That however unwilling ministers should be to oppose their own opinions to those expressed by the majority, or any great portion of the people of England, still they felt it their duty, at a crisis so urgent as the present, not to temporize upon a measure of such vital importance to the security of the country, under any apprehension of risking a temporary unpopularity. Ministers who really wished to be useful to their country, must often risk both their power and their popularity. Holding a firm and systematic attention to the public good, they might sometimes find it necessary to expose both to hazard; but, if they hesitated to do so, they would ill deserve the name of statesmen. They would violate their duty, both as the servants of the crown and as members of parliament, if they were

deterred by such considerations from pursuing what they thought right."

The firmness of this declaration was calculated to inspire resolution in the minds of those, who were apprehensive of the consequences of persisting in the new military plans; and were inclined to believe, that, though his majesty's consent had been obtained to the measure of submitting them to the consideration of parliament, opposition were in the right, when they insinuated that the introduction of limited service into the army, was far from being approved of at court. Surmises of that nature were circulated with the greatest industry, while the new plan was under discussion in parliament; and the credit universally given to these reports, led most probably to the uncommon obstinacy and perseverance with which it was opposed in that assembly. Many persons were of opinion, that the clause in favour of limited service would be thrown out in the house of lords, and that the loss of that question would be made a pretext for getting rid of an administration obnoxious to the court. At no period while these ministers were in office, did their continuance in power appear so uncertain and precarious, as at the moment of which we treat. It reflects credit on the firmness and integrity of the leading persons of the government, that disdaining the pusillanimous counsels of those, who would have abandoned this great measure, the most meritorious and important of their public services, they determined to persevere in it, and to risk on its success the existence of their administration. In forming this determination, they were actuated not only by their opinion of the intrinsic

sic merits of the measure then in discussion, but by a fixed purpose of not betraying, by their conduct, that fundamental maxim of the constitution, that the ministers who are responsible for the measures of government, ought to have the guidance and direction of them, according to their own sense of fitness and expediency. The indirect methods said to be in agitation for their removal, were ill-calculated to bring about any compromise of opinions, and tended rather to confirm them in the resolution of meeting the danger manfully, and should they be turned out for want of compliance with the court, of meriting at least the confidence of the people.

We shall now return to the parliamentary history of these proceedings. On the 30th of May a division took place in the committee of the house on the mutiny bill, on a motion for bringing up the clause establishing limited service; for the clause 254: against it 125; majority 129. The ministers wished to have the clause read a second time the same night, but after the house had been made to divide seven times in order to prevent it, they were compelled to give up the point. On the 2nd. of June the debate was renewed on the motion to fill up the blanks in the clause, and a division being called for, there were for the question 206; against it 105; majority 101. Far from being disheartened by these repeated discomfitures, the opposition resolved on making one effort more before the clause finally passed the house of commons. On the third reading of the bill (June 6) Mr. S. Bourne moved an amendment, the effect of which was to substitute service during war and

for six months afterwards, instead of service for a definite period of years. The house divided, and there appeared, for the amendment 103; against it 195; majority 92.

After the first reading of the mutiny bill in the house of lords, a motion was made by lord Hawkesbury (June 10) for the production of the military opinions relating to the army, which had been submitted to the commander in chief on the subject of limited service. This motion was resisted on the ground, that the opinion called for were not official documents, but private and confidential communications; and to the argument that the house was in want of military information on the question at present before it, it was answered, that it would be an unprecedented thing for the house to require argumentative opinions of those who were not its members, in order to influence its determinations. The motion was negatived without a division.

The house having (June 13th.) resolved itself into a committee on the mutiny bill, lord Westmorland objected to the clause introducing limited service. A debate ensued, in which the same arguments were urged on both sides which had been used in the house of commons. The opposition lords insisted much on the supposed invasion of the prerogative by the limitation of service in the army; and in pressing this argument it was generally understood, that they calculated with great confidence on the support and concurrence of many lords connected with the household, who it was supposed would on this occasion desert the administration and thereby manifest the secret dispositions of the court. But, if they enter-

tained

tained such expectations, they were grievously disappointed. The noble lords to whom they were supposed to have looked for assistance, voted as usual with the ministers; and one of the royal dukes (his highness of Gloucester) made a speech in favour of the clause, not less remarkable for its eloquence and sound reasoning, than for the constitutional principles and ardent attachment to liberty which it breathed. The committee divided on the clause; for it 91; against it 34; majority 57.

On the third reading of the bill an amendment moved by lord Hawkesbury to substitute twenty years instead of seven, was negatived without a division.

The object of the Chelsea hospital bill, was to give a legal security to invalid, disabled and discharged soldiers, for such pensions and allowances as they were entitled to by reason of their service. It was argued against this bill by Mr. Percival, that its provisions were nugatory and inefficient, and in the course of discussing its merits, the honourable gentleman entered into a virulent philippic against the administration in general, with the exception of the noble lord at the head of the treasury, and expressed his disapprobation of all their proceedings since they came into office. The attorney general vindicated the bill before the house, as one that ought to be considered, not distinct from, but *pari passu* with the mutiny bill, the provisions of both standing equally pledged on the faith of government and the discretion of his majesty. To the language held by several members of opposition, who in their general censures of the administration, had made an exception

in favour of lord Grenville, and affected to deplore the little share that noble lord seemed to have in the measures of the government, lord Temple replied with much warmth, that he could assure these gentlemen, he spoke the sentiments of his noble relative (lord Grenville), when he stated that he thanked no man for compliments paid to him at the expence of his colleagues. This debate in the house of commons took place (June 12) the day before the decisive division in the house of lords on the mutiny bill, at a time when many persons supposed the administration was drawing fast to a close.

The object of the training bill was to enable his majesty, out of the persons liable to serve in the militia, to apportion among the counties of England, a number not exceeding 200,000 men, and direct them to be enrolled and trained according to the provisions of the act. If a sufficient number of persons should offer themselves voluntarily for training, they were to be accepted; but if not, the deficiency was to be supplied by the operation of the ballot. Volunteers and persons becoming volunteers were exempted from this service. The days of training were not to exceed 24, and the term of service was confined to one year. If immediate invasion was apprehended, the persons liable to serve under this act might be embodied by his majesty's orders, and in case of actual invasion marched to any part of Great Britain.

The spirit of gross and uncandid misrepresentation, which had marked the opposition to the former parts of Mr. Windham's military plans, did not forsake his adversaries, while this bill was under discussion.

They

They represented it as an oppressive and unnecessary measure, an infraction of the engagements entered into by his majesty's government with the volunteers, and calculated to damp the zeal, degrade the importance, and reduce the numbers of that respectable and meritorious body of men, against whom, it was insinuated, his majesty's government entertained sentiments of the most inveterate and rancorous hostility. It was denied by the ministers, that there existed on their part any disposition to undervalue the services of the volunteers, or to destroy their establishment. It was not intended by government to supersede them, but to render them, what they were originally intended to be, men serving their country at their own expence. The training bill, instead of being calculated to injure the volunteers, was an auxiliary measure, which would rather tend to support and keep up their numbers. No engagement entered into with the volunteers was violated by the present bill, because no volunteer, nor any person, who chose to become a volunteer at his own expence, was liable to its operation.

The training bill was followed by an act to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years, with a reserved power to government of recurring to it, in order to supply the vacancies of any corps, which should happen to be reduced below its quota.

The last act brought into parliament in pursuance of Mr. Windham's military plans, was one to declare that no officer of any corps of yeomanry or volunteers, should by reason of his commission in such

corps, take rank above any field officer of his majesty's regular or militia forces, which by the acts of parliament then in force he was entitled to do. Obvious as was the propriety of this regulation, and necessary as it was to amend an error, which had arisen at first from mere inadvertence, there was some opposition to the bill, though no division upon it.

Opposition was also made to the militia officers' bill, which was introduced on the following occasion. An augmentation of pay to the officers of the regular army being in the contemplation of his majesty's government, it was judged proper to extend the same to subalterns in the militia, but not to field officers of the militia, who, being necessarily men of property, were not in want of it. But by act of parliament the officers of the militia, when embodied, are entitled to the same pay and allowances as the officers of the line. A bill to set aside this provision, as far as it should affect any increase of pay to officers and soldiers of the line after the 1st. of June 1806, was therefore brought into parliament. It was opposed with great violence and clamour as a death blow to the militia, which, it was insinuated, government had a mind to sacrifice to the same passions, which were to be gratified by the destruction of the volunteer establishment. It was answered by ministry, that there was no reason why the militia and regular army should be on the same footing in regard to pay. There were already distinctions between the two services sufficiently marked. The regular officers had half pay

pay which the militia officers had not ; and the militia officers were required to have qualifications, which were not demanded from the officers of the line. The proposed increase of pay to the officers of the line did not injure the militia officers, for it left them with the same pay which they now enjoyed. Nor could it be regarded as an affront to them that they were not included in the present arrangement ; for the same reason, that had induced government to withhold the additional pay from the field officers of the militia, had determined it to act in the same manner with respect to the officers of the cavalry and the guards ; namely that none of these descriptions of officers were in the same want of additional pay as the officers of the line, and that, if an addition of pay was to be made to those who were not in want of it, less could be afforded to those who stood in actual need of it. On the third reading of the bill the house divided ; ayes 35 ; noes 24 ; majority for the bill 11. The additional pay to infantry officers was afterwards voted in a committee of supply (July 14th.) without opposition, along with an increase of pay to sergeants, corporals and privates, an addition to the Chelsea pension, and an increase of pensions to officers' widows.

In this laudable anxiety shewn by government for improving the present condition, and adding to the future prospects of the army, the interests of the navy were not forgotten. In a committee of supply (April 25th.) Lord Howick explained to the house the intentions of his majesty's government respecting the allowance of

additional pay to the officers, petty officers, and seamen of the royal navy, and on the motion of the same noble lord a sum was voted for enabling government to carry that measure into effect. Two acts of parliament were afterwards passed, in pursuance of a recommendation from his majesty, to empower the governors of Greenwich Hospital and the directors of the chest of Greenwich, to increase the allowances to out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, and to grant pensions to old, infirm, and disabled officers, not provided for in that hospital, in addition to their half-pay ; and in order to defray these expences, additional funds were appropriated by act of parliament to the support and increase of that noble establishment.

One subject relating to the army still remains to be mentioned—When ministers came first into office, they found that a greater number of foreign troops had been enlisted and brought into the kingdom, than was authorized by law, in consequence of which they were induced (February 27th.) to apply to parliament for an act of indemnity to the advisers of that measure ; and as it would have been inexpedient to have disbanded these troops, and inconvenient, if not impossible, to have sent them immediately out of the kingdom, they procured authority for his majesty to retain them in the country, and to increase them permanently to the number of 16,000 men. It is to be regretted that the necessity for this bill should have arisen, and it is still more to be lamented, that any temporary convenience should have led to the permanent augmentation

tation of the foreign troops stationed within the kingdom. Though the new situation of affairs on the continent, and the danger of invasion from the enemy, have overcome, or at least suspended our ancient and constitutional jealousy of a standing army, there can be no

necessity for entrusting our defence to foreigners, while there may be great danger to our liberties from the existence of an armed force amongst us, which has no tie connecting it with the country, except the unlimited obedience which it owes to the crown.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Finance.—Budget.—Loan.—War Taxes.—Taxes to provide for the Interest of the Loan.—Irregularity of bringing forward the Ways and Means before the Army Estimates.—Property Tax.—Exemption of His Majesty's funded Property from the Operation of this Tax.—Pig Iron Tax.—Private Brewery Tax.—Increase of Assessed Taxes.—Assessed Taxes Allowance Bill.—Irish Budget.—Regulation Bills.—Of the Office of Treasurer of the Ordnance.—Of the Excise.—Customs.—Stamp Office.—Post Office.—Office of Surveyor General of Woods and Forests.—Custom-House Officer's Bill.—Inaudited Public Accounts.—West India Accounts Bill.—Auditors of Public Accounts Bill.—Abuses in the Barrack Department.—Grants to the Family of Lord Nelson.—To Lord Collingwood.—Sir Richard Strachan, and Sir John Duckworth.—Royal Family Annuities Bill.—Corn Intercourse Bill.—American Intercourse Bill.—Tortola Free Port Bill.—Woollen Manufacture Committee.

THE new ministers, in the measures of finance, which they pursued during this session of parliament, were content with following the systems, and executing the plans of their predecessors; and unless in shewing greater vigilance and anxiety for the detection and suppression of abuses, they seemed to be unambitious of any higher distinction, in this important branch of their public duty. The period of the year when they came into office, compelled them to adopt, in most instances, the estimates prepared by the former government; and in raising the ways and means for the current year, they adhered scrupulously to the principles laid down and followed by Mr. Pitt. The sinking fund for the redemption of the national debt, which many persons feared, or affected to

fear, would be far from secure in their hands, and which some persons both in and out of parliament, urged them strongly to encroach upon, they determined religiously to respect. The system of war taxes, or the plan of raising within the year a great part of the supplies necessary for the public service, they took up with zeal, and carried to an extent before unexampled. In the prosecution of this object, so meritorious in itself, and beneficial to the country, they had recourse to a measure of taxation, which bore peculiarly hard on the middling ranks of life, and on those industrious classes of society, which are removed by one degree only from indigence; and as the popularity of one branch of the administration, lay chiefly among persons of that description, their conduct

duct in this particular, excited against them a degree of odium and unpopularity proportioned to the former affection and regard entertained towards them. It seemed to add to the sufferings of the people, when the property tax was raised to 10 per cent, and most of the former exemptions done away, that a measure so grinding and oppressive, should proceed from persons, who had opposed the triple assessment, the income tax, and the property tax itself, when first introduced. Like the bird in the fable, which complained less of the sharpness of the point that wounded its bosom, than of the feather that winged and directed the arrow, having been drawn from its own pinion, the people felt their sufferings aggravated, and exasperated by the reflection, that they were imposed by those, whom they had hitherto cherished and supported as their friends, and whose elevation to power they considered (no matter how erroneously) as in some degree their own work, or at least as a consequence of their supposed partiality towards them. It must at the same time, in fairness to the new ministers be acknowledged, that it was owing to the heavy taxes imposed during this session of par-

liament, and to the rigorous measures taken to render them effectual, that they were enabled at a future period to hold out to the country the consolatory assurance, that on the scale on which they had determined to conduct the war, no additional taxes would be necessary for carrying it on, to whatever period, however distant, it might be prolonged.

Lord Henry Petty, the new chancellor of the exchequer, opened the budget on the 28th of March, in a speech remarkable for the perspicuity of its statements and clearness of its arrangement, as well as for the professions of rigid economy, and of strict attention to the reform of abuses which it contained. He began, after some preliminary observations on the arduous task he had undertaken, by saying, that he should state to the house the amount of the public debt and charges upon it, and the produce of the consolidated fund, at the accession of the present ministers to office, that the people might be fully apprised of their situation, and prepared for the exertions and sacrifices, which he was compelled to demand from them. He then stated that

The funded debt of Great Britain, not redeemed,	£.
amounted on the 1st Feb. 1806 to — — —	517,280,561*
The redeemed debt by the commissioners, 101,145,802	
— — — transferred to the commissioners	
by reason of the land tax redeemed,	22,325,740
Total of the redeemed debt of Great Britain, — — —	123,471,542†

* The funded debt of Ireland, not redeemed, amounted on the 18th March, 1806, to — — —	35,484,052
The imperial loans not redeemed at the same date, — — —	3,027,051
Total of the national debt not redeemed, — — —	555,791,664
† The redeemed debt of Ireland, 18th March, 1806, — — —	2,913,948
The redeemed imperial loan, same date, — — —	642,249
Total of the redeemed debt, — — —	127,027,739

Total of the funded debt of Great Britain redeemed and unredeemed, — — — —	640,752,103*
Total of the annual charges of the funded debt of Great Britain and Ireland, and the imperial loans,	27,485,384
Total of the sums annually applicable to the redemption of the national debt, — — — —	7,615,167
Total of the unfunded debt, 5th Jan. 1806, — — — —	23,168,747
Total income of the consolidated fund in the year, ending 5th Jan. 1806, — — — —	33,035,501
Annual charges on the consolidated fund, as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1806, — — — —	29,951,639
Surplus of the consolidated fund applicable to the general service of the state, — — — —	3,083,862
Produce of the war taxes in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, — — — —	13,171,499

In this part of his subject the noble lord pointed out to the house, that on the 1st of Feb. 1803, the proportion of the sinking fund to the unredeemed debt, was as 1 to 82, but that on the 1st Feb. 1806, the proportion was as 1 to 68. After this it was unnecessary for him to enter into any eulogium on the sinking fund, nor to detain the house with any panegyric on its former effects, or the hopes that might be entertained of its future operations. The advantages of that fund were very sensibly felt in the prices

of stock, and in contracting for loans, which it enabled the public to obtain on better terms. Therefore, independent of considerations of good faith, which pledged the house to adhere to this system, it was bound to maintain it from positive and tried experience of its utility.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state the supplies wanted for 1806, and the ways and means by which he proposed to provide for them, as follows—

Supplies.

Navy, exclusive of the ordnance sea-service, — — — —	£. 15,281,000
Army, — — — —	18,500,000
Ordnance, including ordnance sea-service, — — — —	4,718,000
Miscellaneous, — — — —	2,170,000
Arrears of subsidies, — — — —	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	41,669,000
Vote of credit, — — — —	2,000,000
	<hr/>
Joint charge, England and Ireland, — — — —	43,669,000

* Total of the national funded debt, redeemed and unredeemed, 682,819,403
Add

Add England's separate charges.

East India Company,	—	—	1,000,000
Deficiency, malt duty, 1804,	—	—	340,000
Do. ways and means, 1805,	—	—	1,707,000
Interest on exchequer bills,	—	—	1,000,000
To pay off 5 per cents of 1797, due 5th April,	—	—	700,000
Do. due 10th October,	—	—	500,000
			<hr/>
			5,247,000
			<hr/>
Deduct on Account of Ireland, as below,	—	—	48,916,000
			5,297,528
			<hr/>
On account of England,	—	—	43,618,472
Deduct on account of Ireland, 2-17ths of the above sum of £43,669,000			5,137,528
Deduct also 2-17ths for civil list and other charges,	—	—	160,000
			<hr/>
			5,297,528

Ways and Means.

Malt and personal estate duties,	—	—	—	2,750,000
Grants from proceeds of ships captured prior to the war,	—	—	—	1,000,000
Lottery,	—	—	—	380,000
Surplus of consolidated fund to 5th April, 1807,	—	—	—	3,500,000
War taxes,	—	—	—	19,500,000
Deduct as likely to be outstanding at 5th April, 1807,	—	—	—	1,500,000
				<hr/>
				18,000,000
Loan,	—	—	—	18,000,000
				<hr/>
				43,630,000

The preceding statement was accompanied by various explanatory observations from the noble lord, the most important of which we shall lay before our readers, in an abridged form, and in the order in which they are naturally suggested by the statement itself.

The army estimates had not yet been laid before the house, because the new military arrangements were

not completed; but there was every reason to suppose, that they would not exceed the sum stated in the account of the supplies.

In the miscellaneous services were included several important grants in contemplation, such as the provision for the family of lord Nelson, and for the remuneration of the seamen who had been engaged in the battle of Trafalgar.

The sum due to the East India Company was due upon a claim of several years standing, which had been submitted to commissioners in 1803. One million had been already paid, and another would be called for in the course of the present year.

The interest on exchequer bills had not hitherto been provided for when they were voted, but left to come in as part of the supply of the following year. It was thought advisable, however, at present, to bring that expence within the year, and to provide for it accordingly.

The grant of one million from the proceeds of ships captured prior to the declaration of war, was part of the droits of admiralty, which his majesty had been advised by his late ministers, graciously to apply to the public service of the state.

The loan, which had been negotiated that morning, consisted of twenty millions, eighteen for England, and two for Ireland, and had been obtained at the rate of £.4 19s. 7d. of interest for every £.100.

War taxes.—The beneficial effects of raising a great part of the supplies within the year, was strongly exemplified by the fact, that during the last war, the average increase of the national debt had been at the rate of 25 millions a year, while the average increase in the present war, was at the rate of only 12 millions a year; a difference to be attributed solely to the system of war taxes, which had not been introduced in the late war till near its close. The war taxes had been taken for the last year at fourteen millions and a half, and they had produced more than thirteen millions. It was intended to raise them for the current year to nineteen millions and a half,

of which five millions were to be raised by making the property tax more productive, and one million from the excise and customs.

The property tax was proposed to be raised from six and a half to ten per cent, and most of the present exemptions to be done away. It was thought more advisable to raise this tax at once to what might be termed its natural limit, than to increase it gradually, which might lead to the supposition that it was a fund to be drawn upon to an indefinite extent. Besides this addition to the rate, it was expected, that the tax might be rendered more productive by judicious regulation. Great frauds and evasions were now practised, and the mode of exemption furnished the greatest facility to such attempts. It was proposed, therefore, in future, that the tax should in the first instance be paid, and that those entitled to exemptions should afterwards, on making good their claims, be repaid from the tax office. It was stated with great satisfaction that the governors and directors of the bank had agreed to receive the duty on the dividends at the bank. As to the *quantum* of income to be made liable to the tax it was proposed that ten per cent should be paid on all property above fifty pounds a year, but that a scale of abatements should be introduced in favour of small tradesmen and small annuitants, whose income was less than one hundred a year. Some regulation would also be made in favour of hospitals and charitable institutions. The total sum expected from these alterations in the property tax was estimated at five millions.

Another million was to be raised from the customs and excise. It

was

was proposed, with certain modifications and exceptions, to raise the war duties of the customs from one fourth to one third. An addition would be made to the duty on sugar of three shillings per cwt. These additional duties would produce £.700,000 a year. Tobacco would

be taxed under the excise, and it was calculated would afford 300,000 a year of additional duty.

To cover the interest and other charges upon the loan, a sum of 1,136,000 a year, was still to be provided, which was proposed to be done in the following manner :

The wine duty, already existing, was to be declared permanent, and applicable towards the interest on the loan, amounting to	—	—	1,500,000
A duty of forty shillings per ton on pig iron, supposing the quantity manufactured to be 250,000 tons annually, would produce	—	—	500,000
An equalization of the duties on tea would produce			70,000
A tax on appraisements was calculated at	—		66,000
Total			1,136,000.

The noble lord concluded his speech by expressing his determination, and that of his colleagues, to administer the government with economy, and to reform abuses wherever they could be detected ; and after an allusion to the labours of the naval and military commissioners, and assurances that ministers were ready to follow up any plans and improvements, which these enquiries might suggest, he announced to the house that steps were taking to recover the sums lost to the public by malversations in the West Indies, and that measures had been adopted to put a stop to the scenes of fraud, perjury, and peculation, which had so long prevailed in that part of the empire.

Instead of entering into a detailed account of the discussions, which arose on this and subsequent occasions, upon the propositions recommended by the chancellor of the

exchequer, we shall confine ourselves to a brief and general abstract of the arguments for and against them, and to an account of the fate that finally attended them in the house.

It was objected to the course of proceeding taken by ministers on this occasion, that it was contrary to the usage of parliament to bring forward the ways and means before the estimates of the year had been voted ; and this usage was founded on the obvious and reasonable principle, that parliament ought not to burthen the subject unnecessarily, and therefore ought not to provide greater ways and means than the sums granted in the committee of supply. But, the ways and means now proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, greatly exceeded the supplies voted by the house ; for the army estimates of the present year had not yet been submitted to its consideration ; and no precedent,

it was said, could be found since the revolution, of bringing forward the ways and means till the army estimates were voted.

It was admitted on the other side, that there was considerable inconvenience in bringing forward the ways and means before the estimates for the army were regularly before the house; but it was maintained that there was nothing in this proceeding which counteracted any fixed principle, and the inconvenience of delaying the budget till the army estimates could be produced, would be much greater than that which attended the present mode of proceeding. The same sort of inconvenience had been felt last year in the vote with regard to subsidies, the amount of which depended on treaties with foreign powers, which at that time were not concluded. Care would be taken by the chancellor of the exchequer that the ways and means should not exceed the supplies to be voted. It was to be recollected, that we had an army estimate already voted for five months; and as to precedents, there was one in 1802, when the navy estimates were voted first for four months, then for two, and then for the remainder of the year. It was also contended, that, in this case, the ways and means did not amount to the supplies by several millions; because none could be called taxes, among the ways and means, till they were appropriated by parliament; and in that sense the supplies already voted, exceeded the ways and means by several millions. But to this mode of reasoning it was justly answered by opposition, that it proceeded on the fallacy of confounding two principles in themselves perfectly distinct; the

one, that the public money should not be applied without the express consent of parliament; the other, that parliament should not burthen the people unnecessarily, and consequently should neither by loans nor taxes, impose burthens in a committee of ways and means, till the necessity of them had been ascertained by previous votes in the committee of supply. It was at the same time admitted, that a rigid adherence to this rule, could not in all cases be observed; and, indeed, the existence of permanent war taxes, to the amount of eighteen or near twenty millions annually, was, it must be confessed, no small deviation from this principle.

The property tax bill encountered great opposition in its way through the house, not so much from the members seated on the opposition bench, who, on the contrary expressed their hearty approbation of its principle, and praised the ministers for bringing it forward, as from independent members of parliament, who disliked the harshness and rigour of its provisions, and disapproved of such an enormous addition to the present heavy burthens of the people. Several modifications and alleviations of the tax were accordingly proposed, to some of which the ministers acceded, though they rejected the greater part of them, on account of their tendency to diminish the productiveness, and destroy the efficacy of the measure.

Mr. Francis objected to the sudden increase of the duty from six and a half to ten per cent, and ridiculed the attempt of ministers to represent the precise rate of ten per cent, as the natural limit of the tax, which no future chancellor of the exchequer

quer would ever venture to exceed. The same honourable member objected to the clause, compelling persons with small incomes to pay the duty in the first instance, and go afterwards to the tax office for repayment, if they desired to avail themselves of their right to the legal abatement. Such persons, he contended, were unable to collect a sum large enough to discharge the duty, and if they did, the trouble and difficulty of afterwards recovering the money from the tax office, would deter them from attempting it, or subject them to greater loss and inconvenience than the object was worth. Mr. Francis could not conceive why the interest on exchequer bills, and other floating securities, was not made liable to the tax, in the same manner as the dividends on the funded debt paid at the bank; and he strongly recommended, that the duty should be extended to the dividends, belonging to aliens, not resident in the kingdom, a measure, which he attempted to justify, and reconcile to the principles of policy, consistency, and equity.

Of these suggestions the only one fully acceded to by the ministers, was that of levying the duty on the unfunded, in the same manner as upon the funded debt. The proposal of taxing the property of aliens, not resident in the kingdom, was shewn by Mr. Fox to be repugnant to the principles of sound policy, inconsistent with the faith of parliament, and contrary to the fundamental maxim of the constitution, that no one should be taxed, who was not really or virtually represented in parliament. Arrangements, it was said, would be taken to facilitate the recovery of money

from the tax office; and on further consideration the scale of abatements was considerably enlarged beyond the original intentions of the government. Persons employed in laborious or handicraft occupations, whose wages did not exceed thirty shillings a week, were exempted entirely from the duty, and the abatements in favour of life annuitants and small tradesmen, which originally applied only to persons with incomes under one hundred pounds a year, were extended afterwards to incomes of one hundred and fifty pounds. Some further deductions of less importance were afterwards added; but a motion of Mr. Wilberforce to grant an allowance on account of children, was negatived on a division; and the clause for levying the full amount of ten per cent on all income derived from funded and landed property, after a long and interesting discussion, was carried by a majority. In the course of this debate, Mr. Fox owned to the house, that he was not a friend to the tax, or any of its principles or operation; he was sensible the objections to it were just and innumerable; but his majesty's ministers were reluctantly forced to adopt it, under the pressure of circumstances, which they had at least the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing. After this public declaration from the leading member of his majesty's government in the house of commons, it surprises us to find, that on the third reading of the bill, a clause was brought up by one of the secretaries of the treasury, to exempt from the operation of the tax the stock or dividends belonging to his majesty, in whatever name they might stand in the books of the bank

bank of England, on the same being duly proved to be his majesty's property. This clause having been suffered to pass without opposition, no observations were made upon it in the house, and therefore it is impossible for us to guess upon what principle, if opposed, it could have been defended. His majesty is one of the three estates of parliament, and no reason can be given why his property should not be taxed by the house of commons, that would not apply equally to exempt the property of members of the house of lords. No exemption or abatement had been allowed to any of his majesty's subjects, but in cases, where, if the tax had been collected, the persons liable to it must have been forced to apply for parochial aid for their subsistence. Such, at least, was the principle which during these discussions, had been laid down broadly by his majesty's government; and, except in this instance, acted upon with no small rigour and impartiality. The loss to the public, by the exemption of his majesty's private fortune, from the operation of the tax, was probably inconsiderable; but, in times like these, when sacrifices of such enormous magnitude were required from the people, it was indecent and impolitic, to introduce a distinction between his majesty and his subjects, which seemed to imply, however falsely and untruly, that he was desirous to withdraw from the pressure of those burthens, to which *they* submitted with such fortitude and resignation.

The pig-iron tax, which the chancellor of the exchequer had taken at £.500,000 a year, met with great opposition in the house, as a tax affecting a raw material, which

was afterwards wrought up, and manufactured in articles, where the burthen of the tax would be out of all proportion to the benefit derived from it to the exchequer. Mr. Wilberforce calculated; that the tax would produce not more than £.200,000 a year to government, while it would cost a million to the public. Objection was also made to it, as a heavy and injudicious tax on machinery, on agriculture, on coals, and on various manufactures, where iron was consumed in great quantity, and where no proper substitute for it could be devised. There is no doubt, that the representations of iron masters and others, on this occasion, stating the ruinous consequences of this tax to their manufacture, were grossly exaggerated, but such was the impression they made on the public mind, that after having been left with a majority of only ten on a question for the commitment of the bill, ministers were induced to give it up. The tax which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed in lieu of it, was one on private brewers, which excited against him a still more violent outcry in the country. It was in vain that he dropped the most obnoxious clause in the bill, as originally introduced; the prejudices against it, were so strong among the country gentlemen, that he was compelled to abandon it entirely. Baffled in these two measures for raising the interest of the loan, he had recourse at length to the expedient of adding ten per cent to the assessed taxes, which was submitted to without opposition. Though the readiness shewn by ministers on these occasions, to give way to public opinion, was so far to their credit, the necessity to which they

they were driven, of increasing the assessed taxes, after having failed in two different plans of taxation, left an unfavourable impression in the country, of their financial talents and resources. The increase of the assessed taxes led, however, to a measure, that met with general approbation. In consideration of the severe pressure of the taxes on persons who had large families, a bill was passed, granting to parents an allowance out of their assessed taxes for every child they had above two; provided the total amount of their assessment was under forty pounds a year.

The Irish budget was opened by Sir John Newport, the Irish chancellor of the exchequer, on the 7th of May. It appeared that the supply voted for Ireland was 8,975,194*l.*; and the ways and means provided by the chancellor of the exchequer were estimated at 9,181,455*l.* The loan, which was for two millions, had been raised at seven shillings per cent less than the loan for England, and this was regarded as a favourable symptom of the growing prosperity of Ireland, and of the confidence reposed in its government. Several new taxes and regulations concerning the revenue, were proposed, which it was calculated would produce 307,655*l.* a year. The exports of Ireland, it was stated, had been greater in 1805, than in any year since 1792; and the course of exchange had been lower, and more fixed for the last four months, than it had been for several years.

In the course of the discussions that arose on this subject, it appeared, that great mismanagement and abuse prevailed in the collection and administration of the Irish revenue.

Sir John Newport stated, that the balances of deceased and dismissed collectors amounted to 220,000; and Mr. Parnell shewed, that notwithstanding the undoubted encrease of opulence in Ireland, and though the taxes imposed since 1802 had been estimated to produce 1,800,000, the actual increase of revenue was only 70,000. It appeared, indeed, that the disparity between the revenue and expenditure of that country, was truly alarming. The expenditure was at the rate of more than eight millions and a half a year, while the revenue was less than three millions and a half, and the whole of it, a few thousands only excepted, mortgaged for the payment of the interest on the debt.

The late chancellor of the Irish exchequer, Mr. Foster, strongly recommended to Sir John Newport to raise a great part of the supplies within the year, by means of war taxes; a proposal which the right honourable baronet answered, by shewing how inefficacious the right honourable gentleman's own measures had proved, when directed to that object. His additional taxes on wine and tobacco, for example, instead of increasing, had actually diminished the existing revenue; and though he had imposed taxes, the produce of which he estimated at 1,200,000*l.* a year, the whole addition they had made to the revenue, did not exceed 70,000 a year. Sir John Newport was ready, however, to do Mr. Foster justice. That right honourable gentleman had projected regulations, which would very much have improved the revenue. These regulations, it was his intention to adopt, and to superadd several measures of his own; and he

he had no doubt that when the revenue of Ireland was collected in a fair and proper manner, it would be found infinitely more productive. But, till these exertions were made, he did not feel himself justified in calling for new taxes, when not above two thirds of those now imposed were collected.

We shall next proceed to the measures taken by parliament for the correction of abuses connected with the revenue department of the state.

The first of these was an act for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, on the principle of Mr. Burke's bill for regulating the office of paymaster of the forces, and of the bill introduced (and afterwards violated) by Mr. Dundas for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy. By this act the balances of the ordnance were ordered to be deposited at the bank of England, and the payments to be made by drafts upon the bank, except the payments on the treasurer's petty account, for which small sums, on the requisition of the board of ordnance, were to be issued to him from the bank, and applied by him to no purposes whatever, but those authorized by law. In bringing forward this bill, lord Henry Petty announced his intention of extending the same principle to the post-office, the excise office, custom-house, and other public offices, to which it was applicable, that an end might be put to the practice of public officers deriving profit from the public money in their hands.

And accordingly, before the session of parliament was closed, acts were passed to extend the principle to the excise and customs, to the stamp and post offices, and to the office of

surveyor general of woods and forests. An act was also passed for increasing the salaries, and abolishing the fees of the custom house officers of the port of London, and for diminishing the number of holidays at the custom house, and regulating the attendance of the officers.

The attention of parliament was next called to a reform in the mode of auditing the public accounts. It appeared that in consequence of the imperfection of the provisions established for that object, there had been a gradual accumulation of inaudited accounts, amounting, when the present ministers came into office, to the enormous sum of 534 millions. Not a single account in the army pay office had been audited since 1782. The store accounts had been suffered to lie over, without examination, during the same period. The navy accounts were greatly in arrear. None of the accounts of the late war were audited, and those relating to the expeditions to Holland and Egypt, and to the treaties of subsidy with foreign powers, had not even been touched upon by the auditors.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the manifold risks to which the public is exposed by such delay in auditing and settling its accounts. Not to speak of the loss of money from the insolvency of those indebted to it, the chances of which must be multiplied by every year's delay; if its agents have been guilty of fraud or negligence, how must the lapse of so many years increase the difficulty of sifting into, and probing to the bottom their delinquencies. And, on the contrary, how many suspicious circumstances may arise, when such accounts come at length to be examined, which at the time when

when the events were recent, could have been easily and satisfactorily explained, but which the death of those concerned, renders it afterwards impossible to clear up. What a hardship on persons engaged in the service of the state, that having been once employed in the expenditure of public money, they should be unable, in the whole period of their subsequent lives, to obtain a settlement of their accounts, for the security of their families, and justification of their conduct.

The abuses to which the accumulation of inaudited accounts had given rise in the West Indies, were so glaring, that, in 1800, commissioners had been sent thither to investigate them; in consequence of which malversations to an enormous extent were detected. New commissioners were then appointed by act of parliament, with authority to correct and remedy the evil. But, though much good was effected by the exertions of these commissioners, the system of fraud and profusion, which they were sent out to stop, continued to go on; and no crime was spared by the actors in this scene of delinquency, that could serve to screen them from detection, or secure them from punishment. Forgery, perjury, bribery, and every iniquitous stratagem, which fraud could devise, was resorted to; and not content with false charges, false returns, and flagitious embezzlements, they bribed the custom-house officers to sign false certificates, fraudulent invoices, and other such documents, in aid of their mal-practices; proofs of which were detected, in one instance, to the amount of 80,000*l.* and in another, to the amount of 30,000*l.* applied in bribery, to conceal frauds of an enormous extent.

Though it be impossible to acquit entirely of negligence and inattention, the administration, which suffered these abuses to accumulate so long, and arrive at such an extent, it must in fairness be admitted, that great reforms had been made in this, as in most other departments of the public revenue, under the auspices and direction of Mr. Pitt. When that celebrated minister began his long administration, he found a similar accumulation of inaudited accounts to that which existed, when the present ministers came into office. He found also the established system of auditing the public accounts, obsolete and inefficacious, ill-adapted for dispatch of business, and still worse calculated to procure a careful revision and examination of the accounts. He, therefore, established a new board of auditors, with more ample powers than their predecessors, by whose exertions the great mass of inaudited accounts that had accrued during the American war, was at length audited and settled. A fresh accumulation had now taken place, and a similar remedy was called for, with such additional regulations, as would ensure in future, that no such accumulation should again be experienced. The necessity of some more effectual provision for auditing and examining the public accounts, was acknowledged in the preamble to Mr. Pitt's bill, in 1805, for appointing an extraordinary board of auditors; but that bill, though it increased the number of auditors, contained no provisions for the better and more regular execution of their duty.

The plan proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer for the remedy of those abuses, was, in the
first

first place, to appoint five commissioners for enquiring into abuses, and examining the accounts of government agents in the West Indies, three of whom to remain at home, and two to go out to the West Indies. These two boards were to correspond together, and take measures in conjunction, for attaining the objects of their commission. Ample powers were to be given to the commissioners, of summoning persons before them, examining them upon oath, and calling for all papers and documents which they judged necessary to have produced. They were to investigate the accounts brought before them, and when satisfied of their fairness and accuracy, to grant certificates expressing their opinion; but the final settlement of the accounts was reserved to the general board of auditors. The plan of having two boards for the examination of these accounts, was suggested by the experience of the former commissioners, who had been compelled to send home one of their number, to carry on investigations in London, without which they were unable to make any progress in the West Indies.

The general board of auditors was, in the next place, new modelled, and in many respects materially changed. The office of army comptroller, originating in the administration of lord Godolphin, was retained, but separated from the office of auditor of public accounts. The number of auditors was increased to ten, but in proportion as the present accumulation of accounts should be disposed of, the number was to be reduced to six, and the most effectual provisions were taken, to prevent this regulation from be-

ing eluded. The commissioners were divided into three boards, one for the current accounts, one for the accounts under examination, and the third for accounts untouched, and not even looked into by the present auditors. Most effectual regulations were added, for securing in future that the accounts of every year should be regularly audited in the course of the ensuing year, so that no fresh accumulation of inaudited accounts should ever happen again. The expence of the whole establishments was increased by these innovations from 28,000*l.* to 42,000*l.* a year, for the present, but the permanent expence was fixed at only 27,000*l.* a year.

The statement to the house of the enormous accumulation of inaudited accounts, and the new establishment for auditing accounts, to which it led, gave great offence to some members of the opposition, who considered the disclosures and remarks of the chancellor of the exchequer, as intended to cast a slur and affix a stigma on the character of his predecessor. Mr. Rose, who had been secretary of the treasury under Mr. Pitt, during his first administration, distinguished himself on this occasion, by the violence and acrimony, but also by the spirit and pertinacity, with which he vindicated his patron from the unjust imputations, which he alledged, it was now attempted to fix on his memory. Though he could not deny the fact, that so many millions of the public money were still unaccounted for before the proper auditors, he maintained that the greater part by far of these inaudited accounts, had long since been substantially and effectually examined, and that a greater delusion could not exist, than to expect

expect that any errors or malversations would be detected by the new examination to which those accounts were proposed to be subjected. He argued more successfully, because on better grounds, that the cause of this enormous accumulation of inaudited accounts arose from the imperfection of the provisions for compelling public accountants to produce their accounts before the auditors. The new establishments he opposed with great violence, alledging that they were useless and unnecessary, and created for the sake of patronage alone. The public, however, differed materially in this opinion from Mr. Rose. No measures of the treasury gave greater satisfaction during this session of parliament than those for expediting and securing the regular settlement of the public accounts. Nor was ever surprise more general or more unequivocally expressed, than when the negligence of the late administration upon this subject was first made known to the house of commons.

The attention of parliament, during the present session, was called to another subject, connected with the reform of abuses, arising out of the first report of the commissioners of military enquiry, appointed in Mr. Pitt's last administration. It appeared from the report of these commissioners, that lieutenant general de Lancey, late barrack master general, who filled that office from 1793 to 1804, had been accustomed, in making up his accounts with the public, to take credit to himself for one per cent on the whole expenditure of the barrack department, under the title of *contingencies for additional charge*

and responsibility upon unsettled accounts; it appeared also that he had charged the public twice in one year with his pay and allowances; from the whole of which it followed, that, supposing his accounts, not yet audited, to be in other respects correct, but subducting these charges, which on no account could be allowed, he was indebted to the public in the sum of 97,415 *l.* instead of 6865 *l.* which was the balance he acknowledged to be due by him. The report containing these statements was laid before the house on the 21st of March, and ordered to be printed; but no further notice was taken of it till the 8th of May, when lord Henry Petty, referring to it, assured the house, that not only would the suggestions contained in that report with respect to the mode of auditing the barrack accounts, be attended to, in the general measure then under consideration for improving the mode of auditing the public accounts, but that immediate steps would be taken by government for recovering the balance that appeared to be due by the late barrack master general. Mr. Robson, who seems to have been absent from the house, when this declaration was made by the chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the subject a second time on the 16th of May, and added that many other abuses existed in the barrack department, to which he called the attention of the house. He accordingly made a variety of motions, on that and subsequent occasions, for the production of papers connected with the barrack expenditure, some of which were granted, and others refused, on the ground that the expence and trouble of preparing them would

would be great, and that the hon. member seemed to have no definite object in view, when he moved for their production. The subject, in fact, was already before the military commissioners, who were better qualified than the house of commons to investigate the abuses of this department, which, though enormous in their aggregate amount, were made up of a number of minute and inconsiderable particulars.

The grants of public money during this session of parliament were numerous and considerable; but the greater part of them were such, as fully to deserve as well as to receive the approbation of the country. The grants to the family of lord Nelson, to the seamen who had fought in the battle of Trafalgar, to lord Collingwood, sir Richard Strachan, and sir John Duckworth, were of that description. It was with equal pride and gratitude, that the nation recompensed its defenders for those actions, which had so eminently increased its power and added to its glory. With no less satisfaction, it contemplated the sums voted by the house of commons, to improve the present condition and add to the future comforts of its soldiers and seamen, and without a murmur it submitted to the additional burthens, to which these wise and beneficial arrangements necessarily led. But, it was with feelings of a different sort, that it beheld, in this moment of national distress an additional allowance of income, solicited from the throne and granted by the commons to the younger branches of the royal family. It was desirable, no doubt, that the royal dukes, as peers of parliament,

should be independent of the minister of the day; and, if their present incomes were inadequate to the necessary expences of their station, it was fitting, on the first proper occasion, to increase them. But, to see the ministers of the crown come with an application for that purpose to parliament, within a fortnight after raising the property tax to 10 per cent, excited a general feeling in the country, against the importunity that could solicit, and the facility that could grant so ill-timed a largess; for no one would contend that the increase of income to the royal family, supposing it proper to have been granted, might not have been postponed till another session, or even till the return of peace. Why this measure was brought forward at present we pretend not to account for. It was said to be the fulfilment of a promise made by the former ministry; but, though the fact were so (which we do not vouch for), the responsibility of the transaction would equally attach to those who now proposed the grant. It is to be observed, however, in extenuation of ministers, who seem on this occasion to have been so forgetful of prudence and consistency, that they availed themselves of this opportunity to suppress the public tables, which were kept at the expence of the civil list, for two at least of the royal dukes; and by this reform they saved to the public nearly as much as the additional income, in those two cases, amounted to.

We shall next proceed to the commercial laws passed during this session, the most important of which, though far from being the one that attracted the greatest attention in parliament

parliament, was the act to permit the free interchange of every species of grain between Great Britain and Ireland, without any bounties or duties or any restraints whatsoever. By the operation of this law the corn trade between Great Britain and Ireland was placed on the same footing as the corn trade between the different provinces of England; and as no one could doubt of the wisdom, or object to the policy of this measure, the bill, after a few words from Mr. Foster, passed without opposition.

A singular contrast to this in every respect was furnished by the bill, which we are next to take into consideration. The American intercourse bill, the one to which we allude, differed not more remarkably from the corn intercourse bill, in the comparative unimportance of its enactments, than in the violent and unreasonable opposition it was destined to encounter. Ever since the commencement of the war in 1793, it had been found impossible to supply our West India islands with lumber and provisions from the continent of North America by British shipping alone. The negligence of government in not furnishing convoys to merchantmen, and the superior profits of the transport service, induced the British ship owners, at the breaking out of the late war, to withdraw themselves, in a great measure, from this branch of the carrying trade: upon which the colonial governors, in order to save the islands under their care from the misery and distress, to which any want or even scarcity of articles of such indispensable ne-

cessity must have reduced them, ventured to dispense with the navigation acts, and open to neutrals the supply of the colonies with commodities so essential to their subsistence. For these violations of law, which the necessity and urgency of the case amply justified, bills of indemnity had been repeatedly, and for many years annually passed by parliament; and the trade, though illegal and inconsistent with the whole principles and provisions of our colonial and maritime law, had been suffered, during the whole of the last and present war, to proceed without interruption and almost without complaint. At length, in the beginning of Mr. Pitt's second administration, the shipping interest of Great Britain, which had been reduced by various causes to a state of great depression, began to complain of this intercourse, which the West India islands enjoyed with neutrals, on the ground, that it was contrary to our navigation laws, and injurious and ruinous to British shipping; and such was the influence of their representations on the government, which happened at that time to be at variance with the assembly of Jamaica on points of a totally different nature, that instructions were sent out to the governors of the West India colonies, "not to open the ports of the islands over which they presided for the admission of articles from the American states, which were not allowed to be imported by law, *except in cases of real and very great necessity*.*" In consequence of these instructions, the governor and council of Jamaica revoked their former permission to neutrals, of

* Lord Camden's letter to the lieutenant governor of Jamaica, dated Sept. 5, 1804.

importing lumber and provisions into the island*; and when the assembly addressed the governor to recall this resolution, he expressed his regret, that in consequence of the imperative orders transmitted to him from England, it was not in his power to comply with their request, and advised them to make a representation of their case to his majesty†. An address to that effect was accordingly transmitted to his majesty from the assembly, stating that without an intercourse with the United States of America, the island could not be supplied with lumber and provisions; that an adequate supply could not be obtained from the British North American colonies; and that in time of war, British ships and British seamen could not be procured to carry on the trade.‡ No satisfactory answer to this address having been received, the assembly after several months delay, made a second representation to the governor, in which, after recapitulating the sufferings of the island on a former occasion, when similar measures had been tried, they urged in the strongest terms the necessity of keeping open their ports to neutrals, as the only means of averting the horrors of famine from the

island.§ But the governor, who had received no instructions from England, authorizing him to give directions for continuing the intercourse between Jamaica and the United States, declined a second time to comply with their request; and it was not till the very day before the ports of the island were to have been definitively closed against neutrals, in virtue of his former proclamation, that he ventured to extend for six months longer the permission to import lumber and grain into the island, in neutral bottoms. || Still however, one very essential class of provisions were not included in this permission. Salt-fish, beef and pork, articles indispensably necessary for the subsistence of the negroes, were not allowed to be imported by neutrals; and therefore a new representation was made to the governor by the assembly, stating that there was a great deficiency of these provisions in the island, and that a rise in their price had already taken place in consequence of the scarcity. Upon which they were told, that since the proclamation of martial law, directions had been given to the custom-house officers, to admit neutrals with salt provisions on board into all the ports of the island, till the

* Resolution of the governor and council of Jamaica, Nov. 21st, 1804.

† Address of the assembly of Jamaica to lieut. governor Nugent and his excellency's answer, Dec. 8th, 1804.

‡ Address of the assembly of Jamaica to his majesty, Dec. 18th, 1804.

§ Memorial and remonstrance of the assembly of Jamaica to the governor thereof, April 20th, 1805. In this remonstrance the assembly state, that only one twelfth of the total supply of Jamaica from the continent of North America is obtained from the British colonies; and that six-sevenths of what they receive from the United States is imported in American shipping: and they calculate, that, if this intercourse is to be interdicted, 456 additional British vessels, navigated by 2862 seamen, must enter immediately into the American trade, to prevent the absolute ruin of Jamaica.

|| Lieutenant governor Nugent's proclamation, May 20th, 1805.

arrival of the next fleet with provisions from Cork*. While these discussions disturbed the tranquillity of Jamaica, the Leeward islands remained perfectly quiet, in consequence of the firm and judicious conduct of their governor, who availing himself of the letter, while he disregarded the spirit and obvious intention of his new instructions, issued a proclamation, declaring it of "real and very great necessity" to the welfare of the islands under his care, that the intercourse which they had heretofore maintained with the United States, should not be interrupted. †

Such was the situation of the West India islands, when the new ministers came into office. The first object, that engaged their attention, was to quiet the apprehensions of the colonies, and relieve them from any actual danger with respect to subsistence. For this purpose a circular letter to the colonial governors, was transmitted from the secretary of state's office, directing them to continue the established intercourse with America, and assuring them that the usual act of indemnity would be moved in their favour. This measure, which was afterwards represented in the house of commons as an arrogant and presumptuous exercise of authority, arose naturally out of the desire of ministers to allay that state of disquietude and alarm, into which the late proceedings of the government at home had thrown the colonies, as well as from a laudable anxiety to communicate, as speedily as possible, to the

colonial governors, their intentions and views of policy in the superintendence of this important part of the empire. They who blame them for precipitancy on this occasion, should recollect, that, when these instructions were sent, the colonial governors were in doubt how to proceed, and the colonial assemblies full of alarm at the prospect of famine.

It was then discovered, that the infraction of the navigation laws, in this branch of the carrying trade, had been considered by the late administrations in so trivial a light, that they had omitted for several years to introduce into parliament an indemnity bill for those concerned in it, the last bill of the kind having been passed in 1801. An indemnity bill in the usual forms was therefore enacted.

The next subject to be considered, was, whether the necessity which had occasioned the offence, and which alone could justify the indemnity, was of a kind likely to continue during the war; and as thirteen years experience had now amply shewn, that, in time of war, it was impossible to supply our colonies with lumber and provisions, without the aid of neutrals, it seemed to follow, that there was no probability of the necessity terminating till the war was at an end. But, if neutrals must be permitted to trade with our colonies in time of war, it was surely better, that such permission should be given to them under the authority of law, than that the law should be perpetually violated, and

* Representation of the assembly of Jamaica to lieut. governor Nugent, and his answer thereto, July 18, 1805.

† Proclamation of lord Lavington, governor of the Leeward islands, Nov. 29, 1804.

the violators of it protected by bills of indemnity. If the trade could not be interrupted, without endangering the subsistence of the colonies, it was proper, that it should be carried on with the consent of parliament, and not in contempt of its authority. If a discretionary power was necessary to regulate its operations and limit its extent, it was fitting, that such discretionary authority should be conferred by the legislature, but most improper that it should be assumed by the servants of the crown. Such were the views in which the American intercourse bill originated. Its object was to give a legal existence to that trade, which had been carried on for thirteen years in opposition to law, but which could not be stopped, without putting to hazard the existence of the colonies. It occasioned no innovation in the established course of trade, nor was intended nor calculated to produce that effect. It neither aggravated the distresses, nor added to the difficulties of the shipping interest of Great Britain. It gave them on the contrary, a legal tribunal, before which, in the absence of parliament, they could at all times carry their complaints, and, if aggrieved, demand and obtain redress for their grievances. No man or body of men could justly complain of ministers, that foreseeing they should be compelled from necessity to do that, which others from necessity had already done, they preferred to have a legal authority for doing it, rather than first to violate the law, and come afterwards to parliament for an indemnity. No man or body of men had a right to insist, that ministers should act illegally, when they were disposed to have the au-

thority of law to direct their proceedings. No man could say he was injured, when a competent tribunal was appointed to hear and redress his wrongs. If the British ship owners were of opinion, that whatever might have been the past obstacles that prevented them, they were now able to supply our West India colonies with provisions, they had only to state their case to the privy council; and if they could shew, that they had not only an inclination but an ability to resume the monopoly, which they had formerly abandoned, they might be sure, that the privy council of England would prefer their interests to those of the subjects of any foreign power.

That we have taken a just view, and given a faithful account of the origin, purport and effect of the American intercourse bill, any one may satisfy himself without difficulty, by the perusal of its concise and simple enactments. After stating in the preamble of the bill, that it had been necessary at various times during the present war to permit neutrals to trade with his majesty's colonies in the West Indies, and on the continent of South America, and adding, "that it was proper that provisions should be made for meeting such emergencies in future, without the necessity of frequent violations of the law by his majesty's officers appointed and sworn to administer and execute the same;" it empowered his majesty in council, when such necessity should again arise during the present war, to authorize his governors, under such restrictions and limitations as to him in council should seem fit, to permit this trade to be carried on; with this proviso, that neutrals so employed, should import

import no commodities, staves and lumber only excepted, which were not the growth and produce of the countries to which they belonged, and that they should not export from our colonies sugar, indigo, cotton, wool, coffee, or cocoa.

As to the history and progress of this bill, it was first brought into parliament, in the house of lords, by lord Holland, who had in vain called the attention of the late ministry to the subject, in the preceding session of parliament. After a good deal of opposition the bill passed the lords; but in consequence of some informality it was thrown out in the house of commons, and a new bill to the same effect was introduced by lord Temple, which, after much opposition and many long and violent debates, was at length passed into a law. To one who looks back on the transactions of that period, it appears incredible, that a bill, which effected and professed to effect so little, should have occasioned so much debate, and excited such violence of opposition. Those very persons, under whom the navigation act had been deliberately violated for thirteen years past, and who had brought in regular bills of indemnity to excuse the violation of it, exclaimed against this bill, which had no other object, than to authorize the privy council to do that according to law, which *they* had done without law; and equally regardless of truth in their statements as of consistency in their conduct, they had the hardihood to maintain, that this was the first departure from the provisions of the navigation act, which any minister had ever ventured to propose in parliament. Nor was the spirit of opposition to this unfortunate bill

confined to the legislature. The ship owners in different parts of the kingdom were stirred up to present petitions against it; and so successful were the artifices used to impose upon their minds, that long after the bill had passed into a law, they continued firmly persuaded, that to this harmless and inoperative measure, all the distresses, which they afterwards suffered, were justly to be attributed.

Our limits will not permit us to give a detailed account of the debates upon this subject in the house of commons. They were distinguished, however, by greater length and violence on the part of opposition, than any that occurred during the present session, the debates on the new military plans only excepted. The principal speakers on the side of opposition were Mr. Rose, the master of the rolls, lord Castle-reagh, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Canning; and on the side of the ministry, Mr. Fox, the attorney general, and lord Henry Petty. The following were the chief topics insisted upon.

It was argued in favour of the system formerly pursued, that its illegality was a security against its adoption, without a real and urgent necessity impelling the colonial governors to have recourse to it. But to this it was a sufficient answer, that the same measures had been pursued, without interruption during war, since 1793; and, therefore, either the necessity in time of war was permanent, or the argument inconclusive.

It was said, that the colonial governors were better judges of the necessities of the colonies than the privy council. Of a necessity arising, of a sudden, from some unforeseen and unexpected calamity, this was

true, but not of a necessity like the present, which was permanent and constant, and must continue, till measures were taken at home to provide against it. That the colonies required a supply of provisions and lumber, equal to their consumption, was a very plain and obvious proposition, nor was it requisite to hold the office of a colonial governor to be fully aware of its truth; but to ascertain whether a sufficient supply of these articles could be procured from the united kingdom and British colonies in North America, or, if an additional supply from the United States was wanted, to determine whether the conveyance of it might be safely entrusted to the British ship owners, were points, it is apprehended, of which the privy council were more competent and more impartial judges than the governors of Jamaica and Barbadoes; surrounded as these governors must necessarily be by persons interested in the trade with the United States, and removed as they are to a distance from all intercourse or communication with the shipping interest of the mother country. Had the ship owners truly understood their own interest, they would have rejoiced at a measure, which placed the American intercourse under the control of persons, more accessible than the colonial governors to their complaints, and more likely to be influenced by their remonstrances.

It was next maintained, that the British ship owners were ready to undertake the carrying trade of the West India islands, and persons were found to pledge themselves,

that not only were they able to fulfil that engagement, but to supply the colonies at an expence of not more than two per cent. above what it cost them at present. All they required from parliament was a select committee to inquire into facts, and if that was granted, they pledged themselves to make good their allegations. But, if the shipping interest thought this practicable now, why had they not attempted it sooner? Why had their sense of interest slumbered so long, and how came it to be roused by a measure, which made no change whatever in their situation? What circumstance had lately happened to lessen the expence of the carrying trade to the English, or increase its charges to the Americans? Were the ship owners deserving greater credit than one of the first and most intelligent merchants of the city*, who declared in the house of commons, "that the ship owners of this country could not supply the colonies, and it would be dangerous and cruel, as well as impolitic, to trust to them, at the risk of starving thousands, in case they should fail in the attempt." Experience was as much in favour of the opinion of sir Francis Baring, as it was contrary to the bold assertions and extravagant promises of Mr. Rose: nor was it any recommendation of the ship owners' plan, that when similar speculators had, on a former occasion, been listened to, the lives of 15,000 negroes had been sacrificed, before the experiment was abandoned. † After all, if these assertions were made with any other view than to gain time, in order to

* Sir Francis Baring.

† Memorial and representation of the assembly of Jamaica, April 20th, 1805.

postpone the bill to another session, the ship owners had only to state their case to the privy council, who had no authority by the bill to open the West India ports to neutrals, but "when the necessity of the case should appear to his majesty in council to require it."

It was next objected to the Americans, that, under pretence of this trade, they smuggled great quantities of East India goods and German linens into the West Indies. But Americans, it was replied, were not the only traders, whose propensities to smuggling nothing but the vigilance of the custom-house could restrain. British ship masters were entitled to as little confidence upon that head as Americans, and therefore if this objection was to be listened to, all intercourse between the West Indies and the United States must be at once prohibited. But, could the West India islands subsist with no other trade, except that which they enjoyed with the mother country and her colonies? Could they derive a sufficient supply of provisions from the United Kingdom, or of lumber from the British colonies in North America?

Were they to be reduced to such inadequate sources of supply, in order to favour the sales of the East India company, or prevent the introduction of some German linens? It was stated by the assembly of Jamaica, that they obtained only one twelfth of their North American supply from British North America; and it may be said, without exaggeration, that not one-third of the provisions which the British West India islands annually import, are derived from the mother country and her colonies.*

It was argued by a learned judge, that though the bill professed to be founded on necessity, and though that necessity could apply only to the importation of lumber and provisions, yet it gave an unlimited power to the privy council, to authorize the importation of any articles whatever; or, as he is made to express himself in a printed account of his speech, which bears all the internal marks of having been revised by some one intimately connected with him, this bill, "with a force and conciseness beyond all example, strikes out of your statute books, or reduces to a dead letter,

* It appears from an account of the principal articles of provisions and lumber, imported into his majesty's colonies in the West Indies and on the continent of South America, in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806, ordered to be printed February 15th, 1803, that, of the total importation of the following articles, the proportions from the United States of America are as follows:

Corn, = 65-100 parts, or nearly three-fourths.

Bread, flour and meal, = 91-100.

Rice, = 98-100, or nearly the whole.

Beef and pork, = 49-100, or nearly one half.

Dry fish, = 51-100, or more than one half.

Pickled fish, = 32-100, or nearly one third.

Butter, = 14-100, or about one seventh.

Cows and oxen, = 80-100, or four fifths.

Sheep and hogs, = 90-100, or nine-tenths.

Oak and pine boards, and timber, 97-100

Shingles, = 99-100.

Staves, = 96-100.

all the body of the laws of this realm made for the support of our navigation, the rule of our colonial system, and every thing that depends on both; and this is said to be the effect of necessity*." But, in bringing forward this triumphant objection, in making it his main argument against the bill, and enlarging upon it in many a declamatory and animated period, that acute and learned judge seems to have forgotten, in his zeal against the bill, to look into its provisions, where he would have found, that it gave no authority to the privy council to permit a single article to be imported into the West Indies by neutrals, unless when the necessity of the case seemed to require it. But, it would be difficult, we apprehend, to make out a case of necessity for the importation of an article which was not itself necessary to the islands. Nor was there much truth or decency in the insinuation of the same learned personage against the authors of the bill, "that it contained a meaning, and had an object, which they did not think fit to disclose to parliament;" for the words of the bill, on which he founded this insinuation, were literally the same with the words of an act of parliament†, trenching more deeply on the navigation act than the American intercourse bill, which had been passed some years before, when the friends of that learned judge were in office, and himself in the same judicial situation, which he continued still so ably to fill.

The last objection to the bill,

which we shall notice, was, that it was inconsistent with our established system of colonial policy, and contrary to the provisions of the navigation act. To the first part of the objection it was answered, that necessity compelled us to deviate, in this instance, from our usual course of colonial policy, in order to obtain the means of subsistence for our colonies; and to the second it was replied, that necessity being the ground on which the intercourse of our colonies with the United States was tolerated, the principle, though not the letter of the navigation act, required, that the trade thus permitted, because necessary, should be open equally to American and English vessels. For, if not open to Americans, it was in the power of the United States to interdict the trade entirely, without giving us just cause of offence, and thereby compel us to admit them to a share in it: on the same principle, that should we attempt to exclude foreign vessels from the ports of the United Kingdom, foreign nations might compel us, by retaliating, to desist from such a pretension. With respect to the allegation, that "this was the first relaxation of the navigation laws enacted by the legislature‡," it is surprising that such an assertion should have been made, but most easy to shew that it was made rashly and inconsiderately. Without recurring to the period of the American war, the instances of acts of parliament inconsistent with the provisions of the navigation act were numerous during the last and present

* Speech of the master of the rolls on the American intercourse bill, July 3th, 1806—Cobbet's parliamentary debates, vol. 7th, p. 987—1003.

† 43 Geo. 3. cap. 153, 916.

‡ Cobbet's parliamentary debates, vol. 6. p. 1038.

present wars* ; and upon one occasion the legislature had thought proper to declare, "that the commerce of the kingdom had been greatly benefited thereby†." But, not only had the provisions of the navigation act been set aside by these acts of parliament, but bills had been passed, repealing by name, as far as the objects went which they embraced, the navigation act itself, as well as the act of William III. which is regarded as the basis and foundation of our colonial system, and vesting in the privy council the same discretionary powers, which were given to it by the American intercourse bill‡ ; and yet there were persons found, high in the confidence of government when these bills were passed, of memory so treacherous, or countenance so unblushing, as to assert in the debates on the American intercourse bill, that such extensive powers of regulation over our colonial system and navigation laws had never been conferred at any former period by parliament.

The Tortola free port bill was another subject on which the late and present boards of trade were at issue. This was a bill to confer on

the port of Road harbour in Tortola, the same privileges, which the late ministry had obtained for the harbour of Nassau in New Providence. The object was in both cases to make the favoured harbour a place of deposit for foreign sugars. But Tortola being a sugar island, it was argued by the late board of trade, that foreign sugar once imported into the island would be afterwards exported as British sugar. It was answered, that no more sugar than the average produce of the Virgin islands was allowed by the bill to be exported, as British sugar, from Tortola.

An important step was taken during this session of parliament to bring to a conclusion the differences, which had subsisted for some years between the woollen manufacturers of this kingdom and their employers, by the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the various acts relating to the woollen manufacture, to whom the petitions of the manufacturers were referred, and who were empowered to report from time to time their observations on the subject.

* Such as the Dutch property acts, 35 Geo. 3. cap. 15 and 80—36 Geo. 3. cap. 76—37 Geo. 3. cap. 12—the act made during peace, 42 Geo. 3. cap. 80—renewed 44 Geo. 3. cap. 30, and continued till eight months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

† Preamble to the act 42 Geo. 3. cap. 80.

‡ The bills alluded to are the Cape of Good Hope bills, 37 Geo. 3. cap. 21, and 38 Geo. 3. cap. 9—and more particularly the act 43 Geo. 3. cap. 153, which trenches more deeply on the navigation act, and confers greater discretionary powers on the privy council, than the American intercourse bill, and yet was enacted when sir William Grant was master of the rolls, Mr. Percival attorney general, and lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh secretaries of state.

CHAP. V.

Slave Trade.—Sir Arthur Pigott's Bill.—Bill for preventing the Increase of the British Slave Trade.—Resolutions against the Slave Trade in both Houses of Parliament.—Act to amend the Laws relating to Bankrupts.—Insolvent Bill.—Bill to prevent ex parte Publications in Criminal Proceedings.—Witness Declaratory Bill.—Reform of the Court of Session of Scotland.—Bill to explain and render more effectual the Treating Act.—Stipendiary Curate's Bill.—Motion on Vaccination.—Charges against Earl St. Vincent.—Vote of Thanks to Earl St. Vincent.—Conclusion of the Affair of Judge Fox.—Charges against Marquis Wellesley by Mr. Paull.—Motions for Papers.—First Charge against Marquis Wellesley—Second, or Oude Charge—Supplementary Oude Charge—Furruckabad Charge.—India Budget, and Debates thereon.—Prorogation of Parliament.

NO part of the conduct of the new ministers reflected greater credit on the sincerity and consistency of their characters than the measures which they adopted, soon after they came into office, in regard to the African slave trade. After the eloquent harangues in which former ministers had indulged against that iniquitous and inhuman traffic, while the trade so reprobated in their speeches continued to thrive and increase under their protection*, and was suffered, without obstruction, to extend to countries, from which an order from them was sufficient at any time to exclude it, the friends of the abolition had at length the consolation of beholding a mi-

nistry, whose conduct corresponded with their professions, and whose support to this great measure was as earnest and effective, as that of former administrations had been cold and inefficient. Mr. Fox and lord Grenville were animated with an equal zeal in the cause of the abolition, and to their joint efforts it was owing, that greater progress was made during this session towards the attainment of that object, than had been done in the many years since the question came first under the consideration of parliament. The last motion made by Mr. Fox in the house of commons was to propose a resolution, couched in the strongest language, against the African slave

* It must be a subject of melancholy reflection to the admirers of Mr. Pitt, to think that after all his speeches in 1790 and 1792, he permitted the British slave trade to increase from an importation of 25,000 to an importation of 57,000 negroes in two years ending 1798, by the capture of the Dutch, &c. settlements. If he had issued in 1797 the order of council 1805, above 30,000 negroes per annum would have been saved.

trade; and in his speech on that occasion, almost the last he delivered in that assembly, he declared, that "so fully was he impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what would be the object of his motion that night, that if, during the almost forty years that he had had the honour of a seat in parliament, he had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, he should think he had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction, that he had done his duty."

Soon after the formation of the ministry, the attorney general, with the entire concurrence of the cabinet, and in his official capacity, brought in an important bill, which passed both houses of parliament without any very formidable opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent. This bill (46 Geo. III. cap. 52.) prohibited the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the first of January 1807, and prohibited all subjects of this country, residing either at home or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. This prohibition, intended to prevent the investment of British capital, or the employment of British vessels or seamen in the foreign slave trade, and thereby to cut off a large portion of that commerce, was guarded by various salutary regulations and well-contrived penalties. The ship and cargo of any British trader engaged in the prohibited trade, either from our colonies or from Africa, or from other places to foreign settlements, were declared to be forfeited, and a further penalty of 50*l.* ordered to be levied for each

slave. A similar forfeiture was enacted with regard to any vessel employed in supplying foreign vessels with slaves on the coast of Africa; and a penalty of 100*l.* was ordered to be levied from any British subject engaged in furnishing, or indirectly forwarding such a supply. A clause was also inserted for the purpose of preventing British credit or capital from being embarked in the foreign slave trade. Every method by which British subjects, or persons resident in the British dominions, might be conceived to aid the slave trade of foreign nations was anxiously enumerated. Investment of stock—loan of money—loan of vessels—becoming collector of security to such bonds, &c. were all declared unlawful, and liable to a forfeiture of double the sums advanced; and all bonds or other securities given for such unlawful loans were declared to be null and void, except in the hands of *bonâ fide* purchasers. Moreover, all insurances on such prohibited insurances were declared void and subjected to a penalty of 500*l.* It was likewise declared to be unlawful to assist in the outfitting of any foreign vessels sailing for Africa, and severe penalties were attached to that offence. All British vessels clearing out for the slave trade, were required to give bond not to engage directly or indirectly in the foreign slave trade. The same declaration was declared to be necessary in the case of slaves exported from one British settlement to another; and all vessels arriving in our colonies were ordered to make declaration at the nearest custom-house, accompanied with evidence from log-books, surgeon's testimony and journal, and testimony of other officers, that no slaves had been

been landed contrary to the intent of the act. Such were the multiplied regulations by which this wise and humane law prevented any British subject from being accessory to the foreign slave trade. But it went a step farther, and lent its assistance to the order in council, which was issued in Mr. Pitt's last administration, for preventing the importation of slaves into the colonies conquered by our armies, during the present war. That order would, of course, only begin to operate on the vessels when they came to the conquered settlement. The power of the crown extended no further. But this act extended its whole provisions in the case of the foreign slave trade, to the supply of the conquered colonies in every stage of its progress; so that the intention of the order of council was carried into complete effect, and a stop put, with a few trivial exceptions, to the whole importation of negroes into the extensive settlements of Dutch Guiana, St. Lucia, and Tobago.

The zeal of ministers did not stop here; for soon after they brought another bill into parliament, which passed without opposition, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches. The object of this bill (46 Geo. III. cap. 119.) was to prohibit any vessel, under severe penalties, from being engaged in the African slave trade, which had not been actually employed in that traffic before the 1st of August 1806, or contracted for to be employed in it before the 10th of June in that year, and unless the same could be proved before commissioners to be appointed by the treasury for that purpose. This act was limited in its duration to the term of two years

after the conclusion of the session of parliament then sitting; but, fortunately, long before the expiration of that period, every provision for the limitation or regulation of this iniquitous traffic was rendered unnecessary by the total, and we trust final abolition of the British slave trade on the coast of Africa.

The next measure which ministers brought forward upon this subject, was the resolution formerly alluded to, moved by Mr. Fox in the house of commons, with which that great statesman closed his parliamentary career. The words of the resolution were, "That this house conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable." The resolution was opposed by Mr. Rose, lord Castlereagh, the two members for Liverpool, and some other persons, but on a division taking place it was carried by a majority of 114 to 15. The resolution was then sent up to the lords, and a conference demanded, "upon a matter in which the reputation of the country, for justice, humanity, and sound policy, was deeply interested." Accordingly, after this conference, the lords joined in the same resolution, on the motion of lord Grenville, by a majority of 41 to 20.

The last step taken in this great work, was an address from both houses of parliament to the king, "beseeching him to take such measures as may appear most effectual for obtaining, by negociation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade,

trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose."

By the operation of these measures, not only was a stop put to the future increase of the British slave trade, and a pledge given by both houses of parliament for the total abolition of that iniquitous traffic with all practicable dispatch; but a slave trade was abolished which used to carry over yearly above forty thousand Africans, from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the middle passage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedness in the West India plantations; and an end put to the murders, torture, and plunder, which were daily and hourly desolating the continent of Africa, for the supply of so enormous a demand for human beings.

The remaining proceedings of parliament during this session (with the exception of lord Melville's trial), either related to subjects of less general interest than those we have been considering, or they were left in an incomplete state at the conclusion of the session, or they failed in attaining their objects. We shall, therefore, bestow on them a very cursory notice.

A bill was brought in by the solicitor-general (sir Samuel Romilly) for removing certain defects of the bankrupt laws, and passed without opposition. The chief objects of this bill (46 Geo. III. cap. 135.) were to procure redress for *bonâ fide* creditors, who by the present laws were excluded from any share in the bankrupt's estate, and to prevent commissions of bankruptcy from being superseded, in certain cases, for fraudulent purposes. This bill was understood to be the commencement of a series of beneficial re-

forms, projected by the same learned gentleman in that department of the law.

An insolvent bill was introduced in the house of lords by lord Holland, and after violent opposition from lord Ellenborough and lord Eldon, was carried by a majority. It was objected to this bill, in particular, that it was founded on the false and inadmissible principle, that, because the prisons were at present crowded with debtors, they ought to be cleared by an act of insolvency; and such acts, in general, were reprobated as unjust and pernicious, depriving one set of men of their property, and encouraging another set to incur debts, which they had no means to pay, and might with prudence have avoided. It was answered, that, while the existing laws with regard to imprisonment for debt remained unaltered, whatever might be the objections to acts of insolvency, it was matter, not of choice, but of necessity, from time to time, to pass them. The necessity of some legislative provision to amend the existing laws respecting debtor and creditor was admitted on all sides, and by no person more explicitly, than by one of the noble lords (lord Eldon), who distinguished himself by hostility to the present bill.

Leave was given to Mr. Serjeant Best to bring in a bill for preventing all interlocutory or *ex parte* proceedings in criminal matters, from being published in newspapers. The ground of this application was the unfair bias which such publications not unfrequently made on the minds of jurymen, before the evidence of the case came before them in their judicial capacity. But the remedy proposed

proposed by the learned serjeant being very generally disapproved of by those who were most competent to judge of its effects, as tending to lessen that wholesome publicity in the proceedings of our criminal courts, which is the best check, both on judges and jurymen, the notice was, some days afterwards, withdrawn.

The bill (46 Geo. III. cap. 37.) declaratory of the law with respect to a witness refusing to answer, on the ground that he might thereby subject himself to a suit for debt, arose out of the proceedings in the impeachment against lord Melville. A bill, which had passed the house of commons for indemnifying all persons required to give evidence in the impeachment of lord Melville who had served under him in the navy pay office, having been strongly objected to in the house of lords, was, after some debate, agreed to be postponed, till certain questions should be submitted to the judges, in order to arrive at a clear understanding of what was the law upon the subject. But, the judges disagreeing upon the points referred to them, though a majority of eight to four were decidedly of opinion that a witness was, generally speaking, compellable to answer a question, though his answer might subject him to a civil action, it was thought proper to pass an act declaring such to be the law; and this, after some opposition, was accordingly enacted. The judges, conformably to whose opinion the bill was passed, were the lord chief justice of the king's bench, chief baron Macdonald, judges Heath, Laurence, le Blanc, and Chambre, and barons Graham and Sutton, with

whom may be classed lord chancellor Erskine and lord Eldon. The judges of a contrary opinion were, chief justice Mansfield, baron Thompson, and justices Rooke and Grose.

A subject of no small delicacy, and of great importance to one part of the united kingdom, was brought before parliament by lord Grenville, towards the close of the present session; we allude to the proposed reform of the court of session, or supreme civil court of Scotland. It seldom happens that institutions coeval with the state, which have grown to maturity along with it, can be afterwards fundamentally changed or reformed, without producing effects different from those foreseen or intended by the innovators; and, therefore, no wise or prudent legislator will embark in such schemes of reform without the most urgent necessity, or carry them farther than necessity requires. But, if ever a case existed, where innovation was justifiable, it was on the present occasion. The courts of justice in Scotland had arrived at that state, when it was necessary to attempt a thorough reform and revision of their constitution, both on account of the magnitude of the evil that called for redress, and the opinion entertained of it by the people of that kingdom. The question for the discussion of government was not whether reform was necessary, but what sort of reform was most expedient. The number of appeals from the court of session to the house of lords occasioned a retardation of business; and caused the greatest loss and inconvenience to suitors, while it too clearly indicated, that the court from which so many appeals proceeded, no longer possessed the confidence

fidence of the public. But, the accumulation of business, and hardship that followed from the delay of justice, were not confined to the house of lords. It was found, that whether from the defective constitution or faulty administration of the court of session, a similar accumulation of business had taken place before that court itself, so that from every part of Scotland, complaints were heard of the extraordinary delay attending its decisions. Delay was not, however, the only defect complained of in the supreme judicature of Scotland. The variableness of its rules of decision; the uncertainty of what were the principles, on which, in many cases, its judgments were founded; its inattention to precedents and disregard of forms, together with the unnecessary and enormous expence of extracting * its decreets without which no effect could be given to its judgment, were grounds of complaint no less just and well founded, nor less imperiously calling for some remedy.

Soon after lord Grenville came into office, he applied his mind seriously to consider of a proper remedy for these evils, and after much deliberation with the persons best qualified to assist him with their advice, he submitted to the house of lords the outlines of a plan, which he had devised for the reform of the court of session. This plan he laid before the house in the form of resolutions, which were printed, and ordered to lie over till next session of parliament, that they might in the mean time be maturely considered by those who were best enabled, by

their professional and local knowledge, to form an opinion of their merits, and judge of the degree in which they were calculated to remedy the defects of the existing system. As this plan, however, did not come into discussion till the ensuing session of parliament, we shall avoid entering into the details of it at present, and merely state some of its most general outlines. It proposed then to divide the present court of session into three chambers, with concurrent jurisdiction, and an option given to suitors of carrying their causes before whichever chamber they liked best. It proposed also to introduce trial by jury in civil causes, on the model of that of England; and to establish an intermediate court of review, to which appeals from the chambers should be carried in the first instance, before they could be brought to the house of lords. The monstrous abuse of extracting the *decreets* of the court, in the manner now practised, was also proposed to be abolished, and provision made, to enable old and infirm judges to retire from office, when no longer capable of discharging its duties. We shall only add, that though considerable differences of opinion arose in Scotland, with respect to the subordinate parts of the plan, its general outline, (with the exception of that part relating to the court of review,) was very generally, we had almost said universally, approved of in that kingdom.

A bill brought into the house of commons by Mr. Tierney to explain and render more effectual the treating act, after undergoing several al-

* An extract of a decret (or decree) is an office copy of the whole proceedings had in the cause, writs, pleadings, motions, arguments, interlocutory orders and final judgment. Without paying for this no party can avail himself of judgment.

terations in the committee, was finally rejected by the house. This bill was introduced upon the ground that the expositions of the treating act by the courts of law and committees of the house of commons were at variance, and that a declaratory act was therefore necessary, to remove the uncertainty to which such different constructions of the law had given rise. It was proposed by this bill to include in treating the conveyance of electors to and from the place of election at the expence of the candidates; the intention of which was, to enable men of moderate fortunes to embark in contests for parliament, without the ruinous expences usually attending contested elections; and as resident voters are commonly decided by motives of local influence in giving their suffrages, while non-resident electors are ready to engage their votes to any one who will convey them to the place of election, this measure was also expected to increase the weight of the natural aristocracy of the country, and to diminish the influence of mere monied men in borough elections. Some of the arguments for the bill were not destitute of plausibility, but the objection fatal to it was, that it disfranchised nine-tenths of the freeholders in the large counties, and all the non-resident electors of cities and boroughs, by taking from them the means of conveyance to the place of election, which candidates at present afford them, and without which they cannot possibly exercise the elective franchise. According to a just remark of Mr. Fox, in his speech upon the bill, "it was a bill in favour of candidates against the electors."

Another bill, which shared the

same fate with the preceding, was the stipendiary curate's bill, than which one more unjust in its principle, or more absurd in its provisions, was never obtruded upon parliament. This bill proceeded on the false and dangerous principle, that the legislature has a right to take the stipends of church incumbents, and expend them according to its notions of expediency. That church incumbents, as servants of the state, are compellable to perform any duties connected with their sacred functions, which the legislature may chuse to impose upon them, is a position that will not be controverted; nor will it be denied, that the legislature is lawfully competent, prospectively, and with due regard to the interests of patrons, to take the patrimony of the church, and apply it to other uses than those to which it is applicable at present. But, to proceed with respect to incumbents actually possessed of livings, as if the legislature had a right, not merely to regulate their duties and services, but to interfere with their property, and assign a portion of it to other persons, on the pretence of public expediency, is to shake the foundations of all property, and to tread in the exact footsteps of the French revolutionists, who took from the church its patrimony, and without regard to the rights of the incumbents, applied it to other purposes, which were alleged to be more conducive to the general welfare. Yet such were the principles on which the stipendiary curate's bill proceeded. Its object was, to fix by law the sum to be paid by clergymen to their curates, and most absurdly it regulated the stipend of the curate, not by the duty

duty he had to perform, but by the value of the living in which he served. The bill was objectionable in another point of view, on account of the additional power which it conferred on bishops over the inferior clergy. It was, therefore, most deservedly thrown out by the house of commons.

A motion of lord Henry Petty, towards the close of the session, on vaccine inoculation, was received with approbation by all sides of the house. The motion was in the following words; "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to request that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct his royal college of physicians to inquire into the state of vaccine inoculation in the united kingdom, and to report their opinion and observations on that practice, the evidence which has been adduced in its support, and the causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption; and that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct, that the said report, when made, may be laid before this house." The object of this motion was, in the first place, to quiet the public apprehensions on the subject of vaccination, and to remove the uneasiness and alarm which rash, ignorant, and designing men had excited in the minds of many persons, by false or exaggerated statements of the failure of vaccine, and of the bad consequences following that practice; and, in the second place, it was intended, if the report of the college of physicians should be favourable to vaccination, to vote an additional reward to Dr. Jenner for his valuable discovery and disinterested conduct, in freely imparting it to the public.

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Towards the close of the former session of parliament, charges of a most serious nature, urged in terms of singular acrimony and virulence, had been brought against earl St. Vincent by Mr. Jeffery (member for Poole), at the instigation, as it was commonly believed, of the navy board; and voluminous papers, some of them moved for by Mr. Jeffery, and others by admiral Markham in defence of earl St. Vincent, had been ordered to be laid before the house. These papers were presented by Mr. Dickenson, on the second day of the present session, and ordered to be printed; but, a few days afterwards, a motion was made by Mr. Jeffery to discharge the order for printing them. The pretence for this motion was, that printing so large a collection of papers would occasion much unnecessary delay, and Mr. Jeffery scrupled not to say, that to gain time was the sole object of the friends of the noble lord, in all their motions, according to the system of procrastination, which, he asserted, they had studiously pursued from the beginning. It was unnecessary, he contended, to print the whole of the papers laid before the house, because many of them were irrelevant to the charges; and useless to incur so great an expence, for no one would take the trouble to read them. He proposed, therefore, if his present motion should be adopted, to follow it up by another for referring the papers before the house to a select committee, who should examine them, determine what ought to be printed, and reject the rest. But whatever might be the determination of the house upon this point, he pledged himself to persist in his accusation of the noble lord, to which he pro-

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tested

tested he had been led by no motive of private animosity, but by a sense of public duty alone.

Mr. Jeffery was answered by admiral Markham, Mr. Tierney, and several other persons. His charge of procrastination against the friends of lord St. Vincent, was pronounced to be an unfounded and scandalous calumny. Many severe and pointed remarks were made on his conduct throughout this affair; and he was asked, how he came to be acquainted with the contents of the papers before the house, which he could not possibly have read since they were presented. The indecency of thus attempting to mutilate and garble papers, which the friends of the noble earl thought necessary for his justification, and the absurdity of an accuser presuming to judge and decide for the person accused what papers were necessary for his defence, were so strongly put by the friends of the noble earl, and so generally felt by the house, that Mr. Jeffery, receiving no encouragement to persist in his motion, was glad, with permission of the house, to withdraw it.

All the papers moved for on both sides being at length printed, and laid before the house, Mr. Jeffery brought forward his charges on the 14th of May, by reading first a long written speech against lord St. Vincent, and then, twenty-four resolutions, being a summary and recapitulation of his speech, which he moved to refer to a committee of the whole house. Twenty-two of the resolutions contained the statements and allegations, from which the charges in the two last were deduced; and these were, that "during the time lord St. Vincent presided at the admiralty, the royal

navy was not maintained in a complete and efficient state;" and that, "he was guilty of great negligence, misconduct, and dereliction of duty, in the office of first lord of the admiralty."

Our limits will not permit us to enter into the details either of the accusation or of the defence; nor have our readers any reason to regret that the particulars are not laid before them of a charge, so frivolous and vexatious as this was. It is sufficient to state, that lord St. Vincent was most ably and satisfactorily vindicated by admiral Markham and lord Howick. The statements and comparisons of Mr. Jeffery were shewn either to be incorrect and unfair, or to relate to departments of the navy service under the immediate control of the navy board. The only error that could be imputed to lord St. Vincent was, that he misunderstood the nature of his control over the members of that board, and did not remove them, when he found them unfit for their situation. It was possible that lord St. Vincent might be mistaken in his opinion, that the king's dock-yards were capable, under proper regulations, of serving for all the purposes of the navy, without any recourse to the merchants' yards, either for building or repairing ships; but that opinion, though it might be erroneous, was not criminal, nor was it yet proved that it was erroneous. The enormous frauds practised on government in the merchant's yards, the collusive dealings between the dock-yard clerks and the timber merchants, and the frauds and abuses of every kind in the king's dock-yards, the detection and suppression of which

which had drawn down a load of such unfounded calumny on lord St. Vincent, were ably and fully exposed by his friends. "No one could doubt," said Mr. Fox, "that it was the merits of lord St. Vincent, and his zeal and success in the detection of abuses, which was the real cause that had stirred up against him so many enemies. The present attack never would have been made but for the inquiries into abuses, instituted by the noble earl. His meritorious exertions to put an end to the most scandalous jobs that ever disgraced a state, had provoked this hostility." Such was the impression made on the house by the arguments urged in defence of the noble lord by his friends, that not a single member took part with Mr. Jeffery in his accusation. The question of referring the charges to a committee of the house was negatived. Mr. Fox then moved, "that it appears to this house, that the conduct of the earl of St. Vincent, in his late naval administration, has added an additional lustre to his exalted character, and is entitled to the approbation of this house." Objections were made to this motion for a vote of thanks, on the ground that due notice had not been given of the intention to move it. The previous question was moved and negatived, after which the vote of thanks was carried without a division.

The cause of judge Fox, which had been protracted for more than two years, before the house of lords, was brought to an abrupt termination towards the close of the present session. The proceedings in this case had originated in petitions from Ireland, complaining of the conduct of that judge at the assizes of Lifford, in 1803. After long debates,

the house resolved to take the complaint into consideration, and to go into a committee of the whole house, in order to receive evidence upon the subject. Witnesses had accordingly been examined during the last session, and they were in attendance during the greater part of the present. The business, however, was postponed from time to time, and at length (on the 19th of June) lord Grenville moved to adjourn it to a day, when the house, in all probability, would not meet. The declared object of this motion was, to put an end to the proceedings in their present form, leaving to those who were aggrieved, to seek redress in some more unexceptionable mode. The objection of the noble lord to the course already taken in this affair, was founded on this undeniable principle of the law of parliament, that no criminal complaint can be preferred and proceeded upon in the house of lords; the criminal jurisdiction of that house, when not compelled to act for the maintenance of its own privileges and authority, being confined to cases of impeachment by the commons, and to appeals from the courts below. This doctrine the noble lord confirmed by the case of judge Holt which he considered to be decisive of the question before the house; and he illustrated, at great length, the dangerous consequences to which a contrary practice, such as that attempted in the present instance, might lead. Lord Grenville's motion was opposed by lord Eldon, lord Hawkesbury and the marquis of Abercorn, and supported by the lord chancellor and lord Auckland. On a division the numbers were, contents 25; non-contents 16; majority for the motion 9.

Towards the close of the preceding session of parliament, Mr. Paull, a gentleman lately returned from India, had come forward in the house of commons as the accuser of marquis Wellesley, and had obtained orders for the production of various papers to substantiate his charges. Early in the present session he resumed the subject; and, though the change of ministry, which soon after followed, was fatal to his hopes of active or strenuous support from any of the great parties in parliament, he continued to urge his accusation with unabated constancy and perseverance. The firmness and intrepidity which he displayed in this business, upon several trying occasions, would have entitled him to the highest praise, had these qualities been accompanied with judgment, temper, or discretion. But, fortunately for marquis Wellesley, Mr. Paull was eminently deficient in these qualifications; nor was he possessed of the parliamentary knowledge, personal consideration and ability, or political weight, necessary to give to his accusations their due effect against an adversary, so formidable by his credit and connexions as the object of his attack. The rashness and impatience of his temper gave advantages to his opponents in the house of commons, of which they disdained not to avail themselves, while his unacquaintance with the forms and rules of procedure in parliament, and his rambling digressive oratory involved him at once in difficulties, and exposed him to ridicule.

It must at the same time be confessed, that Mr. Paull had to contend with no small difficulties in procuring a patient and impartial hearing of his case. Discussions on India

had for many years met with a most inattentive and reluctant auditory in the house of commons; and no one who recollected, or had taken part in the trial of Mr. Hastings, was disposed to embark in the intricacies and difficulties of another Indian impeachment. The partizans of lord Wellesley, and admirers of his administration of India, were numerous and powerful in the house of commons, and eager and even violent in his defence. The whole body of the ex-ministers and their adherents, and two of the three parties united in the new administration were openly and avowedly his friends, and took every opportunity of declaring their opinion; that his conduct was not only undeserving of censure, but meriting the warmest thanks of his country. The East India directors were, indeed, decidedly hostile to his system of government, to which they imputed all the pecuniary difficulties of the company's situation; but, they were averse to his impeachment; either, because they thought his conduct did not afford grounds for such a procedure against him; or, because they despaired of success in it, and deprecated an attempt, which, if it failed, might raise him again to power.

Mr. Fox had withdrawn himself, in a great measure, from the discussion of Indian affairs, since the trial of Mr. Hastings; and, though his situation in the house of commons compelled him to attend, during the present session, to all questions of importance agitated in that assembly, it was obvious that, on the subject of lord Wellesley's impeachment, he gave up his time and attention to this part of his duty with reluctance, and saw it, with regret, encroach

encroach more and more every day on his other avocations, and interfere with the discharge of his other duties. He had always expressed, and he continued to express, the most marked and unqualified reprobation of lord Wellesley's system of war and conquest in India; and he professed, on the part of the government to which he belonged, a determination to pursue, in regard to that country, a totally different system. But, in changing the late system of Indian politics, he was averse to any retrospective inquiry with a view to punishment. It was unnecessary to prosecute such an inquiry, after the system complained of had been abandoned, and the persons who had carried it on, removed from office; and, in general, he observed, it was inexpedient to impeach men for errors of system, unless when, in support of it, they had been guilty of acts of great delinquency. Whether the delinquencies of lord Wellesley were such as to merit impeachment, was a question on which Mr. Fox declared, that he had not yet made up his mind, but, whenever the subject came before him, he should act as the case seemed to require. He added, that he would take no part in the previous stages of the inquiry. He had resolved, after the unsatisfactory result of Mr. Hastings' trial, to have no further concern in Indian impeachments; and in his present official situation, he thought it would be unbecoming in him to take an active part against a person under accusation. Ministers ought, in general, to abstain from interfering in inquiries of this nature, and leave the task to other members of the house; that no weight might be lent to accusations, except what they derive

from the individual who prefers them, and from the force of truth. The influence of this last consideration on Mr. Fox's mind appeared from his conduct in lord Melville's trial; for, though he had been active in bringing that noble personage to the bar of the house of lords, and though as one of the managers of the impeachment named by the commons, he attended, in that capacity, in Westminster Hall, on the first day of the trial, he took no part whatever in the subsequent proceedings, though several legal and constitutional questions were agitated during the trial, in which his opinion would have had great authority against the defendant.

Mr. Francis, whose name, through a long course of years, has been associated with whatever is right or meritorious in Indian politics, though he expressed a most decided opinion of lord Wellesley's delinquency, yet declined, from personal reasons, to have any concern in his impeachment, and declared, that it was his intention, in future, to withdraw himself generally from the discussion of political questions purely and properly Indian, and not involving any immediate British interest. But, notwithstanding this declaration, he was found at his post during the remaining part of the session, on all questions relating to India, and ever ready to support Mr. Paull in the prosecution of his inquiry.

Mr. George Johnstone, a friend of Mr. Paull, who, before the return of lord Wellesley to England, had expressed himself most violently against that nobleman's conduct in India, took occasion, early in the present session, to inform the house, that he had dissuaded Mr. Paull

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from

from this prosecution; and though he still professed to disapprove of lord Wellesley's administration, he was careful to add, that he was far from recommending an inquiry into his conduct, with the view of founding upon it any criminal charge against him. Mr. Paull was, therefore, left during a great part of the present session, without any zealous or steady supporter in parliament except lord Folkstone. Inasmuch that, having imprudently brought forward, in the absence of that nobleman, his first charge against lord Wellesley, not only without any documents to support it, but without securing any person to second his motion for taking it into farther consideration; the house had actually to wait in suspense for several minutes, till sir William Geary rose and seconded the motion, declaring at the same time, that he had no decided opinion upon the subject, and that he only seconded the motion, because he thought a question of that importance should not be allowed to fall to the ground. But, this defenceless unprotected state, in which Mr. Paull stood forward, alone and insulated, without assistance or encouragement, as the accuser of a nobleman, whose victorious administration had reflected so much splendor on the British empire in India, was ultimately most favourable to his cause. For, it encouraged the friends and adherents of lord Wellesley to attempt to browbeat and reduce to silence his accuser, in a manner so indecent and outrageous, as to rouse against them a spirit of resistance in the house, which gave to Mr. Paull and his accusation a degree of weight and consideration, which they seemed not, at one time, to have any chance of ever attaining. The per-

sons, who were thus induced latterly to support Mr. Paull with the greatest warmth and steadiness, were Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, lord A. Hamilton, the marquis of Douglas, Mr. Martin (of Tewkesbury) and the solicitor general, and many other members lent him occasionally their assistance.

As little real progress, however, was made in the prosecution against lord Wellesley, during the present session, though much time was employed in discussions relating to it, we shall give a very short account of the proceedings.

Various motions were made by Mr. Paull and others on the one hand, and by the friends of marquis Wellesley on the other, for papers in crimination or exculpation of that nobleman, and all of them were granted, without opposition, by the house; except a paper moved for by lord A. Hamilton (April 21st, 1806), entitled "a dispatch approved by the court of directors, dated 3rd of April 1805, to the governor general in council," which after a long debate was refused by the house on a division. This paper had been already produced at the India house, and printed and circulated. It was not, therefore, wanted for the sake of information, nor was it called for on account of any proceeding then before the house. The noble lord, who moved for it, disclaimed any intention of using it as a ground of charge or point of evidence against lord Wellesley; nor could it in justice be used as a ground of crimination against that nobleman; for it merely contained the opinion of the court of directors, with respect to his administration, and had not even been transmitted to him in India, having been stopped by the board of con-
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troul, who had refused to send it, and had compelled the directors to sign a paper directly the reverse of it in all respects. But though it was admitted to be improper for the accusers of lord Wellesley to stand behind the directors of the East India company, and use the authority of that body as the ground of their charges against him, it was obviously impossible, if the dispatch were laid before the house, that it should not operate to his prejudice; and, therefore, the production of it was objected to by Mr. Fox and the master of the rolls, who on this occasion agreed in opinion, as a flagrant act of injustice. It appeared, indeed, from next day's debate, that, had this paper been granted, it would have been used, without scruple, against lord Wellesley, as a foundation for the first article of charge, rashly and inconsiderately brought forward on that day by Mr. Paull, without a tittle of evidence or a single document to support it.

This ill-judged precipitate measure, after ten months employed in moving for papers on Oude, Bhurt-pore, Surat, Furruckabad and other subjects connected with his intended impeachment, is a melancholy sample of Mr. Paull's management of his cause throughout. It was on this occasion, that he was saved from the mortification of seeing his motion fall to the ground for want of a seconder, by the interference of sir William Geary. A debate followed on the course to be taken by the house, in the extraordinary situation, in which it was placed, of being called upon to entertain a criminal charge, without a particle of evi-

dence in support of it. Mr. Paull at length withdrew his motion for taking the charge into consideration: and, next day, (April 23rd), the order for printing it, which had been inadvertently passed, was discharged on the motion of Mr. Sheridan. Various attempts were afterwards made by Mr. Paull, to have this charge printed by order of the house; but, though the principal objection to it was removed by the production of evidence, the friends of lord Wellesley contrived to defeat all his motions for that purpose. This article related chiefly to acts of extravagance and profusion in the expenditure of public money, charged to have been committed by lord Wellesley during his administration of India.

The Oude charge, which was next brought forward, was laid on the table of the house of commons on the 28th of May, read and ordered to be printed. This charge recited numberless acts of tyranny, oppression, fraud, hypocrisy and illegal violence practised against the Nabob Vizier of Oude by order of lord Wellesley, in consequence of which that prince was compelled to cede, by treaty, * one half of his dominions to the East India company, and to submit his administration of the other half to the controul of their servants. It is remarkable, that immediately after this charge had been read, there was found a member in the house, who gravely rose and urged, that there was no law in India but the sword, and that Indian princes were not entitled to the benefit of those rules of justice, which are binding

* Dated at Lucknow, November 10th, 1801.

among European sovereigns. It is but justice to sir Arthur Wellesley to add, that he rejected with disdain, on the part of his brother, so profligate a ground of defence; and both Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis expressed their surprise and indignation, at hearing such unprincipled doctrines advanced.

In consequence of a motion of lord Temple, which was intended to bring this charge to a more speedy decision, but which had precisely the opposite effect, the Oude charge was not taken into consideration till the 18th of June; when, after an unsuccessful attempt of Mr. Bankes to dispose of the whole accusation, by referring it to the India tribunal, established by the act of 1784, the house went into a committee, for the examination of evidence on the charge. The examination was resumed on the 19th, 20th, and 23rd of June, and the evidence having been printed, an attempt was made by the friends of lord Wellesley to bring the house to a final decision upon the charge on the 6th of July. But, this attempt was resisted with great firmness and force of argument, by Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence and the solicitor general; and Mr. Paull having declared, that several important documents were still wanting to enable him to proceed in the case, the motion for going into a committee on the charge was at length withdrawn. Next day Mr. Paull presented a supplementary article to the Oude charge, accusing lord Wellesley of various acts of extortion, cruelty and injustice towards the Rajah of Sasnee and other Rajahs and Zemindars in the Dooab, a district form-

ing part of the dominions of Oude ceded to the company by the treaty of 1801.

The unjust and fraudulent means used by lord Wellesley to compel the nabob of Furruckabad to cede the whole of his dominions to the East India company, formed the groundwork of the third article of charge against him. This charge was presented to the house on the 9th of June and ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration on a future day: but no further proceedings took place in regard to it during the present session of parliament.

Various motions were made during this session, and various discussions arose, with respect to the finances of the East India Company; but, it is unnecessary for us to give any account of these debates, as all uncertainty on that subject was removed by the appearance of the East India budget, brought forward by lord Morpeth on the 10th of July; for, though a very long and interesting debate followed on the causes of the distressed situation to which the company were reduced, every one admitted that lord Morpeth had given a most fair and perspicuous statement of their affairs. We shall make no comments on the gloomy view which he presented of the company's situation; nor contrast the actual state of their affairs with the flattering pictures and delusive representations, which, for many years before, it seemed to be considered part of the duty of the board of controul, annually to exhibit to the public. It appeared from the statements of lord Morpeth, that,

1. The excess of the charges and interest of money in India, exceeded the amount of the territorial revenue and of the sales of imports, for the year 1803-4, in the sum of — — — 1,124,403 l.
2. That the excess of the same for the year 1804-5, was estimated at — — — 1,131,297 l.
3. That the excess of the same above the same revenue for the year 1805-6, was estimated at — — — 2,851,745 l.
4. That the debts due by the company in India amounted in 1805, to — — — 25,046,436 l.
5. That the balance of the annual account of receipts and payments, of the India-house, in favour of the company, on the 1st of March 1805, was only — — — 12,020 l.
6. That from a general comparison of the debts and assets of the company, there appeared to be a deterioration on the whole concern, during the years 1803-4 abroad, and 1804-5 at home, to the amount of — — — 966,112 l.

For the satisfaction of our readers we shall insert the abstract of the estimates for 1805-6, that they may see how the excess of charge above the revenue was constituted.

General abstract of estimates for 1805-6.

Revenues of Bengal	—	8,763,220 l.	
Madras	—	4,774,296	
Bombay	—	742,017	
			14,279,533 l.
Charges of Bengal	—	7,415,370	
Madras	—	5,650,182	
Bombay	—	1,580,292	
			14,645,844
Surplus charge of the three presidencies	—	—	366,311 l.
Supplies to Bencoolen, Prince of Wales's island, &c.	—	—	266,800
Total surplus charge	—	—	633,111
Interest on debts	—	1,823,040	
Interest payable to the commissioners of the sinking fund, on securities redeemed	—	195,788	
Total interest	—	—	2,018,828
Commercial charges not added to the invoices	—	—	199,806
Total excess of charge above the revenues	—	—	2,851,745

It is necessary to add, that the balance on the annual account at the India house, instead of amounting to 12,020*l.* in favour of the company, as stated in that account, would have amounted to 1,155,505 against them, had not the company, in making up their account for that year, credited themselves with 100,000*l.* borrowed of the bank, with 500,000, borrowed of government out of the tea duties, and with bonds issued for 567,525*l.* more than were paid off, amounting in all to the sum of 1,167,525*l.* This defalcation in the company's annual account was owing, partly, to a diminution in the produce of their sales, and, partly, to a greater expenditure on account of India and China than first intended.

It is also proper to add, that, in the course of the debate, it was generally admitted, that the debts in India might, at that time, be fairly estimated at 30,000,000; of which seventeen millions were payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities.

After lord Morpeth had concluded his very clear and candid exposition of the company's situation, a long debate arose, which was adjourned to the 15th and afterwards to the 18th instant, concerning the present state of their affairs and their future prospects, as well as on the causes, that had led to the rapid and alarming increase of their debts since 1793, when their charter was last renewed. Sir Arthur Wellesley, without controverting any of lord Morpeth's statements or deductions, endeavoured to show, that with the return of peace the distresses of the company would be at an end; and that, instead of the present deficit, there would then be a surplus revenue of at least 740,000*l.* a year.

He next endeavoured to prove, that the augmentation of the company's debts was, in a great measure, owing to the practice, that had been pursued, of making up investments for Europe by means of loans contracted in India; and, in proof of this position he read part of a minute put on record by lord Wellesley in June 1798, wherein this cause of the increase of the company's debts is distinctly pointed out, and a remedy suggested for it, which, however, the court of directors did not think proper to apply. In answer to this charge against the court of directors, Mr. Grant produced a number of statements and calculations to prove, that, instead of a balance of 5½ millions, in which the hon. general made the commerce of the company indebted to the territorial revenue and Indian debt, there was a balance, in the last seven years, of half a million due to the commerce. With respect to the share of lord Wellesley in contributing to the present alarming state of the company's finances, the honourable member stated, that during that nobleman's administration of India, 21½ millions had been added to the company's debt: and with regard to the influence of the late wars in India on the general prosperity of the company's affairs, "he thought it right to observe, that those wars had enormously increased the expences and debt of the company, without adding any security necessary to us; without even adding much to our permanent revenue; and at the expence of our reputation for justice and moderation in India." Mr. Grant had no reliance on the improvement of revenue, to which the hon. general looked forward on the return of peace, and thought our only secure dependance was on a system

system of economy and retrenchment of useless and ostentatious expences. Mr. Alderman Prinsep took the same view with sir Arthur Wellesley of the origin of a great part of the company's debts, and after attacking, with great bitterness, their monopoly; their bad management of their own concerns; and their jealousy of private traders, he pronounced them to be in a state of insolvency, and deprecated any notion of assisting them from this country, without a previous examination and thorough investigation of their affairs. Mr. Huddleston vindicated the company from the attacks of Mr. Alderman Prinsep, and attributed the present derangement of their finances, solely and exclusively, to the system of ambition, false policy and profusion, introduced and acted on by lord Wellesley. Lord Castlereagh differed from both parties in their explanations of the origin of the company's debts, which, he attempted to prove, had been occasioned, neither by wars and profusion, nor by losses in trade, but partly, by advances to government which would of course be repaid, and, partly, by an encrease of their assets both at home and in India which were still on hand. In this view of the company's affairs, the circumstance most to be lamented in their situation, was the enormous interest, which they paid for their debt in India; and the only effectual remedy for this evil was the transference of their India debt to England, by means of loans under the guarantee of government. If twenty millions of their debt were in this manner transferred to England, there would be an immediate saving to the company of 800,000*l.* a year.

The only remaining subject connected with India, of which we shall take notice at present, is a bill brought into parliament by Mr. Hobhouse, for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement, between the East India company and the private creditors of the nabobs of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect. Much opposition was made to this bill, arising from a misconception of its nature and object. It was supposed to be intended for the purpose of giving a parliamentary sanction to claims, some of which were certainly fraudulent and all justly liable to suspicion. It was not adverted to by the opposers of the bill, that, since the occupation of the nabob of Arcot's territories by the company, it had become the interest of that body to reduce the amount of debts, for which the dominions and revenues formerly *his*, but now *theirs* were answerable. Nor was it considered, that this bill created no new obligation to discharge the debts of the nabob, nor gave any additional security to his creditors; but merely enabled the commissioners, appointed for determining the amount of the debts, to examine the parties upon oath, and thereby more effectually separate false and unfounded claims from those, which it would be an equal injustice and hardship not to discharge. A clause was annexed to the bill, directing the commissioners to make an annual report to parliament, of the progress they should make in the discharge of their trust; and a proviso was added to declare, that nothing in this act should be construed to confirm the articles of agreement between the company and creditors, or to render them
more

more binding than if the act had not been passed.

After a busy session of six months duration, parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of July by commission. The speech from the throne, for which see State Papers, page 825, was read by the lord chancellor.

We shall next proceed to give

an account of lord Melville's trial, a subject of such interest in itself, such expectations before it came on, such attention while it lasted, and such disappointment when it closed, that we are persuaded our readers will excuse us for entering into a full statement of the facts and circumstances attending it.

CHAP. VI.

Trial of Henry Viscount Melville.—Managers ordered to proceed in the Impeachment.—Answer of Lord Melville to the Articles of Impeachment.—Additional Article.—Trotter.—Answer to the Additional Article.—Replication of the Commons.—Commons resolve to attend the Trial as a Committee of the whole House.—Measures taken by the Lords to prevent unnecessary Delay in the Trial.—Order to prohibit any Publication of the Proceedings during the pendency of the Trial.—Summary of the Proceedings on the Trial.—Analysis of the Articles of Impeachment.—Charges reducible in Substance to three.—Analysis of the Evidence on the first, second, and third.—Legal Defence on the first Charge.—Answer to it.—Legal Defence on the second Charge.—Answer to it.—Defence on the third Charge.—Lords adjourn for some Days the Consideration of the Charges.—Vote of Thanks to the Managers by the Commons.—Discussions in the Lords on the Form of Proceeding.—On dividing the first Article.—On the first Article.—Questions to the Judges, and their Answers.—Discussion of the remaining Articles.—Further Question to the Judges, and their Answer.—Proceedings, during the last Day of the Trial, in Westminster Hall.—Viscount Melville declared not guilty by a Majority of Lords.—Numbers for and against him on each Article.

ON the day after the meeting of parliament, the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Whitbread ordered the committee of impeachment against Lord Melville to resume their functions, and proceed without delay in the business referred to them. Lord Robert Spencer was, at the same time, added to the committee, in place of Mr. Kinnauld become lord Kinnauld by the death of his father. The managers then consisted of Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, afterwards lord Howick, Mr. Sheridan, lord Henry Petty, lord Marsham, Mr. Giles, lord Folkstone, Mr. Raine, Dr. Laurence, Mr. Creevy, Mr. Holland, Mr. Calcraft, lord Por-

chester, lord Arch. Hamilton, Mr. Williams Wynne, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Morris, lord Temple, serjeant Best, and lord Robert Spencer; to whom were afterwards added sir Arthur Piggott (attorney-general), and sir Samuel Romilly (solicitor-general).

On the same day lord Melville presented at the table of the house of lords his answer to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the commons. The averment stated in substance, "that he was not guilty of all or any of the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, and that he was ready to prove the same, on a proper opportunity being afforded him by their lordships." A copy of this
reply

reply was communicated to the commons, and by them referred to the managers.

The next proceeding in this business was a report of the managers, presented to the house of commons, on the 4th of March, containing further matters of a criminal nature against lord Melville, which was ordered to be printed and taken into consideration on a future day. Upon the facts disclosed in this report an additional article of impeachment was moved on the 7th of March, and, after some conversation, agreed to without opposition. When this additional article was communicated to the lords, it was referred to a committee, to search for precedents of the proceedings of the house in such cases, and the report of the committee being favourable to the admission of the additional article, it was ordered to be communicated to lord Melville, that he might put in his answer to it within a limited time.

In the mean time Trotter, one of the principal witnesses in this cause, having refused to answer the questions put to him by the managers, on the ground that his answer might subject him to a civil suit, was ordered by the house of commons to be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms; but, having next day (March 6,) presented a humble petition to the house, expressive of his contrition for having offended them, and having given the managers satisfaction as to the questions which he had refused to answer, he was set at liberty, after a proper admonition from the speaker.

Lord Melville's answer to the additional article, which was a general plea of not guilty, like his answer to the preceding ones, having been

presented to the house of lords on the 24th of March, and the replication of the commons having been presented next day at the bar of the house, their lordships were pleased, on the motion of earl Fitzwilliam, to fix the 29th of April for the trial of lord Melville, and to send a message to the commons, to acquaint them therewith, and to require them to appoint a committee to manage the impeachment.

On the following day Mr. Whitbread moved, in the house of commons, "that the house should be present at the trial of lord viscount Melville, as a committee of the whole house."

It was objected to this motion by the friends of lord Melville, that the adoption of it would necessarily lead to the trial being carried on in Westminster Hall, which would be the cause of great delay, and of much additional expence to the defendant; and it was contended, that justice would be more speedily and more cheaply, and not less effectually obtained, by a trial at the bar of the house of lords; in proof of which, the trial of lord Macclesfield at the bar of that house, which lasted only twenty one days, was contrasted with the trial of Mr. Hastings in Westminster Hall, which lasted during eight sessions of parliament.

It was answered, that it ill became the friends of lord Melville, who had prevailed in having a trial by impeachment preferred to the trial by indictment, on which the commons had originally determined, to object to the impeachment being conducted according to the old and established usage of parliament; that all their former arguments for preferring trial by impeachment to trial by indictment, derived from the rank

rank of the defendant, applied equally to a trial in Westminster Hall, in preference to a trial at the bar of the house of lords, as the more solemn and dignified course of procedure; that the expectation of the country would be disappointed, and its suspicions excited, if the trial were not conducted with the greatest publicity; that the great object of impeachment was to serve as an example to men in public situations, and that the impression would be most profound and most salutary, when the impeachment was conducted with the greatest form and solemnity; that whatever might be the issue of the trial, it was necessary to convince the country, that there had been no collusion or underhand dealing in the management of it, by giving to all the proceedings relating to it the utmost publicity; that, with respect to the delay in the trial of Mr. Hastings, it arose, not from the place where the trial was carried on, but from the numbers, variety and complicated nature of the charges, and from the dilatory course of procedure adopted by the house of lords. These reasons being deemed satisfactory by the house, Mr. Whitbread's motion was carried without a division.

When this resolution was next day communicated to the house of lords, lord Grenville moved an address to his majesty, praying that directions might be given to prepare a place in Westminster Hall for the trial of lord Melville, and at the same time the noble lord suggested to the house several measures to prevent unnecessary delay in the conduct of the trial. He recommended, that the trial, when commenced, should be proceeded in

from day to day till it was finished; that the hour fixed for assembling each day should be rigidly adhered to: and that some understanding should take place, with respect to collecting the opinions of their lordships on disputed points of evidence, without retiring on every such occasion to the chamber of parliament; and he announced his intention of moving, to refer to the committee already appointed to search for precedents, to consider of the best means of proceeding in the trial without delay. This motion was accordingly made and agreed to on the 14th of April, and the whole of these suggestions were approved of by the committee and adopted by the house.

On the 28th of April a motion of great importance was made in the house of lords, by lord Auckland, viz. "strictly to forbid the publication of any part of the proceedings upon the ensuing trial of lord Melville, during the same." This motion which was highly praised by lord Eldon and lord Hawkesbury, passed after some pertinent remarks from the duke of Norfolk pointing out the impracticability of preventing, by any regulation whatever, that, which should come out in the course of the trial, from going forth to the public: and yet after the evidence was closed on both sides, the prohibition was renewed and confirmed by an order of the house, of the 17th of May, "that no person presume to print any of the proceedings of this house, touching the impeachment of viscount Melville, till after the house shall have given final judgment upon the said impeachment." We confess, that on the subject of these regulations, we concur

concur perfectly with the duke of Norfolk. We cannot forget, that the effect of this prohibition was not to prevent what passed in Westminster Hall from being the subject of discussion out of doors, during the continuance of the trial and even in the presence of the judges, but to cause imperfect and defective accounts of the evidence and other proceedings to be circulated, instead of the full and accurate reports, which the newspapers, if permitted, would have given. That all knowledge of what was disclosed in Westminster Hall could be withheld from those who were not present at the trial, or that those who assisted at the proceedings, would abstain from making comments on what they had seen and heard, was not to be expected; nor was it probable, that, in so numerous a body as the judges of lord Melville, unaccustomed as the greater part of them were to discussions of the import of testimony or other evidence, many would not be swayed by the remarks and opinions, which they heard out of doors. But, if no precautions could prevent the judges upon this trial from being influenced by public opinion, it was surely desirable, that the public should have better materials for judging of the case, than the partial and imperfect recollections of the by-standers and spectators in the galleries of the hall. If it be true, that the advantages of the expensive, and in many respects, objectionable form of trial by impeachment, consist chiefly in the greater impression it makes and greater sensation it excites in the country, then will we venture to maintain, that a regulation like this tends to defeat, and upon the occasion of lord Melville's

trial we are confident, that it actually did defeat the salutary ends proposed by impeachment. The country ceased to be interested in the progress of a trial, the proceedings of which were not communicated to it, like other daily occurrences, by the press; and after the decision had been given few were disposed to open the ponderous volume, in which the evidence and arguments of the case lie buried; and few there are even at present, in this enlightened country and inquisitive age, who have formed any opinion of lord Melville's guilt or innocence, from their own examination of the evidence against him. One part of the public think his character spotless and his conduct free from stain, because a majority of his judges found him guilty of no legal offence; while we fear another part impute his acquittal to collusion, and divide the blame of it between his judges and his accusers.

The trial commenced on Monday the 29th of April. Ten days were employed by the managers, in bringing forward and examining their evidence, and in the speeches of Mr. Whitbread, who opened the case and of the solicitor general, who summed up the evidence. Three days were afterwards employed by the counsel for the defendant in their reply; two by Mr. Plumer, and after examining a few witnesses, the third by Mr. Adams. The 14th and 15th days of the trial were taken up by the managers in their reply on the part of the commons, the legal argument being conducted by the attorney general, and the observations on the evidence left to Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Plumer was also indulged with permission to make some remarks in answer to the attorney general.

On the 16th day of the trial sentence was pronounced ; so that this trial in Westminster Hall was concluded within a shorter time after its commencement, than the trial of lord Macclesfield at the bar of the house of lords. The credit of this dispatch was in a great measure due to the lord chancellor, whose consummate knowledge of the law of evidence constituted him the best authority in every question of that sort which occurred, while the candour and fairness of his conduct induced all parties to acquiesce most readily in his decisions. The trial, as we have already said, began on the 29th of April ; the evidence and arguments of the council on both sides closed on the 17th of May ; and sentence was pronounced on the 12th of June.

We shall now proceed to give as full an account of the evidence adduced and arguments employed in this important trial, as the narrow limits of our work will admit.

The articles of impeachment were ten in number, and in substance as follows :

1st. That lord Melville while treasurer of the navy, did previously to the 10th of January 1786, take and receive out of the money entrusted to him from his majesty's exchequer, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes ; and on the 11th of June 1805, in the house of commons, did refuse to account for the application of the said sum ;

2nd. That, after the passing of the act of parliament on the 25th year of his majesty's reign, entitled " an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy," lord Melville, contrary to

the provisions of that act, did permit Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, large sums of money, which had been issued to the bank on account of lord Melville as treasurer of the navy, and place the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition ;

3rd. That not only did lord Melville permit Trotter to place as aforesaid the public money in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, but to apply the same for purposes of private profit and emolument, whereby the said money was exposed to great risk of loss, and withdrawn from the control and disposition of the treasurer of the navy ;

4th. That part of the money so taken by Trotter from the bank, was, by permission of lord Melville, placed in the hands of Mark Sprott and others, and applied for purposes of private profit and emolument ;

5th. That lord Melville himself did, after the 10th of January 1786, take and receive from the public money issued to the bank of England, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use or to some other corrupt and illegal purpose ;

6th. That lord Melville received advances of large sums of money from Trotter, out of the public money so obtained by him and deposited in the hands of his private bankers, which advances were entered in an account current kept between Trotter and lord Melville, and preserved till February

1803, when by mutual agreement dated the 18th and 23rd of February of that year, it was destroyed with all the vouchers and other memorandums relative thereto, for the purpose of fraudulently concealing these transactions ;

7th. That, in particular, lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* out of the public money, and that the accounts relative thereto have been burned and destroyed for the above mentioned purpose ;

8th. That among other advances of money as aforesaid, lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* for which he paid interest ;

9th. That Trotter acted as agent to lord Melville without any pecuniary compensation, and in that capacity was generally in advance for him to the amount of from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* out of the public money in his hands ; that lord Melville was aware, that Trotter had no means of making him such advances, except from the public money of which he had illegally so possessed himself ; and that Trotter was induced, to act gratuitously as lord Melville's agent, and to make these advances, in consideration of lord Melville's connivance of his free use and uncontrolled application of the public money to his own private profit and emolument ;

10th. That lord Melville between August 19th, 1782, and January 1st, 1806, did take and receive from the monies issued to him out of his majesty's exchequer, as treasurer of the navy, divers large sums of money, amounting to 27,000*l.* or thereabouts, and fraudulently and

illegally convert the same to his own use or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes.

The articles of impeachment were far from being well drawn up. The same charge was frequently repeated in different articles, and the same article often contained more charges than one. It was sometimes difficult to discover under what article a particular fact was charged, nor was it always easy to distinguish between a substantive charge, and what was meant as a mere aggravation of other charges. These defects in the articles of impeachment were in their operation favourable to the defendant, by lessening the apparent number of persons, who on the last day of the trial, pronounced him guilty. For, there were some of his judges, who, though they agreed in the facts of which they thought him guilty, yet differed so widely in their construction of the articles of impeachment, that meaning to find him guilty of the same fact, they voted him guilty on different articles. Accordingly, though 59 out of 136 lords, who voted on lord Melville's impeachment, found him guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, there were not more than 53, who agreed in finding him guilty of any one article as charged by the commons.

But the charges against lord Melville, though multiplied by the managers of the impeachment, were in substance only three in number. The first was, that before the 10th of January 1786, he had, contrary to the obligation imposed on him by the warrant appointing him to the office of treasurer of the navy, applied to his private use and profit,

fit, divers sums of public money entrusted to him in that capacity. The *second* was, that after the passing of the act of parliament in 1785, for the better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, he had in breach and violation of that act, permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the bank of England, for other than immediate application to navy purposes, large sums of money, from the monies issued to the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, and place the same in the hands of his private banker, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition. The *third* was, that he had fraudulently and corruptly permitted Trotter to apply the money, so abstracted illegally from the bank of England, to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself fraudulently and corruptly derived profit therefrom. We shall briefly state the evidence substantiated on each of these charges by the commons.

On the *first* of these charges comprehending the first and tenth articles of impeachment, it was proved in evidence by the commons;

That on the 19th of June 1782, the house of commons resolved, "that it is the opinion of this house, that from henceforward the paymaster of his majesty's forces, and the treasurer of the navy, for the time being, shall not apply any sum or sums of money entrusted to them, for any purpose of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly ;"

That the warrant appointing lord Melville to the office of treasurer of the navy in August 1782, granted to him an additional salary of

2,324*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* in full satisfaction of all wages, fees, and other profits and emoluments, heretofore enjoyed by former treasurers of the navy ; and that lord Melville himself declared before the naval commissioners, that he considered the said additional salary to be in full satisfaction of all other profit and emolument ;

That soon after lord Melville's acceptance of the office of treasurer of the navy, viz. in August 1782, there was a considerable difference between the balance of public money charged to the treasurer, and the actual balance to the credit of the treasurer at the bank ; and though it did not appear in evidence, that the whole of this difference was occasioned by the application of public money to the private use and profit of lord Melville, yet it was satisfactorily shewn, that certain payments were made to his private use out of the public money entrusted to him as treasurer of the navy, soon after his acceptance of that office. Thus it was shewn, that a particular bank note of 1000*l.* issued from the exchequer on the 6th of November 1782 for navy services, was paid by Mr. Douglas, paymaster of the navy under lord Melville, to the house of Messrs. Moffat and Kensington, on the 22d November 1782, in discharge of a bill to that amount, drawn by a person of the name of Newbigging, on the right honourable Henry Dundas, under the designation of lord advocate for Scotland. Another bank note of 1000*l.* issued from the exchequer, on the 22d of November 1782, for public navy services, was traced to the house of Messrs. Drummond, one of the private bankers of lord Melville,

Melville, to whom it was paid by lord Melville himself, as appeared from an entry made and proved in the books of Messrs. Drummond.*

It was also proved, that although, according to the obligations under which lord Melville held the office of treasurer of the navy, there ought to have been no difference between the balance charged to the treasurer and the balance to his credit at the bank, yet in May 1783, there was a difference amounting to the sum of 23,000*l.*; which difference, before the end of July 1783, was reduced to 7,600*l.*, in consequence of various payments made into the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, by Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and other private persons, from which it is apparent, that the money so repaid had been used for some private purpose and applied to private profit and advantage.

It was also shewn in evidence, that before the end of March 1785, during the second treasurership of lord Melville, certain drafts were drawn under the authority of the treasurer of the navy, the produce of which was not applied to any public purpose, but to the discharge of part of the debt due on the trea-

surer's "old account," by creating a debt to a corresponding amount on his "new account," by which the former difference of 7,600*l.* in "the old account" was reduced to 1,600*l.*; at which it continued till the death of Mr. Douglas in December 1785.

It was further proved, that these fraudulent drafts having occasioned a difference of 6,000*l.* between the balance charged to the treasurer, and the bank balance in the "new account," this difference was increased to 10,000*l.* by two sums of 2,000*l.* each, drawn from the bank by Mr. Douglas, to the name of Mr. George Swaffield (chief cashier to the victualling branch of the navy pay-office), the one in August 1784, and the other in May 1785, both of which there is reason to believe were applied to the use of lord Melville, because no part of these sums was ever received by Mr. Swaffield, or in any way entered in the official books of the navy pay-office; and because Mr. Douglas paid 2,000*l.* to the account of lord Melville with Messrs. Drummond, on the day on which the last-mentioned sum of 2,000*l.* was thus fraudulently drawn from the bank.

It was also proved that the treasurer's debt on the "new account"

* The private account book of Mr. Douglas, paymaster of the navy under lord Melville, in the years 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, containing the particulars of his money transactions with that nobleman, and referring to accounts which had been settled betwixt them, and to balances agreeing both as to their date and amount with balances proved by other evidence to have been due on these accounts by lord Melville, was produced in court; and extracts from it are printed in the report of the managers to the house of commons of the 4th of March 1806, which show, that every farthing of the public money, diverted from its proper destination to naval services, and occasioning thereby a difference between the treasurer's balances and the balances to his credit at the bank, amounting at one time to 23,000*l.* had been applied to the private use of lord Melville; but whatever conviction the perusal of that book may produce on those who examine its contents, it was not admissible evidence against lord Melville, and was therefore rejected by the court.

was, in October 1785, reduced from the above-mentioned sum of 10,000*l.* to 9,000*l.*, by the payment of 1,000*l.* to the bank, through the hands of Mr. Davis of the navy pay-office, being the amount of one quarter's salary due to the right honourable Henry Dundas as treasurer of the navy ; at which sum of 9,000*l.* the difference in the " new account " continued till the death of Mr. Douglas in December 1785.

All these facts were confirmed by the proof adduced by the commons, that after the death of Mr. Douglas, lord Melville confessed in the month of January 1786, to Mr. Trotter (who succeeded Douglas as paymaster of the navy), that he was indebted to the public in the sum of 10,600*l.* ; which sum of 10,600*l.* exactly corresponds with the deficiency of 1,600*l.* on the " old account " and of 9,000*l.* on the " new account." proved to be the residuary balances of divers payments made by the authority of lord Melville, for purposes extra-official and unexplained, to a much greater amount, and reduced to the above-mentioned sums by different repayments, all of which were traced back by the commons to private sources.

On the *second* of these charges, contained in the second article of impeachment, it was in the first place shewn by the commons.

That subsequent to the appointment of lord Melville for the second time to the office of treasurer of the navy, an act of parliament was passed, intituled, " an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy ; "

Whereby it is, among other things, enacted, " that from and

after the 1st of July 1785 no money for the service of the navy shall be issued from his majesty's exchequer to the treasurer of the navy, or shall be placed, or directed to be placed in his hands or possession, but the same shall be issued and directed to be paid to the governor and company of the bank of England and to be placed to certain accounts according to the services for which it is craved and issued ; "

" And the monies to be issued unto the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, *shall not be paid out of the bank, unless for navy services*, and in pursuance of drafts to be drawn on the governor and company of the bank of England, and signed by the treasurer of the navy for the time being, or the person or persons authorized by him ;

" And that upon the death, resignation, or removal of the present, and every other treasurer of his majesty's navy hereafter to be appointed, the balance of cash, for which he shall at that time have credit on his account or accounts, as treasurer of his majesty's navy with the governor and company of the bank of England, shall, at the end of the current month after a successor shall be appointed to the said office, actually vest in such successor, in trust for the service of the navy, and be forthwith transferred, carried over and placed to the account of such successor. "

And, in the next place, proved, that, in direct breach and violation of the said statute, lord Melville gave permission to Trotter, his paymaster, to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than

for immediate application to navy services, sums of money issued to the governor and company of the bank of England on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker; that Trotter, in consequence of this permission, did draw from the bank of England large sums of public money, and place the same in the hands of his private bankers, in his own name and at his own disposal, and beyond the control of the treasurer of the navy. By which the said statute was grossly violated, and the enactment relative to the transfer of the balance of public money, on the death, resignation or removal of the existing treasurer of the navy, to his successor, would have been in a great measure frustrated and rendered nugatory, if Trotter had died, while these balances of public money were in the hands of his private banker.

It was also shewn, that the reasons assigned by lord Melville for granting permission to Trotter, to place the public money in the hands of his private bankers, were frivolous and unfounded, and were, therefore, probably not his real motives for permitting such a breach and violation of the law.

On the *third* of these charges, comprehending the *third*, *fourth*, *sixth*, *seventh*, *eight*, and *ninth* articles of impeachment, it was proved by the commons that Trotter, by permission and connivance of lord Melville, applied to his private use and emolument the public money so taken illegally from the bank of England and placed in the hands of his private banker, and derived great profit therefrom, and that lord Melville knew and understood that he derived such emo-

lument, and did not prohibit him so to do.

It further appeared in evidence that Trotter, by desire of lord Melville, opened an account, called the chest account, in which he debited lord Melville with 10,000*l.* being the sum of money, for which lord Melville, by his own confession, was indebted to the public, when Trotter first became paymaster under him; that various advances were made, at subsequent periods, on the same account, in consequence of requisition from lord Melville to Trotter, of the nature of commands; with which requisitions Trotter invariably complied without any remonstrance: that no interest was ever charged to lord Melville, or paid by him on these advances: that Trotter always considered lord Melville to be immediately indebted to the public in this chest account: and lord Melville understood and knew himself to be so indebted: that Trotter having advanced to lord Melville in 1797, the sum of 10,000*l.* in order to pay the instalments on his subscription to the loyalty loan; and having in the first instance debited lord Melville for that sum in another account kept between them, intituled their account current, did afterwards, for his own greater security, transfer the same to the chest account, and did present a copy of the said account bearing on the face of it a statement of the above transaction, to lord Melville, by whom it was regularly, duly, and formally settled and signed, and to whom the original book or a duplicate thereof, so settled and signed, was delivered; and that at subsequent periods, Trotter presented other statements and duplicates of the said accounts, containing the

make advances of money to lord Melville, from his private fortune, which did not exceed at that time the sum of 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.* ; and that nevertheless within three months after his nomination to the office of paymaster, he advanced 4,000*l.* to lord Melville, without interest, his pecuniary circumstances being perfectly known to lord Melville, when he accepted of that loan.

It was also shewn, that while lord Melville was thus receiving advances of money, without interest, from Trotter, his attention must have been forcibly drawn to the transactions of that personage in regard to public money, by a very singular conversation, which took place between himself and Trotter in 1789, wherein Trotter had the audacity to propose to him, lord Melville, treasurer of his majesty's navy, holding his place by authority of a warrant, which strictly prohibited him from deriving any emolument from the public money in his possession, to lay out the public money for his lord Melville's private interest and advantage; but though this proposal was rejected by the noble lord, it appeared not, that then, or at any subsequent period, he made any inquiry into the amount of the public money in the hands of Trotter, nor into the uses to which it was applied, or risks to which it was exposed; instead of which, he continued to accept advances of money from Trotter, without paying interest for them, or even inquiring from what source the money was derived.

With respect to the account current between lord Melville and Trotter, it further appeared, that the first item of that account, con-

I 4: sisting

sisting of a loan of 4,000*l.* advanced by Trotter to lord Melville, was supplied from the fund entrusted to Trotter for the payment of exchange fees, and that in the bond given by lord Melville for that sum, there was no engagement to pay interest for the same. It was also proved, that on September 4th, 1792, the sum of 8,000*l.* was drawn by Trotter from the bank, on pretence of navy services; out of which the sum of 4,057*l.* 10*s.* was employed the same day in the purchase of 2,000*l.* East India stock for the use and benefit of lord Melville, according to his express desire and request: and that no interest was charged to lord Melville for the purchase money of the said East India stock, though the dividends were carried to his credit, and the stock itself ultimately disposed of for his benefit in May 1800.

Lastly, it was proved, that in May 1800, when lord Melville quitted the navy pay-office, he was under the necessity of raising the sum of 50,000*l.* or thereabouts, to make good that part of the deficiency in his act of parliament account at the bank, which arose from public money applied to his own profit and advantage: and it further appeared in evidence, that the sum total of public money advanced by Trotter to lord Melville, and enjoyed without interest by lord Melville, amounted on the 31st December,

1791	to	19,988 <i>l.</i>
1792	—	26,476
1793	—	37,025
1794	—	28,738
1795	—	30,316
1796	—	75,413
1797	—	58,640
1798	—	54,140
1799	—	54,140

In answer to the *first* of these charges, comprehending the first and tenth articles of impeachment, it was contended by Mr. Plumer, counsel for the defendant, that independant of the act of 25 Geo. 3, which was posterior to the commission of the supposed offences charged in these articles, and independant of the warrant, the treasurer of the navy was not restrained, either by common or statute law, or by the nature of his official duty or trust, from making a temporary use of the public money intrusted to him, before it was wanted for the public service; provided it was at all times ready, when called for, to answer the purposes for which it was destined. With respect to the warrant, the learned council admitted, that it precluded the treasurer of the navy from making profit of the public money in his hands; but he argued, that the breach of this engagement, had it been committed by lord Melville, (which he denied), did not amount to a public crime or offence, and though it might subject him to civil consequences, could not be the foundation of a criminal charge against him.

This doctrine was impugned, in a very able reply on the part of the managers, by the attorney-general, who contended that a breach of duty, which, between individuals, created nothing but a civil remedy, was in a public accountant an indictable offence. The duty of every officer appointed by the king, was a public duty, which the law would vindicate by criminal proceedings. The warrant prescribed a course of public duty to the defendant, which if he infringed, he was liable to have an indictment or information filed against him by the law officers of the crown. The moment a public

lic duty is cast upon a man, he is responsible by the common law proceedings in respect of his duty. In proof of these positions, the learned gentleman appealed to the authority of lord Mansfield, who, in the case of the king against Bembridge, expressed himself to the following effect:—"If a man accepts an office of trust and confidence, concerning the public, especially when it is attended with profit, he is amenable to the king for the faithful discharge of it, and the king can call upon him by way of indictment:" And afterwards, "where there is a breach of trust, a fraud, or imposition, which, as between subject and subject, would only be liable to an action, it is indictable in the case of the crown."

In answer to the second charge and article of impeachment, Mr. Plumer and Mr. Adam contended, that it was no violation of the act of the 25th of George III. for the treasurer of the navy to draw from the bank of England, money intrusted to him for navy services, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker, or in any other place of deposit, which he thought safe and eligible, till it should be wanted for the purposes for which it was drawn, provided always it was drawn from the bank by drafts, specifying the heads of service to which it was to be applied, as prescribed by the act. In the course of this argument the learned counsel entered into a minute examination of the act, from which, after making a distinction between, "the original and primary place of deposit, and the sole, ultimate and continuing deposit," they concluded, that the act regulated in what manner the money

wanted for navy services should be issued from the exchequer, and paid into the bank, and prescribed the form to be used by the treasurer of the navy in drawing it from the bank; but, that with respect to its subsequent custody, the act was totally silent, and contained no restriction whatever, which could prevent the treasurer from placing it, till wanted, wherever he pleased. They also contended, that from the number and minuteness of the payments made at the navy pay office, the business of that department could not go on, unless there was some other place of deposit for the public money intrusted to the treasurer of the navy, besides the bank of England.

This construction of the act of parliament was treated with ridicule by the attorney-general. The act was a remedial law, intended to take from the treasurer of the navy the custody of the public money, and to deprive him of the opportunity of having that custody, except only where it was inevitable. But, admitting the exposition given of the act by the learned counsel, so absurdly was it contrived, that though it employed the utmost care and precaution in providing for the safe conveyance of the public money from the exchequer to the bank, the moment the money arrived at the bank, it was as much at the disposal of the treasurer, as if the act had never existed. He might draw it out without restraint or limitation, provided only he put it into the form of his draft, "for navy services." The attorney-general contended on the other hand, that the act was violated, unless the money drawn from the bank was *bona fide*, drawn for immediate application

plication to navy services, and that the treasurer was not justified for defeating the principal and main object of the act, by his adherence in his drafts to the literal form of words which it prescribed. The learned gentleman proceeded to shew, that the clauses of the act were consistent with the exposition of it contended for by the commons, while many of these clauses were repugnant to the construction attempted to be put upon it by the defendant. He particularly insisted on the following proviso in the body of the act, "that nothing shall be construed to prevent him (the treasurer of the navy) from drawing for such limited sums, as may be thought necessary by the navy board for paying ships, and carrying on recalls." Seeing in a law such a proviso as this, could he construe it in the way in which the learned counsel for the noble lord, called upon their lordship's to construe it? He did not deny on the part of the commons, that the treasurer might draw small sums from the bank, to supply the daily wants of his sub-accomptants, and carry on the daily business of the navy pay office, but he was not to withdraw large sums on that pretence, in order to lodge them in a place of custody different from that provided by the wisdom of the legislature.

In answer to the *third* charge comprehending the remaining articles of impeachment, the counsel for the defendant began by stating that the charge against lord Melville was not a charge for neglect of duty, for omitting to keep a vigilant and superintending eye over the conduct of his paymaster, whereby the latter was enabled to

commit the offences proved in evidence; but that he wilfully, knowingly, illegally, and fraudulently connived at, and permitted, and authorised all that was done. This charge the learned counsel contended, was directly, positively, clearly and satisfactorily disproved by the evidence brought in support of it. Trotter, though he had every possible motive to extenuate his own offences, by dividing the guilt of them with his patron, had declared upon oath, that all the acts charged against lord Melville, were his own unauthorised acts, and committed without the knowledge or suspicion of that noble lord. But if the evidence of Trotter was rejected as unworthy of credit, the whole evidence for the prosecution fell to the ground; for, it could not scarcely be argued, that his evidence was to be believed when it made against lord Melville, and disregarded when it made in his favour. The learned counsel then entered into an examination of the evidence affecting the defendant, in which we shall not attempt to follow them, having already stated the substance of the evidence as it appears to us, according to the impression which it has made upon our minds.

After the managers had closed their reply, and the lords adjourned to the chamber of parliament, some conversation took place in the house, upon the day to be fixed for discussing the charges, and as the evidence was not all printed, and was very voluminous, it was agreed to defer going into the business for ten days, and accordingly the trial was put off till Wednesday the 28th of May, when the lords were ordered to be summoned.

In the commons a motion was made

made on the 23d of May by general Fitzpatrick, to thank the managers of the impeachment "for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them." This motion was seconded by Sir John Newport, and agreed to with only one dissentient voice. The speaker then calling on the managers, who stood up in their several places, addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"This house upon the result of grave and important inquiries into the administration of the public expenditure, came to the resolution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made, or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people.

"The conduct and management of that power it delegated to you; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situations in the state, rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons entrusted with the public treasure.

"Throughout the progress of the trial so undertaken, we have seen with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and dispatch, which have rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their ancient strength and honour. Upon your part we have also witnessed that unwearied in-

dustry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs;—that boldness so properly belonging to the commons, with which you have maintained the charge, and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions.

"The issue of the whole is now with the lords; and whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the fairest hopes of ultimate justice.

"But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty, you have satisfied the expectation of the commons; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks, and, in obedience to their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution:

"That the thanks of this house be given to the members who were appointed the managers of the impeachment against Henry lord viscount Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them."

General Fitzpatrick then moved, "that Mr. Speaker be desired to print the speech which he made to the managers of the impeachment of lord Melville, in consequence of the resolution of this house:" which was agreed to unanimously.

The house of lords resumed the consideration of the impeachment, on the 28th of May; but, as strangers were excluded from the house, and no report has been published of their debates, we are compelled

pelled to give a very short and imperfect account of the subsequent proceedings of that assembly. We understand, however, that the whole of the first day was consumed in discussions of order. The lord chancellor, in moving that the house should go into a committee on the impeachment, took occasion to express, in very strong language, his disapprobation of the ancient and established practice in such cases, of the house coming to a previous decision in the chamber of parliament, and exacted a sort of pledge, that no votes should be taken on the question, whether the commons had made good any of their charges, until the house went down to Westminster-hall. He announced at the same time, his intention of moving in the committee, that some of the articles should be divided, and discoursed at some length on the defective form in which they had been prepared by the commons. Whereupon some of the lords entered into a vindication of the ancient practice of the house in cases of impeachment, and argued, that the house could not, consistently with its forms, discuss the articles of impeachment, unless there was a question before it, and that, whether the house should divide on that question, must depend not on any general resolution of the whole house, but on the individual members present, any one of whom might insist on taking the sense of the house on the question which it had entertained. A long and warm conversation followed, in which the chief speakers on the one side were the lord chancellor, lord Ellenborough, and lord Radnor, and on the other side lord Lauderdale and lord Holland. At length the house went into a

committee to take into consideration the first article of impeachment, and being afterwards resumed, adjourned till the 30th.

On that day the former subject of discussion was revived by lord Auckland, who rising before the chairman had taken the chair, made a speech of some length enforcing the propriety of a previous discussion and vote, and ended by moving, "That the proceedings on Mr. Hastings's trial, the report of the committee, and questions put to the lords in Westminster-hall should be printed." Lord Ellenborough and lord Erskine replied to lord Auckland—but after some debate his motion was agreed to. The house then resolved itself into a committee, in which, after a long debate on the most expedient mode of framing a question, which would bring to a fair issue the propriety of dividing the first article of impeachment, as proposed by the lord Chancellor and lord Ellenborough—and after a full discussion of the question itself, an amendment proposing a division of the article, was negatived by a majority of 72 to 53. The chief speakers for the amendment were lord Erskine and lord Ellenborough; against it, lord Eldon and lord Stanhope. It was then resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the first question put to the lords in Westminster-hall shall be, "Is Henry viscount Melville guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours charged upon him in the first article of the impeachment, or not guilty?"—Then the like motions were made on the other nine articles, and severally agreed to.

The house being again, on the

2d of June, put into a committee, to consider farther of the impeachment, it was moved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the commons have made good their first article of charge. After a long debate, the house was resumed, and the judges ordered to attend next day.

On the 3d of June, the following questions were, on the motion of lord Eldon, put to the judges, which, with the substance of the opinions of the judges thereupon, delivered on the 5th of June, we subjoin.

The first question put to the judges was as follows: "Whether monies issued from the exchequer to the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, pursuant to the act 25 Geo. III. cap. 31. may be lawfully drawn from the said bank by the person duly authorized by the treasurer to draw upon the bank, according to the said act; the drafts of such person being made for the purpose of discharging bills actually assigned upon the treasurer before the date of such drafts, but not actually presented for payment before such drawing; and whether such monies, so drawn, for such purpose, may be lawfully lodged and deposited in the hands of a banker, other than the bank, until the payment of such assigned bills, and for the purpose of making payment thereof, when the payment thereof shall be demanded, or whether such act, in so drawing monies and lodging and depositing the same as aforesaid, is in the law a crime or offence?" Upon this

question the lord chief justice of the court of common pleas delivered the unanimous opinion of the judges, that the monies described in the question might be lawfully drawn from the bank by the person duly authorized by the treasurer, lawfully lodged and deposited in the hands of a private banker, "and that such act, in so drawing such monies, and lodging and depositing the same as aforesaid, is not in the law a crime or offence."

The second question put to the judges was: "Whether monies issued from the exchequer to the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of the navy, pursuant to the act 25 Geo. III. cap. 31. may be lawfully drawn therefrom, by drafts drawn in the name, and on the behalf of the said treasurer, in the form prescribed in the same act, for the purpose of such monies being ultimately applied to navy services; but, in the mean time, and until the same should be required to be so applied, for the purpose of being deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depository of such monies, in the name, and under the immediate sole control and disposition of some other person or persons than the said treasurer himself." Upon this second question, "If by the expression for the purpose of being deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depository, it is to be understood, that such was the object or reason of drawing the money out of the bank of England, the judges answer, that monies may not be lawfully drawn out of the bank of England by the

“ the treasurer of the navy, for
 “ such purpose, although the
 “ money be intended to be, and
 “ may in fact be, ultimately ap-
 “ plied to navy services. But, if
 “ by that expression it is to be un-
 “ derstood, that such intermediate
 “ deposit, in the hands of a private
 “ banker or depository, is made,
 “ *bona fide*, as the means, or sup-
 “ posed means, of more conveni-
 “ ently applying the money to navy
 “ services, in that case, the judges
 “ answer, that monies may be law-
 “ fully drawn in the terms of the
 “ question, and lawfully deposited in
 “ the hands of a private banker, in
 “ the name and under the sole con-
 “ trol and disposition of other per-
 “ sons than the treasurer of the
 “ navy.

Several other questions for the consideration of the judges were proposed to the house, but on a division they were negatived; after which, the house proceeded on the 5th of June, to go into a committee for the further consideration of the impeachment; when it was moved, “ that it is the opinion of this committee, that the commons have made good the second article of charge;” and, after a debate, ordered, “ that the farther consideration of this article be postponed.” Similar resolutions were moved on the other articles, and after each article had been sufficiently discussed, the consideration of it was, in like manner, postponed, without coming to a division; by which it was intended, that the advantages of discussion in the chamber of parliament should be obtained, without any vote on the charges, before the house went down to Westminster-hall. On the 5th of June, the 2d, 3d, and 4th

articles of impeachment were in this manner discussed; and on the 6th, the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th articles were in like manner disposed of.— Another question was also submitted to the judges on the 6th of June in the following words: “ Whe-
 “ ther it was lawful for the treasu-
 “ rer of the navy, before the pas-
 “ sing of the act of 25 Geo. III.
 “ cap. 31. and more especially,
 “ when by warrant from his majes-
 “ ty, his salary, as such treasurer
 “ as aforesaid, was augmented in
 “ full satisfaction for all wages, fees,
 “ and other profits and emoluments,
 “ to apply any sum of money en-
 “ trusted to him for navy pur-
 “ poses, to any other one whatso-
 “ ever, public or private, without
 “ express authority for so doing:
 “ and whether such application by
 “ such treasurer, would have been
 “ a misdemeanor, or punishable by
 “ information or indictment?” To
 which question the judges unani-
 mously answered, that it was “ not
 unlawful for the treasurer” so to
 apply the money entrusted to him
 for navy services, “ so as to con-
 stitute a misdemeanor punishable
 by information or indictment.”—
 This opinion was delivered on the
 9th of June, and on the same day
 the lords brought to a conclusion
 their deliberations on the impeach-
 ment, by discussing the tenth and
 last article in the usual form.

We most unfeignedly lament,
 that we are unable to communi-
 cate to our readers the particulars
 of these discussions in the chamber
 of parliament, as they would no
 doubt contribute materially to ex-
 plain the subsequent votes of the
 majority in Westminster-hall. We
 understand, however, that among
 those who spoke in support of the
 impeachment,

impeachment, were the lord chancellor, bishop of St. Asaph, lords Ellenborough, Lauderdale, Holland, St. John, Donoughmore, Somers, Grosvenor, Sidmouth and Stanhope; and that the chief speakers on the other side were lord Eldon, the archbishop of Canterbury, lords Hawkesbury, Abercorn, Carlton and Westmoreland. But the noble lord, whose ingenuity and eloquence were exerted with the greatest effect in defence of the noble lord under impeachment, was lord Eldon. That noble and learned lord, considering the point of law to be settled by the opinions of the judges, directed himself in this debate, chiefly to repel from the noble defendant the charge of corruption. In the course of his argument for that purpose, he admitted with great candour, and in the most explicit terms, that the noble lord, now upon his trial, had been guilty of "culpable negligence" in the discharge of his duty—and of "criminal indulgence" to his paymaster; and he declared, that had these been the charges brought by the commons, he must have pronounced the noble lord guilty of the charges; but the noble lord was charged with corruption, and of that crime he saw

no evidence that satisfied his conscience.

Lord Grenville and lord Spencer were not present at these discussions—nor did they vote in Westminster-hall. They had both attended, for the first two days, the examination of the evidence, but finding that the time occupied in the proceedings in Westminster-hall interfered with the discharge of their official duties, they discontinued their attendance, and took no part afterwards in the trial.

On the 12th of June the house having adjourned to Westminster-hall, and being there resumed, the lord chancellor put the question, beginning at the junior baron, "Is Henry viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" And all the lords present having declared guilty or not guilty, the lord chancellor, after casting up the votes, declared lord Melville not guilty. Then his lordship declared to him, "that the lords had fully considered of his case, and had found him not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors charged on him by the impeachment of the house of commons."

We subjoin to this account of the trial, the numbers of those who voted guilty or not guilty on the different articles of impeachment.

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Not guilty ----	120	81	83	135	131	88	85	121	121	124
Guilty	15	54	52	0	3	47	50	14	14	11
Majority	105	27	31	135	128	41	35	107	107	113

We subjoin also a list of the peers who voted on lord Melville's impeachment, with an account of the manner in which they voted :

GUILTY ON THE FOLLOWING CHARGES.

Lord Chancellor, 2, 3, 6, 7
 DUKES—Clarence, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10
 Kent, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Sussex, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10
 Gloucester, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9
 Lord President, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
 Lord Privy Seal, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
 DUKES—Norfolk, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
 Somerset, 2, 3
 St. Albans, 2, 3, 6, 7
 MARQUISSES—Winchester, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
 Headfort, 2, 3, 6, 7
 EARLS—Derby, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
 Suffolk, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
 Winchelsea, 2, 3
 Carlisle, 2, 3, 7
 Breadalbane, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Stair, 2, 3
 Oxford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Cowper, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
 Stanhope, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
 Buckinghamshire, 2
 Egremont, 2
 Radnor, 2, 3, 6, 9
 Grosvenor, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Mansfield, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Carnarvon, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
 Enniskillen, 7
 Donoughmore, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Rosslyn, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Charleville, 7

VISCOUNT Hereford, 2, 3, 6, 7

BISHOP of St. Asaph, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9

BARONS—De Clifford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
 St. John, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Clifton, 2, 3, 6, 7
 King, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
 Ponsonby, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9

Holland, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Dynevor, 7
 Grantley, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Rawdon, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Bulkeley, 6, 7
 Somers, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
 Fife, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
 Verulam, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Gage, 2, 3, 7
 Auckland, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Upper Ossory, 2
 Dundas, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Yarborough, 2, 3, 6
 Dawnay, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
 De Dunstanville, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
 Minto, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Lilford, 2, 3
 Carysfort, 2, 3, 6, 7
 Ellenborough, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
 Lauderdale, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
 Crewe, 2, 3, 6, 7

NOT GUILTY UPON ALL THE CHARGES.

DUKES.

York	Beaufort
Cumberland	Rutland
Cambridge	

MARQUISSES.

Salisbury	Cornwallis
Abercorn	Hertford

EARLS.

Aylesford	Bathurst
Dartmouth	Uxbridge
Bridgewater	Camden
Westmoreland	Strange
Essex	Mount Edgecombe
Doncaster	Fortescue
Strathmore	Digby
Kellie	Westmeath
Aboyne	Longford
Glasgow	Lucan
Bristol	Caledon
Macclesfield	Onslow
Graham	Chichester
Hardwicke	Limerick
Chatham	Powis

VISCOUNTS.

VISCOUNTS.

Wentworth Lowther
Hampden

BISHOPS.

Bath and Wells Chichester

BARONS.

Spencer of Worm-Boston
 leighton Rodney
Ashburnham Elliot
Cathcart Borriugdon
Hay Berwick
Grantham Montague

Hawkesbury	Harewood
Kenyon	Rolle
Braybrook	Carrington
Amberst	Bayning
Douglas of Dou-	Bolton
glas	Northwick
Douglas of Loch-	Eldon
leven	St. Helens
Mulgrave	Thomond
Bradford	Archer
Stuart of Castle	Sheffield
Stuart	Barham

CHAPTER VII.

Peace of Presburg—Treaty of Vienna between France and Prussia, and Occupation of Hanover by the latter—Affairs of Naples—Treaty of Portici—Violation of the Neutrality of Naples by the English and Russians—Acquiescence of the Court of Naples in this Proceeding—Proclamation of Bonaparte against the Neapolitan Dynasty—Evacuation of Naples by the Russians and English—Flight of their Sicilian Majesties to Palermo—Progress of the French Army under Joseph Bonaparte—Its Entrance into Naples—Duke of Calabria retires with a Body of Troops to join General Damas, in Calabria—Pursued by Regnier—Actions at Lago Negro and Campo Jeneu, in which the Neapolitans are defeated and their Army dispersed—Joseph Bonaparte declared King of Naples by his Brother—Efforts of the Court of Palermo to excite Disturbances against him—In Abruzzo—In Calabria—Expedition of Sir Sidney Smith to the Coast of Naples—Sir James Craig succeeded in the Command of the British Army in Sicily, by Sir John Stuart—Expedition of Sir John Stuart to Calabria—Battle of Maida—Consequences of that Victory—French expelled from the two Calabrias—Return of the English Army to Sicily—Operations along the Coast—Surrender of Gaeta—Progress and Cruelties of the French in Calabria—Account of the Massé, or Calabrian Insurgents and their Leaders—Sir John Stuart succeeded in the Command of the English Army by General Fox—Reasons for not acceding to the Wishes of the Court of Palermo, and making another Expedition to Calabria—State of Sicily—Occupation of Cattaro by the Russians—Of Ragusa, by the French—Siege of Ragusa, by the Russians and Montenegrins—Battle of Castelnuovo.

THE armistice, concluded at Austerlitz, by prince John, of Lichtenstein and marshal Berthier, was followed by conferences for a separate peace between France and Austria. This negotiation, which was entrusted to Talleyrand on the part of France, and conducted by prince John of Lichtenstein and count Ignaz de Guylac on the side of Austria, was soon brought to a favourable issue. A definitive treaty of peace was signed by these plenipotentiaries, at Presburg, on the 26th of December, and was, next day, ratified by the French emperor. Prince John of Lichtenstein, who was the chief adviser of the emperor of Germany in these pacific measures, is accused by the partisans of the

the coalition, of having betrayed his master into a system which they consider fatal to the interests and derogatory from the honour of his crown, for so trivial a consideration as the prospect of removing the pressure of war from his own private estates in Moravia. But, however selfish the motives of the adviser, it is clear from all the events which have since occurred, that the advice was most salutary and judicious; and, that to the promptitude with which this treaty was concluded, and to the fidelity with which it has been observed, Austria owes the privilege of being still an independent state.

The terms however of the peace of Presburg were much less favourable to the emperor of Germany than those, which, in similar extremities, he had formerly obtained from the ruler of France. By the present treaty he was compelled to renounce his share of the Venetian territories, which, at the peace of Luneville, had been reckoned no inadequate compensation for his loss of the Low Countries; and to consent, that these valuable provinces should be annexed to the kingdom of Italy. He was also forced to cede the county of Tyrol and lordships of Voralberg to the king of Bavaria, the hereditary enemy of his family; and to abandon his possessions in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, to be divided among the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the elector of Baden. The only territory bestowed upon him in compensation for so many losses, was the county of Saltzburgh and Berchstolgaden, which was taken from his brother the archduke Ferdinand, and formally incorporated with the empire

of Austria; while the archduke in return received the territory of Wurtzburg from the king of Bavaria, accompanied by a promise of the emperor Napoleon's good offices, to obtain for him a full and entire indemnity in Germany. The grand-mastership of the Teutonic order, with all the rights, domains, and revenues belonging to it, was also transferred in perpetuity to the house of Austria, to be held as an hereditary dignity in the family of any one of its princes, whom the emperor of Germany and Austria should appoint. The total cessions of Austria have been estimated in extent of territory at 1297 square miles; in number of subjects at 2,716,000 souls; and in loss of revenue at 16,060,000 florins, or about L. 1,600,000. But these arithmetical details give but a faint idea of the loss of power and influence, which Austria has sustained, in consequence of the part she took in the disastrous coalition. By the cession of her Venetian territories, she is excluded entirely from Italy, and reduced from being the natural mistress of the Adriatic, to be the humble possessor of her antient, solitary port of Trieste. By her loss of the Tyrol and resignation of her remaining possessions on the Rhine and upper Danube, she is cut off from all connexion with Switzerland, and removed one step farther to the eastward, from her antient and natural allies. She is become less formidable for offensive war, and by the loss of a frontier, which covered a great part of her dominions, she is more exposed to the attacks of her enemies. The foreign trade of her territories is at the mercy of others, and in the only

quarter, where she can expect acquisitions of importance, she is beset by a powerful rival, on the watch to observe her motions and partake in her conquests.—In addition to her cessions of territory, Austria was compelled by this treaty to recognize Bonaparte's newly created kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and to submit to further spoliations of the territory, and new encroachments on the constitution of the empire.

While the plenipotentiaries at Presburg were settling the conditions of peace between France and Austria, a treaty was concluded at Vienna between France and Prussia, which led, at a subsequent period, to important consequences. The ostensible object of this treaty was to secure the tranquillity of the north of Germany, and prevent the revival of hostilities in that quarter. It stipulated, that the French emperor should suspend the march of his army against Hanover, and send no more troops into that country; on condition, that the blockade of Hameln should be raised, and its garrison supplied with provisions, and that the forces of the allies in Hanover should be withdrawn and replaced with Prussians. This treaty was signed at Vienna on the 15th of December by count Haugwitz and general Duroc, and such of its engagements as the contracting parties thought proper to make public, were carried into immediate execution. The blockade of Hameln was raised, and its garrison supplied with provisions by order of the Hanoverian regency. The French armies advancing

against Hanover were ordered back. The British forces under lord Cathcart retired to Bremen, and waited there for the arrival of transports to convey them to England. Bad weather prevented them from embarking till the beginning of February, but owing to the protection of the armistice, they remained in perfect security and without the smallest molestation from the French. The Russians, who had been left by their emperor at the entire disposal of the king of Prussia, were marched, in the first instance, to the city of Hanover, and afterwards across the Elbe. The Swedes also withdrew to the other side of that river, and took up their quarters in Lauenburg and Mecklenburg, where they published a proclamation,* declaring that the dominions of his Britannic majesty on the right bank of the Elbe, were under the protection of Sweden.—As the allies evacuated the country, the Prussians entered and took possession of it; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Hanoverian minister, who protested in vain against their proceedings, they occupied before the middle of February the whole electorate of Hanover, except Hameln, where the French had still a garrison, and Lauenburg, which was held by the Swedes.

After the retreat of the Russians and conclusion of treaties with Austria and Prussia, the French emperor had no remaining enemy within his reach, except the king of Naples, whose recent conduct had been such as to provoke the utmost fury of his indignation. A
treaty

* At Boitzenburg, Feb. 2d. 1806.

treaty of neutrality between France and Naples had been concluded at Paris on the 21st of September, by Talleyrand, and the marquis di Gallo; and ratified at Portici by the king of Naples on the 8th of October. By this treaty, the French agreed to withdraw their troops from the Neapolitan territory, where they had been stationed, without any justifiable pretence, since the commencement of the war with England; and the king of Naples engaged, in return, to remain neutral in the war between France and the allies, and to repel by force, every encroachment on his neutrality. He more particularly became bound not to permit the troops of any belligerent power to enter his territories; not to confide the command of his armies or defence of his strong places to any Russian or Austrian officer, or French emigrant, or subject of any belligerent; and not to admit any belligerent squadron into his ports. But hardly had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when every one of its stipulations was violated by the court of Naples. On the 20th of November a squadron of English and Russian ships of war appeared in the bay of Naples, and landed a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. It is still doubtful, whether this expedition was undertaken by the allies in concert with the Neapolitan government; but, whether previously consulted or not, by not opposing the landing of the troops, nor even remonstrating against it, the latter made itself a party to the transaction, and forfeited the neutrality secured to it by the treaty recently concluded. Such at least

was the interpretation of its conduct by the French ambassador at Naples, who instantly took down the arms of France from over the gate of his hotel, and demanded passports, to enable him to leave the kingdom. Had the court of Naples been able to justify itself from a participation in the counsels that led to these proceedings, or been still desirous of maintaining its neutrality in the war between France and the allies, this was the moment for explanation. But, instead of keeping open the door for accommodation, it suffered the French ambassador to depart, without even attempting a vindication of its conduct; and contented itself with issuing a decree, in which, after slightly alluding to the late transactions, but without even condescending to say, that the neutrality of its territory had been violated against its will, it promised to foreign merchants, subjects of the allies of France, and resident in the Neapolitan dominions, who might otherwise be alarmed at the departure of the French ambassador, protection for their property, and permission to pursue their commerce.—The appearance of such a decree, at such a juncture, was regarded by France as an unequivocal declaration, that the late proceedings of the allies at Naples, if not undertaken at the request of the Neapolitan government, were agreeable to its wishes; and if any doubts had remained of its intention to disregard the treaty of Portici, and connect itself with the allies, its subsequent conduct would have soon removed them.

The Russians, who were in number about 14,000 men, under general

neral Lascey, landed at Naples, and were quartered in that city and its neighbourhood. The English, amounting to about 10,000, disembarked at Castell-a-mare, and were cantoned at that place, at Torre del Greco and in the vicinity. Sir James Craig was commander in chief of the English forces, and sir John Stuart second in command. No sooner were the troops on shore, than preparations for active hostilities were begun by the government of Naples. Levies of Neapolitans were ordered. Horses and waggons, necessary for the advance of the army, were provided. Magazines were collected, and every demonstration was given by the court of Naples, that, if not consulted before the expedition was undertaken, the plan of operations, whatever it was, had now its hearty approbation and support.

It is impossible in reviewing these transactions, not to be struck with the blindness of the Neapolitan government, as well as with the want of any rational or intelligible object in the measures of the allies.—For what purpose, we naturally ask, were troops landed at Naples? Were the English and Russians so ill-informed of what was passing in that kingdom, as not to know, that the French garrisons were already withdrawn from it? Is it true, as the Russians have asserted*, that this expedition was undertaken with the aim of producing a diversion in favour of the Austrians in Lombardy? But is it credible, that the authors of the expedition could seriously believe, that by landing an army at Naples, they would check

the operations of Massena on the Adige? Was it not probable, that the fate of the campaign in Lombardy would be decided, before the allied army would advance from Naples to the Po, though it should experience no opposition or obstacle in its march? If the purpose of the expedition had been to serve the Austrians and promote the common cause of the alliance, would not that object have been more effectually accomplished by sending troops to Venice, than by landing them at Naples? Were the allies so intoxicated with dreams of success, when the court of Petersburg gave orders for this expedition, that it was thought necessary, thus early in the war, to take measures for securing to Russia a preponderating influence in the south of Italy? Was it not distrust in the moderation of Austria, should her armies prove successful in Lombardy, rather than the project of assisting her, while contending for victory, that suggested this step to her associate? But, if the views of the allies are difficult of explanation, the conduct of the court of Naples could proceed only from the violence and imprudence of passion. Naples was already freed from the burthen of supporting a French army. If the allies were successful, she was secure from its return. Any assistance she could render the general cause, was so utterly insignificant, that if she had not been bound by treaty to be neutral, her inability to give any effectual aid to the allies, ought to have been a sufficient reason for their wishing her to remain so. But, while Naples

* Note of the Russian minister (Tatischeff) to the marquis di Circello, Naples. June 6, 1806.

ples was incapable of assisting effectually in the prosecution of the war, her breach of neutrality was sure to draw down ruin on her head, if France was victorious.

It was not long before the court of Naples was made sensible of the full extent of its imprudence. On the morning after the signature of the peace of Presburg, Bonaparte issued a proclamation from his head quarters at Vienna, declaring "the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign," and denouncing vengeance against the reigning family, in terms, that left no hope of pardon or accommodation. Hardly had this threatening proclamation reached Naples, when the allies, who had brought the Neapolitan government into these difficulties, set the first example of flight, and abandoned to their fate the royal personages, whom they had so inexcusably involved in ruin. A courier arrived at Naples, with orders from the emperor Alexander, for the Russian troops to re-embark and return to Corfu. The retreat of the Russians led necessarily to that of the English. Had the Russians remained, who formed the greater part of the allied army, there is a strong position on the road from Rome to Naples, having the mountains of Abruzzo on the right, and the Ganigliano on the left, which might have been maintained against the French.—But, after the departure of the Russians, the English were too few in number for so extensive a line of defence, and, therefore, sir James Craig determined on retiring with his troops to Sicily, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy.—This resolution, which seems, in-

deed, the only reasonable plan left him to adopt, he carried into execution without delay, and thus secured Sicily from the French, which, had he attempted, without success, the defence of Naples, must have fallen into their hands without resistance. This hasty retreat of sir James Craig seems to have excited murmurs among his soldiers, who, with the spirit natural to British troops, were indignant at the appearance of flying before an enemy, distant from them many hundred miles.* It was still less acceptable to the court of Naples, which was unwilling to abandon its capital, and too weak, without assistance, to attempt its defence.—But, the British general, disregarding the murmurs of the one, and remonstrances of the other, persisted in his resolution; and being convinced, that Naples could not be defended with the forces under his command, he wisely determined not to expose his troops to the consequences of their ardor and inexperience, nor to sacrifice them to the wild and extravagant projects of the court of Naples.

In the mean time a French army, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Massena, Regnier, and other generals of reputation, was advancing towards Naples; and on the 9th of February its head-quarters were at Ferentino on the frontiers of that kingdom. From this place a proclamation was issued by Joseph Bonaparte, threatening the court of Naples with the severest vengeance for its breach of faith, and violation of the treaty of Portici, but promising to the people, that if they submitted to the French arms, their religion, laws,

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and

* General orders, head-quarters at Messina, April 6th, 1806.

and property should be respected. Having passed the frontiers of the kingdom, the French advanced in three divisions. The right commanded by Regnier, marched to Gaeta without opposition, and summoned the prince of Hesse Philipsthatt, the governor of that place to surrender, offering him honourable terms of capitulation, and warning him of the inefficacy of resistance. The answer of the prince of Hesse was a determinate refusal to capitulate; on which the French attacked and carried the redoubt of St. André, defended by ten pieces of cannon, but lost in the attack general Gigny, an excellent officer, much lamented by their army. The centre division, under the command of Massena, met with no resistance in its march to Naples. Capua surrendered on the 12th of February, and on the 15th, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, the garrison left in that city and in the neighbouring forts having previously capitulated. Next day, he went publicly to mass, which was celebrated by cardinal Ruffo, archbishop of Naples; and to display his devotion in a manner more gratifying to the populace, he presented a diamond necklace, as an offering to Saint Januarius, the tutelary saint of Naples.

The unfortunate king of Naples had left his capital on the 23d of January, to seek refuge, a second time, at Palermo; and the queen had followed his example. Part of the Neapolitan army accompanied the king and queen in their flight, and a number of persons, connected with the court, or obnoxious to the French, made their escape along with them. Though the king had been always a favourite with the

populace, no effort was made to detain him, nor disposition shewn, as on a former occasion, to arm in his defence. The queen was detested by all ranks of people, and no sentiment, but exultation, attended her flight. Her meddling, intriguing, character must ever have prevented her from acquiring popularity; but to have drawn upon her the universal abhorrence of her subjects, it was necessary that she should have displayed such a vindictive temper, and shed such a profusion of blood, as had marked her return from her former exile. There was hardly a noble or respectable family in Naples, which had not to lament some victim sacrificed on that occasion to her resentment; and such was the impression left in their minds, of her cruel, unrelenting character, that, when she sailed from Naples, there was but one wish in the city, that she might never return to it.

The duke of Calabria, heir apparent of Naples, to whom the king his father, before his departure, had delegated the regency of the kingdom, during his own absence, remained at Naples till the 7th of February. But, having tried in vain to open a negociation with the French, he abandoned the city on their approach, and retired, with a body of troops, to Calabria; where general Damas, a French emigrant in the Neapolitan service, was at the head of a considerable force, endeavouring to organize a levy *en masse*, for the defence of that part of the kingdom. The activity of the French, however, left the Neapolitan generals but a short time to complete their preparations. General Regnier was called from before Gaeta, and sent after the fugitives with part of the army which

which had entered Naples. No stand seems to have been made by the Neapolitan generals, till they reached the frontiers of Calabria; but having taken a strong position at Lago Negro, they determined to wait there the approach of the enemy. An action ensued, in which the Neapolitans, after attempting in vain to defend the passage of a small rivulet, were driven with great loss from their position. This action, which seems to have been obstinately disputed on the part of the Neapolitans, was fought on the 6th of March. On the two following days Regnier continued to advance, driving small parties of the Neapolitans before him, and on the 9th he attacked their army in its entrenched position at Campo Tenese. According to the French accounts, the Neapolitans behaved most shamefully on this occasion. They are said to have fled at the first onset, abandoning their cannon and baggage, and about 2000 prisoners to the enemy; and to have dispersed after the battle so completely, that general Damas was unable, in his flight, to collect together more than 900 infantry and 50 horse. This account of the action at Campo Tenese, we have no particular grounds for calling in question; but we have understood, in general, that the disasters of the Neapolitan army in Calabria, were owing more to the want of skill and courage in their leaders, than to any misconduct in the troops.—The battle of Campo Tenese, if it deserves the name, put an end for the present to the war in Calabria. Regnier advanced to Neggis at the extremity of the peninsula, and placed a French garrison in the fort of Scylla. Another division

of the French army marched, without opposition, to Tarento, and took possession of that important city, the most conveniently situated of any in the kingdom, for menacing at once both Sicily and Greece.

The whole kingdom of Naples had now submitted to the French arms, except Gaeta and Civitella del Tranto, in the farther Abruzzo.—Gaeta, which is situated on the point of a rocky promontory, washed on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, strongly fortified, was still held by the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal; and such was the strength of the place and resolution of the governor, that the French had no chance of becoming masters of it, without a regular siege; which, for want of battering cannon, they were unable for some time to commence. But, though no enemy appeared against them in the field, the country they had subdued was far from being tranquil. Assassinations, robberies, and other disorders, inseparable from a dissolution of government, broke out at Naples and in other parts of the kingdom, and required for their suppression, the most rigorous and vigilant police. These disorders, which filled the better sort of Neapolitans with the most dismal apprehensions, were fomented by the partizans and emissaries of the old government, who thought to distress the French, by exciting disturbances in the country. But, such wretched policy had no other effect than to alienate still farther from the exiled family, all persons of rank, property, or consideration at Naples, and to attach them more firmly to the French interest, from the predominance of which

only they could expect security and protection. The knowledge that such were the sentiments of the principal Neapolitans, determined Bonaparte to make known, without further delay, his ultimate intentions with respect to Naples. He had already declared, that the exiled family should never return to occupy the throne which they had abandoned. He now issued a decree, conferring the crown of Naples on his brother Joseph and his legitimate heirs-male; without prejudice to their eventual claim to the throne of France; but with a proviso, that the crown of France and that of Naples should never be united on the same head. In pursuance of this decree, which was communicated to the French senate on the 30th of March, Joseph Bonaparte caused himself to be proclaimed king of Naples, and made all the constituted authorities of the kingdom, take an oath of fidelity to him. The city of Naples was illuminated on this occasion, with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction on the part of the nobles, who were eager to shew their attachment to their new king, and accept of offices and distinctions in his service, in order to mark, not so much their devotion to him, as their aversion for the exiled family. That those, whose families had suffered in the former revolution, and who had since lived in banishment or retirement, should join heartily in support of the new government, is not to be wondered at, nor blamed. But there was a want of decency and propriety in the conduct of those, who having recently held employments under the late government, and enjoyed its favours and confidence, took this early opportunity of renouncing all connection

with it, and of attaching themselves to the fortunes of their new king.—The marquis di Gallo, for example, must have offended every man of honour, by the political profligacy he displayed, in accepting the office of minister of foreign affairs from Joseph Bonaparte, within three days after his return from Paris, where he had been ambassador of Naples, under the former government. Nor can the duke of St. Theodore, who accepted of a place in the household of the new king, be excused for his desertion of the exiled monarch, on account of his near relationship to Caraccioli, when it is considered, that, subsequent to the melancholy fate of his kinsman, he had been ambassador of Naples at the court of Madrid, and so much in the confidence of their Neapolitan majesties, as to have been selected for that post, to serve as a counsellor and director to their unfortunate daughter, married to the heir apparent of the Spanish monarchy. From cardinal Ruffo no person ever expected either honour or consistency; and his apostacy was received without the smallest surprise.

The assumption of the regal dignity in Naples by Joseph Bonaparte, and the defection of so many persons of distinction, excited the liveliest indignation at the court of Palermo. Instead of profiting by their past misfortunes, the queen and duke of Calabria listened to no counsels, but such as flattered their anger with plans of vengeance, or soothed their impatience with idle projects for regaining their lost dominions. Though driven from Naples by their inability to resist the French arms, they were now eager to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, and confident of ex-

pulling from it an enemy, whose invasion they had not ventured to oppose, or even dared to await.—No event had happened since their flight, to encourage them in so wild and unpromising an enterprise.—They had no foreign succour to reckon upon, nor prospect of any diversion of importance in their favour. To the efforts of their Neapolitan subjects alone, could they look for assistance; but, to expect a prosperous issue to their attempts, without farther aid than their late subjects could afford, was to suppose, that Neapolitans fighting to subvert their government, were more formidable than Neapolitans fighting in its defence. Plans founded on such expectations, terminated as might have been foreseen. In some of the provinces of Naples, emissaries from the court of Palermo were successful in exciting insurrections against the French, and in all they produced a spirit of restlessness and insubordination, which gave to the new government great inquietude. But no permanent good resulted from these disturbances, to compensate the present evils to which they led. Abruzzo and Calabria were delivered for a short time from the French yoke. But, though the insurgents fought with unparalleled courage and intrepidity, and were successful in many encounters, the numbers and discipline of the French prevailed in the end; so that after a fruitless waste of blood and perpetration of atrocities, on all sides, disgraceful to humanity, these provinces were again compelled to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte for their sovereign.

The provinces of Abruzzo, though naturally poor, are inhabited by a more respectable and less indigent peasantry, than the other

parts of the kingdom of Naples.—The late government, which stood in awe of the Abruzzese, had been careful not to violate their privileges, nor in any sort to oppress them; and had, on the contrary, relieved them from some local taxes unfavorable to their industry. So easy is it for princes to gain the affections of their subjects, that these slight favours had kindled a lively spirit of loyalty and attachment to the exiled family in the breasts of the Abruzzese. When, therefore, a successful sally from Gaëta had enabled part of the garrison of that fortress to cut its way through the besieging army, and reach the mountains of Abruzzo, the flames of insurrection spread rapidly over the province. Little is known of the subsequent history of this war. It appears, however, that Civitella del Tranto, in the further Abruzzo, was compelled, after a long resistance, to surrender to the French; and that an unsuccessful attempt was made by the English to open a communication with the insurgents.—But, though destitute of foreign succour, such is the natural strength of the country, which is mountainous, and full of defiles and strong positions, that the Abruzzese, who had taken up arms, defended themselves for many months against the French, and submitted at length on honourable terms of capitulation.

Calabria is a mountainous, woody and unhealthy region, well adapted for defensive war. Its proximity to Sicily affords frequent and easy means of communicating with that island; and, when the theatre of hostilities, its extensive coast assures incalculable advantages to the party, who are masters at sea. The Calabrians were, indeed, but little influenced by sentiments of loyalty or attachment

attachment to their late government : but they were a warlike, ferocious people, easily excited to take up arms. Persons of property in Calabria, lived in towns, and were little inclined to engage in commotions. But, the peasants and villagers were a miserable, savage, and rapacious race, ready to embark in any service, which promised to gratify their thirst for plunder, or to afford them means of indulging their private animosities and resentments. Divided into separate communities or townships, among which there prevailed the most inveterate feuds, they were unaccustomed to order or repose, and engaged often in open hostilities with one another, or with the inhabitants of the towns. So slight was the intercourse between different parts of the country, that some Albanian refugees, having settled in the heart of Calabria, soon after the death of Scanderbeg, their descendants still used a Greek dialect, and, in some places, followed the ritual of the Greek church. Feudal institutions still prevailed in Calabria, and were enforced with rigour. But, as the nobles resided not on their estates, their authority over their vassals, was inconsiderable ; and the peasants, who were strangers to their persons, and unacquainted with their existence, except through the rents and services exacted in their name, were under the direction of men of inferior condition, whom the money and promises of the court of Palermo had attached to its interests. The recollection of their former expedition to Naples, was fresh in the minds of the Calabrians ; and the plunder they had made, and the licence they had enjoyed on that occasion, disposed

them to embark again willingly in the same cause. Assistance was also to be expected from the troops of banditti and free-booters, who had their haunts in Calabria, and who were but too ready in this, as they had been in the former war, to exercise their trade under the sanction of a lawful government. Disbanded galley slaves and malefactors escaped from justice, were employed as emissaries, to work upon these materials and stir them to insurrection. But, notwithstanding so many propitious circumstances, such was the universal dread of the French arms, that the court would hardly have attained its ends, had not an English army landed on the coast of Calabria, and begun its military operations by a most splendid and glorious victory.

About the middle of April, sir Sidney Smith had arrived at Palermo, in the *Pompee* of 84 guns, and taken the command of the English squadron, destined for the defence of Sicily, consisting of five ships of the line, besides frigates, transports, and gun boats. With this force under his command, sir Sidney sailed to the coast of Italy, and began his operations by introducing into Gaeta, supplies of stores and ammunition, of which its garrison had been greatly in want. Having performed this important service, and left at Gaeta a flotilla of gun boats, under the protection of a frigate, to assist in the defence of the place, he proceeded to the bay of Naples, spreading such alarm along the coast, that the French conveyed in haste to Naples, part of their battering train from the trenches before Gaeta, in order to protect the capital from insult, and secure it from attack. It happened, that at the moment

moment when sir Sidney came in sight of Naples, that city was illuminated on account of Joseph Bonaparte, being proclaimed king of the two Sicilies. It was in the power of the English admiral to have disturbed their festivity; but, as the sufferers from his interference must have been the inhabitants of Naples, and not the French troops, or the new king, he wisely and humanely forbore, and made for the isle of Capri; of which he took possession, after a slight resistance, and placed in it an English garrison.—He then proceeded southward along the coast, giving the greatest annoyance every where to the enemy, obstructing by land, and intercepting entirely by sea their communication along the shore, so as to retard their operations against Gaeta, which was the chief purpose for undertaking this expedition. On the return of sir Sidney to Palermo, after the conclusion of this service, he was led, from the active turn and sanguine temper of his mind, to enter with eagerness into the projects of the court, and to second its views on Calabria, to the utmost of his power. Finding him favorably inclined to their schemes, and anxious to distinguish himself by some great exploit, their Sicilian majesties invested the British admiral with the the most ample authority in Calabria, and even constituted him their viceroy in that province. But, though active and indefatigable in the duties of his new department, and successful in distributing money, arms, and ammunition among the Calabrians, he soon found, that, unless an English army made its appearance in the country, there was no chance of his producing an insurrection against the French. It be-

came, therefore, necessary for the court of Palermo, either to abandon the fruit of all its intrigues and machinations, or to prevail on the commander of the English forces in Sicily to invade Calabria with part of his army.

After the evacuation of Naples, sir James Craig had retired with the English army to Sicily, and established his head quarters at Messina, as the station best adapted for protecting the island from invasion.—There he remained till April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to sir John Stuart, who was soon after entrusted by his Sicilian majesty with the defence of the east coast of Sicily from Melazzo to Cape Passaro, and with the command of the Sicilian troops in that district. The army continued in its position at Messina till the end of June, without attempting offensive operations against the enemy. It was of the utmost importance to England, that Sicily should not fall under the dominion of France; and, therefore, sir John Stuart, when solicited by the court of Palermo, to assist in its schemes on Calabria, hesitated long, and deliberated maturely before he complied. He considered, that an expedition to Calabria, however it might gratify their Sicilian majesties, could not, on the most favourable supposition, lead to their re-establishment at Naples, nor even secure to them the possession of any part of their continental dominions; whereas if it failed, it must weaken the defence and endanger the safety of Sicily. He was, therefore averse to such an expedition, and refused to engage in it when first proposed to him. But, overcome by the urgent and repeated instances of the Sicilian government, encouraged by flattering

flattering accounts of the disposition of the Calabrians, and foreseeing that, if success attended his first operations, he should be able at any rate to destroy the stores and ammunition collected in Calabria for the invasion of Sicily, he consented at length to land with part of his army on the continent, and make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former masters. The enterprize, which sir John Stuart thus reluctantly undertook, he conducted with singular judgment and ability, and brought to a fortunate conclusion, with infinite glory to the British arms, but without any of those advantages to the court of Palermo, which it had fondly anticipated from the experiment.

The troops destined to this expedition by sir John Stuart, amounted to about 4800 effective men.— With this small force he landed on the morning of the 1st of July, in a bay in the gulph of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of lower Calabria. Little opposition was made to his landing by the enemy, who had not yet collected their forces. A proclamation was immediately issued by the English general, inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign and offering them arms and ammunition for their defence. Few or none, however, obeyed the summons. Disappointed in his expectations from the inhabitants, sir John Stuart was hesitating whether to re-embark his troops, when intelligence was brought to him that general Regnier was encamped at Maida, about ten miles off, with an army nearly equal to his own. Understanding at the same time that the French general was in daily expectation of rein-

forcements, he determined to advance next morning, (July 4th) and attack him before they arrived. The two armies were separated by a plain from four to six miles in breadth, extending from sea to sea, and bounded on the north and south by chains of mountains. The French occupied a strong position on the sloping side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, having the river Lamato in front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick, impervious underwood. In numbers they were greatly superior to the English, having received the expected reinforcement before the battle. Their force is supposed to have been about 7000 men, while that of the English did not amount to 4,800. Had Regnier remained upon the heights, the English must have attacked him with great disadvantage, and though the event of the engagement would have been probably the same, the loss on their part must have been more considerable. But, fortunately, blinded by an excess of confidence in his own troops, and an undue and unbounded contempt of the enemy, he quitted his strong position, and drew up his army on the plain. The English, surprised at the number of his troops, which was greater than they expected, but in no wise dismayed by their appearance, advanced with undiminished alacrity to the attack. The action began on the right of the English army. After some firing, both sides prepared to charge with the bayonet, and advanced with apparently equal resolution; but the French, who had probably imbibed from their general his contemptuous opinion of the enemy, were so astonished at the firmness with which the English advanced to the charge, that

that struck with a sudden panic, they gave way after the bayonets of the two armies had begun to cross, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. It was too late, however, to escape. They were overtaken with immense slaughter, and in a short time the whole of the left wing of their army was totally routed and dispersed. The enemy being thus completely discomfited on their left, made an effort with their right, to retrieve the honour of the day; but they were resisted with great steadiness by the English left, and their cavalry being thrown into disorder, in an attempt to turn the English flank, by an unexpected fire from the twentieth regiment, which landed during the action, and came up at this critical juncture, they abandoned the field of battle with precipitation, and left an undisputed victory to their opponents. About 700 French were buried on the ground, and 1000 prisoners taken, among whom were general Compere and several other officers of rank; but their total loss from this conflict is estimated by sir John Stuart, at not less than 4000 men. The English had only 45 men killed and 282 wounded in the action.

This glorious victory which was gained on the 6th of July, was the signal of a general insurrection in both the Calabrias. The peasants, already prepared to take up arms, rose in every direction against the French, cut off their stragglers, pursued their flying parties, and attacked their posts. The French, provoked by their defeat, and exasperated by the cruelty of the insurgents, who gave no quarter to such as fell into their hands, retaliated with a savageness and ferocity, more disgraceful to their character than

the panic terrors, which had seized them at Maida. The villages, which declared against them, were plundered and burned to the ground, and the inhabitants massacred without distinction of age or sex. This usage still farther inflamed the Calabrians, whose attacks on their posts were incessant and furious, till with the assistance of the English, they drove them entirely out of their country. Unable to contend with their numerous and exasperated assailants, the French were compelled at length to evacuate both Calabrias, and to abandon all the cannon, stores, and ammunition, which they had collected in these provinces for the invasion of Sicily. Not a single place along the coast was left in their possession, from Coohe to Sicosia. Of 9000 men, which was the amount of their force in lower Calabria, before the battle of Maida, not above 3000 made good their retreat; and in upper Calabria their loss from the insurgents, for the English did not penetrate into that province, was by their own confession very considerable.

But glorious and successful as this expedition had been, it soon appeared, how far it was from having opened to the king of Sicily any prospect of regaining his kingdom of Naples. So sensible was sir John Stuart of his inability to maintain the ground he had won in Calabria, that from the plain of Maida he announced his intention of returning without loss of time to Sicily. On the 18th of July his head-quarters were at Bagnara near Reggio; and on the 23d, the fort of Scylla, opposite to Messina, a place of great importance for the secure navigation of the straits, surrendered to one of his

his officers. The whole of the British army was now withdrawn from Calabria, except the garrison of Scylla, and a detachment of the 78th regiment, under col. M'Leod; which had been sent in the *Amphion* frigate to the coast near Catanzaro, in order to countenance and assist the insurgents in that quarter. This service was effectually performed by col. M'Leod and captain Hoste of the *Amphion*. The French under Regnier were severely harassed in their retreat along the shore from Catanzaro to Cotrone, and the latter place, with all its magazines and stores, fell into the hands of the English. General Acland was also dispatched to the bay of Naples with the 58th and 81st regiments, to make demonstrations in that direction, which might alarm the enemy, and deter him from sending reinforcements to Calabria. General Acland was not absolutely prohibited from landing his troops, but he was directed not to expose his soldiers to that danger, unless he had a prospect of effecting some object of real and permanent utility. Sir Sidney Smith was in the mean time actively, if not judiciously, employed along the coast, assisting the insurgents with arms and ammunition, supplying them with provisions, and conveying them from one place to another, in the vessels under his command. By these exertions he contributed materially to extend the insurrection along the coast, and to expel the enemy from the watch-towers and castles, which they occupied upon the shore. These operations were, in some instances, of use, by securing a safer and better anchorage for his ships; but in others, the blood and treasure which they cost, exceeded the value

of his acquisitions. In one of these adventures, two officers and five seamen were killed and thirty-four seamen wounded, in the attack of an insignificant fort at point Licosa, which he destroyed when it fell into his hands. No British troops were stationed any where to maintain his conquests, except in the isle of Capri, which was kept as a place of refreshment for the navy: but a number of posts were occupied and garrisoned, by the insurgents, such as Amantea, Scalea and the isle of Dino on the coast of upper Calabria, and Maratea, Sapei, Camerota, Palinuro and other places in the bay of Policastro. The chief, or rather sole use of these posts consisted in the protection which they afforded to the anchorage upon the coast, and facilities thereby given to the British and Neapolitan small craft, of intercepting the coasting communications of the enemy, so as to prevent the supply of his army in Calabria with cannon, which, from the badness of the roads, it was impossible for him to convey by land.

The loss of Gaeta, which surrendered to the French soon after the battle of Maida, more than counterbalanced these trifling successes in other parts of the coast. While the prince of Hesse continued to have the command of Gaeta, that place was gallantly defended; and sallies were repeatedly made with the greatest success, by which the operations of the enemy were impeded, their cannon spiked, and their batteries taken and destroyed. But the prince of Hesse having been wounded by a splinter, and removed for his recovery to Palermo, and the French having at length brought their artillery to act upon the place,

the lieut. governor, colonel Hotz, saw himself forced to capitulate. The surrender of Gaeta cut off the communication with the northern parts of the kingdom of Naples, where the spirit of disaffection was as strong as in the south; and set at liberty a force of 16,000 men, previously employed in that siege, to act against the Calabrians. A decree was issued at Naples on the 31st of July, declaring the two Calabrias in a state of war, and subjecting them to all the rigours of military law. Massena, invested with despotic authority, was placed at the head of a powerful army, and sent to reduce them to obedience. The insurgents were not in sufficient force to meet him in the field, and were too much divided among themselves, to attempt any enterprize of importance, even against his outposts. The difficulty of transporting artillery over the mountains retarded his operations; but his progress, though slow, was uninterrupted, and his successes, though often dearly bought, were not checked by any reverse. On the 16th of August, the advanced guard of the French army entered Cosenza, the capital of upper Calabria, and before the beginning of September they had recovered possession of the whole of that province, excepting Amantea, Scalea, and some other places upon the coast. But it was some time before they penetrated in force into the lower Calabria. Their head-quarters, in December, were still at Cosenza and Fiume Freddo, in upper Calabria, though their advanced posts had long before been at Monteleone and Mileto, about 30 miles distant from Scylla. Cotrone did not fall

into their hands till the end of the year, nor Amantea, the last place held by the insurgents upon the coast, till the beginning of the ensuing spring.

The Calabrian insurgents or *massé* were composed of the lowest, worst and most miserable of the country people and villagers. Attracted by pay or the hope of plunder to the standard under which they fought, no confidence could be reposed in their fidelity; and though individually brave, when assembled in bodies no dependence could be placed on their steadiness. While the French were still at a distance, a report was brought to the *massé* in lower Calabria, that the enemy was advancing to attack them, on which the *capi*, or chiefs of the *massé* fled in the most shameful manner, and the *massé*, abandoned by their leaders, after recovering from their first panic, broke out in such acts of murder, cruelty and rapine, that it became necessary for sir John Stuart to cross over to Scylla, and send detachments of British troops into the interior of the country, to put a stop to their excesses.* On a subsequent occasion, intelligence having been sent to the Neapolitan generals, that the French, who were lying at Nicastro to the number of 4000 men, were afraid to cross the river Lamato, lest the English should land and attack them in the rear, it was resolved to attempt to surprise them in that situation, by advancing from Monteleone and Filadelfia, with 1600 of the *massé* and 2000 Neapolitan troops; but when this corps had arrived within 4 miles of the enemy, a

* This happened in the latter part of August.

suspicion suddenly seized the *massé*, that the Neapolitans meant to desert them in the heat of the engagement, upon which they immediately secured the person of Cancelliere, the general set over them by his Sicilian majesty, and refused to deliver him up, when demanded, to the other generals. Many of the *capi* or chiefs of the insurgents were men of infamous character, who had justly forfeited their lives to the laws of their country. *Pane di Grano*, one of the most celebrated of their leaders, was a priest, whose crimes had been so enormous, that, though a clergyman, he had been condemned to the galleys. *Fra Diavolo*, who distinguished himself in the neighbourhood of Naples, had been guilty of robbery and murder. Galley slaves, polluted with every crime and prepared for every atrocity, were collected by order of the court of Palermo, and landed among its former subjects, in order to keep alive the insurrection, and render desperate the hope of accommodation with the enemy. The consequences of employing such agents to conduct the war may be easily imagined. Murder and rapine spread universally over the country. The lawless and vicious combined against the orderly and well-disposed. Those who had property were oppressed and plundered by those who had none, and many victims were sacrificed to private resentment, under the mask and pretence of public duty. The French, irritated by cruelties, which the humanity of sir John Stuart interposed ineffectually to prevent, retaliated on the insurgents with a barbarity equal to their own. Prisoners taken with arms in their hands were shot instantly, on the false and

monstrous pretext, that they were rebels against Joseph Bonaparte. Villages, which refused to admit French troops within their walls, or to pay the contributions demanded from them, were pillaged and burned; and in some atrocious cases, the wretched inhabitants were included, without mercy or distinction, in the conflagration, and, with their wives and children, prevented by French soldiers, from making their escape from the flames that consumed their habitations.

When sir John Stuart returned to Messina from his glorious expedition in Calabria, he found lieutenant-general Fox arrived there from Gibraltar, with a commission of commander-in-chief of the British forces in Italy. General Fox took upon him the command of the army on the 29th of July, and immediately appointed sir John Stuart to conduct the war, which he had begun with so much success, in the two Calabrias. This office sir John Stuart most readily undertook, and in the prosecution of it, made a second expedition to Calabria, for the purpose of restoring some degree of order in that country, and repressing the excesses of the *massé*; but, when sir John Moore, his senior officer, joined the army with reinforcements from England and became, of course, second in command, he preferred returning home to England, to continuing third in command in Italy.

Soon after the arrival of sir John Moore, that gallant and experienced officer was dispatched along the coast to the bay of Naples, to collect information of the state of the country, and to confer with sir Sidney Smith about operations, in which the assistance of the navy

might be wanted. The result of sir John Moore's inquiries was unfavourable to any new expedition to the continent. He found the populace of Naples discontented and ready to attempt an insurrection, if encouraged by the presence of a considerable British army; but, without some prospect of cooperation from the upper part of Italy, he saw no advantage to be gained by encouraging these dispositions; and with respect to the war in Calabria, he was satisfied that, by supplying the people with arms and ammunition and exciting them to insurrection, we were merely organising and keeping alive a predatory civil war, ruinous and destructive to individuals, while it was unattended with any real or permanent benefit to ourselves or to our ally. The information collected by general Fox at Messina, and the conduct of the *massé* in lower Calabria, coincided with the report of sir John Moore, and determined general Fox to make no expedition to the continent, unless some more favourable opportunity presented itself, and in the mean time to withhold from the *massé* supplies of arms and ammunition, which they were obviously employing in other uses, than such as a British general could approve of.

This determination was far from being acceptable at Palermo, where the court listened greedily to every plan proposed to it for the recovery of Naples, and thought always the last project laid before it the surest to succeed. The marquis di Ciriello, who had been appointed minister of foreign affairs on the resignation of sir John Acton, was a person of very middling abilities, but high in favour with the queen, and implicitly devoted to her service.

It was natural for such a minister, desirous of pleasing his sovereign, and indifferent or blind to all other consequences, to propose to the commander of the British forces, to engage, in conjunction with the troops of his Sicilian majesty, in a combined attack upon Naples. A temporary possession of that city, he argued, though it were for twenty-four hours only, if it did no other good, would at least enable their majesties to take vengeance on their rebellious subjects. Such a consideration was not calculated to dispose a British officer in favour of their plan; but there were other reasons, besides the disgust arising from the disclosure of such views, which determined general Fox to express, in the most peremptory manner, his decided disapprobation of the project, and to signify that it was totally impossible for the British army to co-operate in such an expedition.

The preservation of Sicily from the French, the great object for which a British army was stationed in the Mediterranean, was not to be hazarded for the uncertain prospect of recovering the useless and precarious possession of Naples. The season of the year was unfavourable for military operations in Calabria, where it was proposed that the British army should act, while the Neapolitan and Sicilian troops made an attack on Naples. The *malaria* of Calabria had been fatal to many officers and soldiers engaged in sir John Stuart's expedition; but if so pernicious at Midsummer, how much more destructive was its influence likely to be in the end of autumn, the season when this new expedition was to be attempted. It was no exaggeration to calculate, that after a campaign of three

months in so unhealthy a climate, not one half of the army could be expected to be in a state fit for service. But, what was the object for which a British army was thus to be sacrificed, and the island of Sicily deprived of the forces destined for its defence? Supposing the expedition crowned with success and Naples recovered, was there any, the remotest possibility, in the present state of Europe, of the Neapolitan troops being able to maintain their conquest? But, if the recovery of Naples was contemplated as a temporary occupation only, what could be intended by it but the gratification of revenge, by the destruction and plunder of the city and massacre of its inhabitants. But there was no chance of even this degree of success, unless from the effects of surprise and panic among the French; and yet, (such in every view was the unpromising aspect of the affair,) it was certain that before the attempt could be made, the whole plan and details of the expedition would be known at Naples. For the court of Palermo was surrounded by French and Neapolitan emigrants, who found it easy, such was the indiscretion of those entrusted with its secrets, to penetrate into all its designs, which they as regularly communicated to the ministers of Joseph Bonaparte. But, unless the French were taken by surprise, and panic struck by an unexpected insurrection at Naples, little was to be expected from Sicilian and Neapolitan troops acting against them. The Neapolitan and Sicilian soldiers were brave and capable of discipline, but they were ill-officered, ill-appointed, ill clothed, ill paid, and from bad usage ill affected to their

government. It had been the fatal policy of sir John Acton to discourage Neapolitan and Sicilian gentlemen from engaging in the military service of their country, by a systematic preference of foreigners to natives in the army, without regard to character or merit, or to any other consideration, but that of not being a natural born subject of his Sicilian majesty. The officers of the Neapolitan army were, therefore, in general, foreigners, and many of them adventurers without education, taken from the lowest ranks and occupations of society. Such men, equally destitute of military talents and experience, as of birth, fortune, acquirements, or probity, brought the profession to which they belonged into discredit; and were contemned for their meanness, and hated for their dishonest and fraudulent practices by their own soldiers. So little confidence was to be placed in most of them, that when sir John Stuart had Sicilian troops acting under him in Calabria, a British commissary was employed to distribute their rations, as the only means of ensuring that the soldier received his allowance, and that it was not intercepted and detained by his officer. Nothing could exceed the aversion and contempt with which the subjects of his Sicilian majesty viewed the military service of their sovereign; but, though the corporal punishments used in the British army filled them with horror and disgust, as fit only for galley slaves, they were eager to engage in the English service, and proud of being treated and considered as English soldiers.

Thwarted in its plan of operations by the refusal of the English general to co-operate in a project, every

every part of which he disapproved of, the court of Palermo was ultimately compelled to abandon its designs upon Naples; though it affected for some time an intention of pursuing the enterprize with its own forces, the greater part of which it assembled on the north coast of Sicily, under the prince of Hesse, on pretence of inspecting, arming, and cloathing the troops. But, when the resolution of general Fox not to concur in the expedition, was found to be unalterably fixed, the project was entirely given up, though with much reluctance and ill-humour against the English.

While their Sicilian majesties were thus intent on the recovery of Naples, the importance of Sicily, the resources which it might be made to afford, and the means necessary to be taken for conciliating the affections of its inhabitants, and rousing them against the enemy, seem never to have entered into their contemplation. When the royal family were driven a second time to Sicily for shelter and protection, the Sicilians had vainly imagined, that in return for their assistance and fidelity they would be relieved from jealous and injurious restrictions on their commerce and navigation, and raised to greater weight and consideration in the councils of their sovereign, than they had hitherto attained. Their ancient constitution, the venerable forms of which were still existing, they were desirous to re-establish, and no less attached to the English by ancient traditions than by hatred of the French, they fondly expected from us assistance and countenance in this great undertaking. But, it has been the misfortune of England, in the long war she has sustained against the different rulers of France,

that, whether contending with a republic, an oligarchy, or a monarchy, she has never had the people of any country on her side. The protectress and champion of the old governments of Europe, she has never availed herself of her power and influence, to mediate between the prejudices and fears of her allies, and the just claims and expectations of their subjects. Kingdom after kingdom has been subdued, throne after throne has been subverted, without teaching governments that there is no safety for them but in the affection of their people, and that the price of affection is to deserve it and return it. Two expulsions from Naples had not impressed these lessons on the court of Palermo. The Sicilians were neglected and despised; their grievances were not redressed; their complaints were not listened to; their government was in the hands of strangers, surrounded by traitors; and the power of England, instead of being extended to their relief, served only to uphold the authority of those who slighted and oppressed them.

As the transactions in Naples had little connection with the scenes passing in the rest of Europe, we have brought down the preceding narrative to the close of the year, without digression or interruption; and for the same reason we shall proceed next to give an account of the affairs in Cattaro and Ragusa between the French and Russians; and afterwards revert to the more important but fatal events in the north of Germany.

Cattaro, a small barren province, situated to the south of Ragusa, derives its value from the excellence of its harbour, which is the largest and safest in the Adriatic; and from

the skill of its seamen, who form the chief part of its population. This province was one of those transferred to France by the peace of Presburg, by the articles of which it was stipulated that France should take possession of Cattaro within six weeks after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty. At the expiration of that period, the French officers appointed to receive the province from the Austrians had not arrived at Cattaro. An agent of the court of Russia at Cattaro took advantage of this delay, and succeeded in persuading the inhabitants, who are chiefly Greeks, that France having failed to take possession of the place at the time appointed, Austria was released from the obligation of maintaining it, and justified in withdrawing her troops and leaving it to the first occupant. This reasoning, though satisfactory to the inhabitants of Cattaro, made no impression on the Austrian commandant, who occupied the forts with a garrison of 1500 men, till supported by the irruption of a band of Montenegrins from the mountains, and by the arrival of a Russian line of battle ship from Corfu. The marquis de Ghisilieri, commissary-general of the Austrian army, appointed to deliver up Dalmatia and Cattaro to the French, happened at that moment to arrive at Cattaro, whither he had preceded the French generals, on hearing of the mutinous spirit of the inhabitants; but, instead of resisting the Russians and their allies, as with the garrison in the forts he might easily have done till the arrival of the French, he consented, after a short negotiation, to evacuate the

place, which was immediately occupied by the natives, and by them transferred to the Russians. This strange transaction took place on the 4th of March, when the French were within a few days march of the place. The Austrian officers in garrison at Cattaro were scandalized at this proceeding, and so indignant with Ghisilieri, that they made a formal protest against the evacuation of the forts; and when the conduct of that officer came afterwards to be enquired into at Vienna, the reasons he assigned for giving up the place appeared so unsatisfactory to the tribunal before which he was tried, that he was dismissed from the imperial service, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life in a fortress of Transylvania. There can be no doubt, from a review of his conduct in this affair, that he was either bribed by the Russians, or actuated by a false persuasion, that he should render an acceptable service to his court, by frustrating the expectations of the French, without implicating its character or honour in the transaction.

The French, disappointed of Cattaro, with that profligate contempt of the rights of independent states, which so strongly characterizes the transactions of the present day, took possession of Ragusa*, to which they had no claim, on pretence of securing it against the incursions of the Montenegrins, who had not even threatened to violate its territory. The Montenegrins are a barbarous tribe of freebooters, inhabiting the chain of mountains adjoining to Cattaro, from one of which, called Monté-negro, they derive their name. They were at

this time in close alliance with the Russians, and, therefore, the occupation of Ragusa by the French, instead of protecting that republic from their violence, afforded them a pretext for invading and laying it waste. Several skirmishes ensued, in which both sides claim the victory. The French, however, were in the end compelled by the Russians and Montenegrins to shut themselves up in Ragusa, where they stood a siege of several weeks, while the Montenegrins ravaged the country, and committed horrible excesses on the inhabitants. General Lauriston who commanded in Ragusa, was at length relieved* from this embarrassing situation, by the arrival of general Molitor from Dalmatia, with a French army collected in that province. It was now

the turn of the Russians and Montenegrins to retreat, which, after the loss of their artillery and plunder, the former effected to their ships, the latter to their mountains, and in a few days the territory of Ragusa was cleared of these barbarians. No event of importance followed till the end of September, when the Russians and Montenegrins, having assembled in great force near Castel-Nuovo, general Marmont marched against them from Ragusa, and having enticed them by a military stratagem to quit their entrenchments, attacked and defeated them with great loss†. But, notwithstanding this defeat the Russians continued in possession of Cattaro and Castel-Nuovo at the end of the year.

* July 6th.

† Sept. 29th.

CHAP. VIII.

The German Empire the natural Barrier of Europe against France.—Consequences of the Elevation of the House of Brandenburg.—Prussia the natural Ally of France.—Policy pursued by Prussia since the French Revolution.—Consequences of that Policy.—Conduct of her Cabinet in 1805.—Her Determination to remain neutral in the impending War.—Violation of Anspach.—Convention of Potsdam.—Marks of the Displeasure of Prussia at the Conduct of France.—Mission of Haugwitz to the French Headquarters.—Treaty of Vienna between France and Prussia.—Occupation of Hanover by the Prussians.—France refuses to confirm the Alterations made by Prussia in the Treaty of Vienna.—Mission of Haugwitz to Paris.—Treaty of Paris.—Surrender of Anspach, Neufchatel, and Cleves.—Annexation of Hanover to Prussia.—Exclusion of the English Flag from Ports of the German Ocean under the Controul of Prussia.—Remonstrances of the English Ministry.—Embargo on Prussian Vessels.—Blockade of the Prussian Ports.—His Majesty's Message on the War with Prussia.—Hanoverian Declaration.—Letters of Marque issued against Prussian Vessels.—War between Prussia and Sweden.—Causes that led to a Rupture between France and Prussia.—The Investiture of Murat in the Duchies of Berg and Cleves.—The Offer to restore Hanover to the King of England.—The Continuance of the French Army in Germany.—The Indignation universally felt and expressed at the Conduct of Prussia.—Confederation of the Rhine.—Dissolution of the German Empire, and Abdication of the Emperor.—Opposition of the French to the Formation of a Confederacy in the North of Germany.—Recall of Lucchesini, and Mission of Knobelsdorf to Paris.—Prussian Ultimatum.—Delay of Prussia in announcing to Russia and England her Intention of going to War with France.—Mission of Lord Morpeth to Prussia.—His Reception by the Prussian Ministers.—Blockade of the Prussian Ports and Rivers discontinued.

GERMANY, by the position and extent of its territory, and the number and valour of its inhabitants, is the natural rival of France on the continent, and has been for ages the strongest bulwark of Europe against the encroachments of that restless and ambitious power. While its ancient constitution was inviolate, the complex form of its government, and the slowness of its public deliberations, unfitted it for conquest or aggrandizement; at the same time that the greatness and solidity of its resources, when brought into action, enabled it successfully to resist, and effectually to check, the progress of any power

power that threatened the general safety, or endangered the individual members of the European commonwealth.—Germany was the only state that inspired at once the ambitious with awe, and the weak with confidence. Placed in the centre of the political world, the weight and stability of its power, maintained an order and regularity in the surrounding system, which slight and transitory causes could not disturb. But this security to the liberties of Europe, derived in some measure from the very faults and imperfections of the Germanic constitution, was sacrificed to the ambition, and destroyed by the rise of the house of Brandenburg. From the moment that Germany was virtually divided into two separate states, with opposite views, inclinations, and interests, France was sure of an ally in the heart of the empire, Germany was balanced by itself, and no general or effectual combination could be formed, to resist the only power from which the independence of Europe has been ever seriously in danger.

The same political views which had led France to support the Protestants of Germany against the ambition and bigotry of the emperors, induced her to favour the elevation, and abet the usurpations of Prussia. She formed, it is true, at one time, a temporary connection with Austria*, which had nearly proved fatal to the Prussian monarchy; but that alliance was the work of a court intrigue, and was condemned by her wisest statesmen, as no less contrary to her interest than it proved derogatory to her glory. It required, indeed, little argument to shew that

France was gratuitously raising the most effectual obstacle to her own ambition, when she concluded a treaty, the effect of which was to increase the power of the Austrian monarchy, and consolidate its authority over Germany. In Prussia she had an ally too weak to be a rival, too powerful to be a burthen, and too dependent on her protection to become an enemy. For, if Prussia was useful to France, by keeping up a permanent division of interests in Germany, and preventing its states and princes from ever uniting cordially in any common cause, it was still more necessary for Prussia to preserve the friendship, and obtain the protection of France. Such was her inferiority to Austria in real power and substantial resources, that without an ally like France, she was unable to maintain her newly acquired rank and importance among the states of Europe; nor could she be relieved from the necessity of this dependence, but by an increase of territory and addition of subjects, which it was, therefore, the constant object of her policy to attain.

The part which the king of Prussia took against France, in 1792, arose from a false persuasion that the revolution was unpopular in that kingdom, and that the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy was necessary to restore the ancient power and influence of France in foreign countries. Undeceived in these particulars, and discovering in the conduct of his allies, their design to dismember France, and reduce her to a subordinate state, he abandoned their cause, and concluded at Basle a separate peace

* In 1756.

with the new republic. From that era to the period of which we treat, the policy of Prussia, pursued with equal assiduity and success, had been to maintain peace with all her neighbours, to cultivate her alliance with France, and to extend her influence and dominions in Germany. Her acquisitions of territory in that country were not, indeed, of much importance, when compared with her share of the spoils of Poland, which she had gained by her alliance with the opposite party; but her weight and influence in the empire were greatly increased during her connexion with republican France. One half of the states of the empire were detached from their lawful obedience to her rival, and united in a formal confederation under her protection. Her influence in the electoral college was so much greater than that of Austria, that she might reasonably aspire, on the first vacancy of the empire, to place her sovereign on the throne of the Cæsars. Her dominions were rich and prosperous, and had flourished in peace, while other states were exposed to the desolations or exhausted by the burthens of war.

But, notwithstanding these advantages, which Prussia had derived from her pacific system, it may be questioned, whether she had acted upon it in a manner conducive to her reputation and permanent advantage, or with due regard to the peculiar circumstances of her situation. To a military power, like Prussia, whose consequence and even existence depended on her army, the long continuance of peace, while her neighbours were engaged in hostilities, could not but in the end be dangerous if not destructive. The numbers and outward show of her army

might be maintained in peace, but its strength and spirit could be preserved only in actual service. When accordingly the unfortunate day arrived for making trial of the Prussian army against the veterans, who had fought and conquered Austria, it was found, that the Prussian soldiers were unprepared for the dangers and fatigues of war; their officers were without experience, and their generals, enfeebled by age, were confounded by the tactics familiar to their opponents.

It was not, however, in the decline of her military system alone; a decline the more dangerous because the less suspected, that Prussia had prepared in peace the causes of her sudden eclipse in war. Her administration at home and consideration abroad had been equally impaired during this interval. Her sovereign, with excellent intentions, and with no bad passions to mislead him, was diffident of his own abilities, incapable of acting from himself; and surrounded by ministers, unworthy of his confidence, and unfit for the high situations to which they were raised. The greater part of them had been clerks of office under the Great Frederick, and were not only incapable of advising any generous, bold, or magnanimous resolution, but destitute of capacity, vigour and decision for the most ordinary business, to a degree hardly credible. To such counsellors it was owing, that the weight and consideration, which Prussia had gained as a state of the empire, she had lost throughout Europe; that her policy had been narrow, crooked, and ambiguous; that her ambition had appeared mean and sordid, restrained by fear, but never under the control of principle; that she had obliged

no party, and offended all, the French by the coldness of her friendship, the allies by her desertion of their cause; that she was at last compelled to go to war, without an urgent motive, or attainable object or adequate preparation, by the universal hatred and contempt into which she had fallen; and, that when ruined by the contest so foolishly begun, the spectacle of her overthrow softened the regrets of those, who most lamented the success, and feared the progress of her conquerors.

The ill-advised and disastrous coalition of 1805 was the touchstone to try the capacity, conduct, and decision of the Prussian cabinet. It was clearly the interest of Prussia to have preserved, if possible, the peace of the continent; and such was the respect entertained for her military power, that an early and unequivocal declaration from her might have prevented the revival of hostilities. But, that opportunity being neglected, when the intentions of Austria and Russia to risk their last stake against France could no longer be doubted, it became a matter of serious import to Prussia to adopt some determinate system in the approaching war, and to adhere to it steadily. It suited the indecision of her sovereign and the incapacity of his ministers, to prefer a system of neutrality, because it led to procrastination and called for no immediate exertions, while it sufficiently gratified their self importance, to emit threats and declarations against any power, that should dare to violate the integrity of the Prussian territory. It may be questioned, whether, supposing it possible for Prussia to have maintained her neutrality, it was her interest to remain neutral, when so great a con-

test was impending, the event of which must determine, who were to be in future the masters of the continent, the French or the allies. For, whichever party prevailed, it was easy to foresee, that Prussia would be soon reduced to the necessity of fighting with, or receiving laws from the conqueror. If France was near attaining universal empire, was it not the interest of Prussia to have taken part against her, in the last effort of the powers of Europe, to set bounds to her ambition, though she might disapprove of the attempt as premature, and doubt of its success? or, if she thought the enterprize utterly hopeless and desperate, was it not a preferable policy, with a view to her own interest and selfish politics, to join with France in the war, approve herself an active and efficient ally, merit the consideration and respect of her associate, and share in her conquests? But, having determined on neutrality, the greatest error that Prussia could afterwards commit, was to be diverted from her resolution. If it was impolitic to quarrel with France before the violation of Anspach, it was more impolitic still to quarrel with her after the surrender of Ulm. Yet, such was the fantastic importance annexed to the court of Berlin, to the inviolability of its territory, that Prussia, which, some weeks before, had been arming to oppose the passage of the Russian troops through her dominions in Poland, was induced to enter into negotiations and take measures for a war with France, because a body of French troops, by passing through the Prussian territory of Anspach, had surrounded the Austrian army at Ulm, and compelled it to capitulate. As far as her honour was concerned in exacting reparation

reparation for the violation of her territory, ample atonement was spontaneously offered by the French. The question for her consideration was, therefore, a point of interest and policy, not of honour and character; but on prudential grounds, it is clear, that, whatever were her motives for not taking part originally with the allies, they must have been strengthened and confirmed by the disasters at Ulm.

The violation of the Prussian territory of Anspach by the French troops under Bernadotte took place on the 3d of October; on the 17th of the same month Ulm capitulated; and on the 3d of November, a convention was signed at Potsdam, by which the king of Prussia agreed to offer his mediation between France and the allies, for "the restoration of a general peace on a permanent footing;"* and in case his propositions were rejected, he engaged after receiving a promise of subsidies from England to declare war against France.† In this interval various events had marked the displeasure of the court of Berlin at the violation of its territory, and shewn how materially that affair had changed its politics, and given them a turn hostile to France and favourable to the allies. A proclamation had assured the subjects of Prussia in Franconia, that their sovereign was taking measures to obtain satisfaction and security for the unexpected and forcible violation of his neutrality: and an angry note had been delivered by baron Hardenberg to the French mission at Berlin, in

answer to their justification of that transaction; expressing the surprise and indignation of his Prussian majesty at such an outrage having been committed in his territories, after the exemplary fidelity, with which he had kept his engagements to France, and the advantages which she had derived from his firmness; declaring, that he now considered himself absolved by her conduct from all past engagements, and that he would henceforward direct his efforts to the reestablishment of peace on a solid basis; and concluding with an intimation, that in the mean time he found himself compelled to order his armies to occupy positions necessary for the protection of his states.‡ In addition to this menacing language, the Prussian army was put in motion; the permission of marching through the Prussian territories, which had been so long withheld from the Russians, was no longer denied; the emperor Alexander was received at Potsdam with every demonstration of confidence and cordiality; and the French ambassador, marshal Duroc, who had been sent to make reparation for the affair of Anspach, was suffered to depart from Berlin without accomplishing the object of his mission.

We presume not to give an opinion of the wisdom of the court of Berlin in thus departing from the policy, which had hitherto directed its conduct; but, we are confident, that having manifested so unequivocally its inclination to favour the allies, it ought not, in the present

* Memorial of baron Hardenberg to Lord Harrowby, Dec. 22, 1805.

† Declaration of his Britannic majesty as elector of Hanover, April 20, 1806.

‡ Note transmitted by baron Hardenberg to marshal Duroc and M. Laforest, Berlin, Oct. 14, 1805.

critical situation of their affairs, to have delayed an instant longer than was necessary for collecting its forces, to commence hostilities against the French. Instead of such prompt and vigorous measures, with that irresolution and indecision of character, which is the surest mark of incapacity for great affairs, the advisers of his Prussian majesty negotiated, when they should have acted, and chose for their negociator a man without firmness, capacity or resources, slow and dilatory in business, narrow and perplexed in his understanding, of a character at once liable to the impressions of fear, and open to the insinuations of flattery, and of opinions diametrically opposite to the system, which he was now sent to enforce. Haugwitz repaired to the head quarters of the French army, and had an audience of Bonaparte on the 28th of November, at which the latter manifested a disposition to accept the Prussian mediation, but annexed conditions to his assent, which the king of Prussia could not admit. While the negociation was thus protracted, the battle of Austerlitz was fought, the armistice concluded, and the coalition dissolved.

The Prussian troops had taken the field and begun their march to the scene of action, when the news of the armistice stopped their progress. Unwilling to embark alone in a contest with a victorious army, elated with its double triumph over the soldiers of Austria and Russia,

the court of Berlin had again recourse to negociation. Major-general von Pfuhl was dispatched to the French head quarters, with instructions to signify, that Prussia was now ready to accept the propositions which she had formerly rejected, and with orders to add, "that his Prussian majesty would consider the occupation of Hanover by French troops, as an act of hostility."* But, previously to the arrival of von Pfuhl at the place of his destination, Haugwitz had signed a definitive treaty at Vienna,† by which Prussia, from being the friend and ally of the coalesced powers, and almost the open and declared enemy of France, became the ally of the latter, the guarantee of her conquests in Germany, and her associate in the spoils of the vanquished and baffled coalition. How this extraordinary change was brought about, is yet unexplained. We have yet to learn, whether Haugwitz was gained by flattery, or terrified by threats into so scandalous an abandonment of the trust reposed in him. We have been merely told, that "the French emperor proposed to him a treaty in which was stipulated, on the one side, a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish territory, and the ratification of whatever should be concluded at Presburg; and, on the other, the annexation of Hanover to Prussia, in return for the cession of three provinces;‡" and that a treaty to that effect was signed by

* Hardenberg's note to lord Harrowby, Dec. 22.

† ——— answer to the observations of the *Moniteur* of March 21st, dated Berlin, April 3, 1805.

‡ Prussian manifesto, Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

count Haugwitz at Vienna, on the 15th of December. That is, while the Prussian cabinet enjoyed the confidence of the courts of St. Petersburg and St. James's, in consequence of the most solemn engagements to support their cause, and had thereby acquired the entire and absolute disposal of the Russian troops in Germany, and an equally sure though less direct influence over the movements of the British and Swedish armies in Hanover, besides assurances of a powerful assistance by pecuniary supplies from England in the event of being driven to a war with France; a Prussian minister, who had been sent to Vienna for the purpose of securing by negotiation the neutrality of the north of Germany, concluded there a secret treaty with the enemy of Russia and England; by which his master obtained in exchange for three of his provinces,* the electoral dominions of his ally, the king of England.

The infamy of this transaction belonged exclusively, in the first instance, to count Haugwitz; but it was shared by the other members of the Prussian cabinet, when they adopted and acted upon his treaty. It required more regard for honour and respect for justice than were to be found at Berlin, to reject so tempting a bait as the acquisition of Hanover. They, who were most indignant at the perfidy of the means, were not indifferent to the value of the result, nor secretly displeased, that an addition was made to the Prussian monarchy, of such importance as the electoral dominions of the king of England. A

sense of shame and fear of censure prevented them from consenting at once to an unconditional ratification of the treaty, or public disclosure of its contents. But, they discovered, that the king, their master, "might reconcile his wishes with his principles, by accepting the proposed exchange, on condition that the completion of it should be deferred till a general peace, and that the consent of his majesty the king of Great Britain should be obtained;" and they determined, "at whatever price it might be purchased, that the French army should not return to Hanover."† In conformity with these views, the treaty of Vienna was sent back to France with alterations; and under pretence of securing the electorate of Hanover from the calamities of another ruinous war, the troops of the allies were withdrawn from it, and replaced by Prussians. To the English minister at Berlin it was said, that arrangements concluded with France for ensuring the tranquillity of Hanover, "stipulated expressly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France;"‡ and the assertion, that "till the conclusion of a general peace, Hanover would be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia," was repeated in the proclamation of his Prussian majesty on taking possession of the electorate;§ but not a word was said of his ulterior design of annexing it to the Prussian

* The three Prussian provinces ceded by this memorable treaty, were Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia, Cleves, in Westphalia, and Neufchatel and Valengin, in Switzerland.

† Prussian manifesto, Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

‡ Hardenberg's note to W. Jackson, Jan. 26, 1805.

§ Jan. 27.
monarchy,

monarchy, in exchange for territories ceded to France.

This reserve in taking possession of Hanover, was far from being acceptable to the court of St. Cloud. The alterations, which Prussia had proposed in the treaty of Vienna, were rejected with disdain; and the treaty itself, because it had not received a simple and unconditional ratification, was declared to be annulled. Haugwitz hurried to Paris, flattering himself that the personal consideration, in which he was held by Bonaparte, would remove every difficulty. But, after having been made to wait some days for an audience, he was undeceived at his first interview. Nor did he quit Paris, till he had signed a new treaty, by which Prussia became bound, not only to perpetrate an undisguised act of injustice, by annexing Hanover to her dominions; but, to commit an act of decided hostility against England, by excluding the British flag from the ports of that electorate. Such was the violence and inconsistency of Bonaparte's conduct, that in the very act of compelling Prussia to accept of the sovereignty of Hanover, he interfered with the exercise of her sovereignty in that country, in so important a point as the right of making peace or war. His will, however, was no longer disputed. The treaty of Paris was signed, ratified, and carried into immediate execution. On the 15th of February it was signed; on the 24th, Bernadotte took possession of Anspach and Bayreuth for the king of Bavaria, to whom these provinces were transferred by France; on the 18th of March the Prussians evacuated

Wesel; and on the 21st. the French troops were withdrawn from Hameln, the only place in the electorate of Hanover, which they had continued to occupy. On the 28th of March, a proclamation was issued by count Schulenburg in the name of the king of Prussia, ordering "the ports of the German ocean, and the rivers which empty themselves in it, to be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as when Hanover was occupied by French troops;" and on the 1st of April, a patent appeared under the authority of the same monarch, annexing formally the electorate of Hanover to his other dominions, on pretence that, belonging to the emperor Napoleon "by right of conquest," it had been transferred to Prussia "in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France."

The conduct of the Prussians, when they took possession of Hanover, in assuming to themselves the civil as well as military administration of the country, had excited a suspicion in the Hanoverian regency of their secret intentions, and occasioned a protest from count Munster against this proceeding, as "contrary to the rights of his sovereign, and as a measure, of which his majesty, so far from giving his consent to it, highly disapproved."* No regard being had to this protest, nor to the remonstrance accompanying it, that "if the occupation of Hanover by a Prussian force was inevitable, it should take place under such stipulations as were least injurious to the rights of his majesty, and least severe upon the unhappy inhabitants," Mr. Fox

* Proclamation of count Munster, Hanover, Feb. 3, 1806.

took

took occasion to express, in an official note, to baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, "the great anxiety felt by his majesty, at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover;" and to desire him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity would ever induce his majesty so far to forget, what was due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate."*—But this note, which at an earlier period, might have deterred the court of Berlin from the violent and outrageous course, on which it had entered, arrived too late to produce any change in its determinations. The three provinces were already given up to France, and engagements had been formed to execute the other articles of the treaty of Paris, from which the Prussian government durst not recede.

While the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of Prussia were directed solely against the electorate of Hanover, his Britannic majesty was advised by his ministers "to forbear all recourse to his British subjects" in support of his rights; and to content himself with "remonstrating, by amicable negotiation, against the injury he had sustained, and resting his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representation, and on the common interest which Prussia herself must

ultimately feel, to resist a system destructive of all legitimate possession. But, when instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his majesty was informed that the determination had been taken of excluding, by force, the vessels and commodities of Great Britain from ports and countries under the lawful dominion, or forcible controul of Prussia; it was impossible for his majesty longer to delay to act, without neglecting the first duty, which he owed to his people. The dignity of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, equally forbad his acquiescing in this open and unprovoked aggression." No sooner, therefore, had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German ocean against the British flag, than measures of retaliation were adopted.—Notice was given† to the ministers of neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland;‡ and this order was afterwards extended to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag only excepted.¶ The English mission at Berlin was recalled; and a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament,¶ stating "the necessity, in which his majesty found himself, of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of

* Note from Mr. Fox to baron Jacobi Kloert, March 17.

† April 8.

‡ April 5.

¶ April 16.

¶ April 21.

adopting

adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia," on account of acts "of direct hostility, deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative." After stating concisely the particulars of the conduct of Prussia, which called for these proceedings, the message concluded by saying, that his majesty "had no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and that he would look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy, on the part of Prussia, should remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power, with whom his majesty had no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts."

This message having been taken into consideration by the two houses of parliament on the 23d of April, addresses of thanks were voted unanimously in return. Mr. Fox in his speech gave an historical account of the transactions, which had led to the rupture with Prussia, and made some severe comments on the conduct of that power, which he described "as the union of every thing that was contemptible in servility, with every thing that was odious in rapacity. Other nations had been obliged to make cessions to France; but none of them had, like Prussia, been reduced to that lowest state of degradation, to consent to become the ministers of the injustice and rapacity of a master." In answer to the plea set up by

Prussia, that "the emperor Napoleon having obtained Hanover by right of conquest, the rightful possession of it had passed to Prussia," he observed, that "no example could be found in all the histories of war, and no mention had ever been made by the writers on the law of nations, of any power having a right to receive as a present, a country occupied during a war by one of the belligerent powers, but not ceded by the other." After exposing the futility of this pretended right, Mr. Fox proceeded next to reprobate "the principle, which had been lately adopted in Europe, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, in the way of equivalents, and under the pretext of convenience and mutual accommodation. The wildest schemes," he remarked, "that were ever before broached, would not go so far to shake the foundations of all established government as this new practice. There must be, in every nation, a certain attachment of the people to its form of government, without which no nation can subsist. This principle, then, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, strikes at the foundation of every government, and the existence of every nation." Mr. Fox concluded with stating, that "there could be no doubt but that the shutting the ports of Prussia to British vessels was alone most clearly and unquestionably an act of hostility against this country."

A declaration was also issued* by his majesty, in his capacity of elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of the perfidy,

* April 20.

insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights to the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, and its dependencies.

It appears, that Prussia had so little expected prompt measures of retaliation on the part of England, that after the ratification of the treaty of Paris, count Hardenberg gave assurances to the merchants of Berlin,* that the navigation and property of Prussian subjects had nothing to apprehend from Great Britain. It has been said, that, though the Prussian government was compelled to issue an order for shutting its ports against the British flag, nothing was farther from the intentions of those, who were friendly to the connection of Prussia with France, than to enforce this order, or carry it strictly into effect; but, that the execution of this part of the treaty of Paris belonging officially to ministers, who disapproved of the whole transaction, these persons determined to enforce it with the greatest rigour, for the purpose of bringing into discredit the political system of their opponents, by the losses and inconveniences to which, they foresaw, the exclusion of British shipping from their ports would necessarily lead; saying, in their own justification, that they were not made for half measures.—Whatever truth may be in these reports, it is certain, that soon after the hostile acts and declarations of England were known at Berlin, the Prussian government shewed a disposition to relax its system of excluding English trade and naviga-

tion from the north of Germany, by giving orders† at Stettin, Colberg, and its other ports in the Baltic, not to oppose the entrance of British ships, but on the contrary to receive them in the most friendly manner. In the mean time an order of council was issued by Great Britain,‡ for seizing and bringing to judgment, before the admiralty courts, all vessels found navigating under Prussian colours; in consequence of which, that flag, lately so common upon the ocean, quickly disappeared, and gave place to Danish, Pappenberg, Kniphausen, and other neutral ensigns.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg for the king of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that dutchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg;|| upon which the king of Sweden laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order for the blockade of all the Prussian ports of the Baltic.¶ It was supposed that Prussia would take her revenge by expelling the Swedes from Pomerania; but, if she ever entertained such a design, she was prevented from carrying it into effect by a new revolution in her politics, which gave a totally different direction to her arms.

We have hitherto contemplated Prussia, unsteady and fluctuating in her policy, constant only in her duplicity; professing neutrality at the commencement of the war, though secretly under engagements to France, detrimental to the allies;

* March 15. † May 14.

¶ April 27, and May 6.

‡ May 14.

|| April 23.

assuming next the character of a mediator, after having concluded a secret treaty of alliance with the coalesced powers and obtained the promise of a subsidy from England; and lastly pretending to negotiate for the neutrality of Hanover, while meditating with unexampled perfidy to appropriate that country to herself. We are now to behold her, enraged at the disappointment of her ambitious projects, impatient of the contempt with which she is treated, and goaded on by the universal indignation of her subjects, seeking to retrieve her honour and character by resistance to France, but without wisdom or foresight in her plans, and constant to the last in her dissimulation.

It is probable, that Bonaparte never thoroughly forgave the court of Berlin, for the danger to which he was exposed, by the vacillation and momentary change of its political system after the affair of Anspach; but while he stood in awe of its power, and had reason to fear the consequences of its hostility, he continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship, and flattered and amused its ministers with protestations of regard and professions of moderation. The journey which Haugwitz took to Paris, opened the eyes even of that minister to the sincerity and value of these declarations; but the first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud, which gave serious offence and alarm to the court of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat with the dutchies of Berg and Cleves.* Berg had belonged to the king of Bavaria, as count Palatine of the Rhine, and been ceded to France in exchange for the Prussian

provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia. Cleves, which had been already dismembered by the extension of the French empire to the banks of the Rhine, was one of the three provinces given up by Prussia for Hanover. Various speculations had been formed with regard to the destination of these provinces, when they fell into the hands of France, but the general sentiment in Germany was that of surprize and indignation, when they were given to Murat, a foreigner, a soldier of fortune, and the brother-in-law of Bonaparte. There seemed to be no end to the encroachments of France, nor reliance on her most solemn and reiterated declarations, that the Rhine should be the boundary of her empire. To Prussia, in particular the establishment of Murat in the midst of her Westphalian provinces, was far from being acceptable; and very soon she began to experience the inconvenience of such a neighbour. Possession was taken in his name of the abbeys of Werden, Essen and Elten, on pretence that they belonged to the dutchy of Cleves, without respecting the prior occupation or claims of Prussia; and Wesel, though on the German side of the Rhine, was annexed to a French department, and strongly fortified.

But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government. While Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging its ministers to persist in the measures they had adopted for retaining Hanover, Lucchesini discovered at Paris, that the French government had offered to the king of Great Britain, the complete restitution of

* March 15.

his electoral dominions. Thus, after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself, on the eve of a general peace, about to be deprived of the reward, for which she had consented to act a part, so mean, treacherous and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately, as she then thought, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg, to ratify the treaty concluded by its negotiator. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her farther proofs of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was informed by Russia, that during the negotiation at Paris, distinct hints had been given to the Russian negotiator, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be made to such a project on the part of France.

Two other causes contributed materially to the determination of Prussia to commence hostilities against France; the one, by its effect on the public mind; the other, on account of the injury done to herself.

The occupation of Cattaro by the Russians had served as a pretext to the French emperor, not only for retaining possession of Braunau in the hereditary states of Austria after the term stipulated for its surrender by the peace of Presburg,

but for keeping on foot an immense army in Germany, which he maintained at the expence of the free towns and states of Suabia and Franconia. The presence of so large an army on its frontiers excited the jealousy and awakened the fears of the Prussian government. To overawe Prussia rather than to recover Cattaro seemed to be the object of assembling so great a force in that quarter, and when troops were collected in Westphalia, that suspicion was converted into certainty. Complaints were addressed from every quarter to Berlin, of the severity of the French contributions, and of the insufferable burthen of supporting their armies. The barbarous murder of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, who was arrested in that imperial city by order of the French government, hurried to Braunau and there tried and executed* under authority of a court marshal, for an alleged libel on the French emperor, excited universal indignation, and roused every pen in Germany to call down vengeance on such atrocious, unwarrantable acts. All eyes were turned to Prussia, imploring assistance and relief, while the bitterest reproaches were uttered against that selfish, temporizing policy, which had subjected Germany to such calamities and disgrace. The popular feeling at Berlin, in the court, in the army, among the burghers, was loudly and unequivocally expressed against the base, unprincipled, truckling policy of the government, since it had been directed by Haugwitz, Lombard, and other partizans of France. The surprize and indignation, which the scandalous

* August 26.

traffic of the Prussian provinces for Hanover had excited at first, subsequent events had not allayed. Every day had brought the news of some fresh encroachment on the part of France, of some new insult or mortification to Prussia. The young officers, inflamed with military ardor, were eager to distinguish themselves against the conquerors of Austria. The old generals, who recollected the glorious days of Frédéric II. forgot their age and infirmities, as well as the immense changes since that time both in France and Prussia, and joined in the cry for war. Prince Lewis of Prussia, who had a few years before been called the Prussian duke of Orleans, took the lead in inspiring these sentiments, and diffusing them among the young men of his rank. The queen, young, beautiful and amiable, listening to her indignation at the atrocities, usurpations and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, hated and despised, were unable to resist the torrent, which hurried the Prussian monarchy to destruction.

These ministers, as destitute of wisdom as of probity, as incapable of profiting by experience as of acting a fair or honourable part, had, in the mean time, been engaged in another criminal negotiation with Bonaparte, and had been again outwitted by his superior craft and artifice. The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire, and from some of the articles of that treaty it appears doubtful, whether the

French emperor entertained thoughts at that time of the speedy subversion, to which it was afterwards condemned. The residence of his troops in Germany, occasioned by the unlucky affair of Cattaro, probably suggested, and the prospect of peace with Russia certainly matured, a design suitable to his restless mind, of destroying what remained of that ancient structure, and of erecting in its room a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project seems to have been already conceived in the beginning of June, and early in July the details of the plan were settled; but it was resolved not to publish them, in case peace could be obtained.* On the 10th of that month the Russian plenipotentiary, D'Oubril, had his first conference with general Clarke, who was appointed to negotiate with him on the part of France. The true character of the Russian minister was soon discovered. No obstacle, it was foreseen, would be opposed by him to the new arrangements proposed in Germany. The plan of confederation was, therefore, definitively settled without delay; and signed on the 17th of July by princes and ministers, who were scarce allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures.†

The members of this confederation were the emperor of the French, the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the archbishop of Ratisbon, the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohen-

* Dispatch from lord Yarmouth to Mr. Fox, July 9.

† Lord Yarmouth to Mr. Fox, July 19.

zollern-Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birckstein and Lichtenstein, the duke of Arensburg, and the count of Leyen*. By their articles of confederacy, these princes separated themselves from the Germanic empire, and renounced all connection with it; appointed a diet to meet at Frankfort, to manage their public concerns, and settle their differences; chose the emperor of the French for their protector; established among themselves a federal alliance, by which, if one of them engaged in a continental war, all the others were bound to take part in it; and fixed the contingent which each should in that case furnish, as follows: France, 200,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3,000; Berg, 5,000; Darmstadt, 4,000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4,000; total, 258,000 men. It was settled, that none of the members of this confederacy should be dependent on any foreign power, nor enter into any service but that of the states of the confederation and their allies. No prince belonging to the confederacy could alienate the whole or any part of his dominions, but in favour of the confederates. Other German princes and states might be admitted into the confederacy, whenever it was found consistent with the general interest. In the mean time a vast number of petty princes and counts were deprived of the rights of sovereignty, which they held under the Germanic constitution; and these, without equi-

valent or indemnity, were transferred to members of the confederation. The imperial city of Nuremberg was given to the king of Bavaria, and that of Frankfort on the Main to the archbishop of Ratisbon, formerly elector and arch-chancellor of the empire, now prince primate of "the confederated states of the empire," or confederation of the Rhine.

By these great and important innovations, the Germanic empire was virtually dissolved, and many of its states were annexed, under the name of allies, to the rising empire of the French. Bonaparte was not content, however, while the name of the Germanic empire subsisted. No sooner were the preliminaries of peace signed between France and Russia†, than a message was conveyed from him to the emperor of Germany, to signify to the latter, that he must prepare to lay aside the title of emperor of Germany, and yield the precedence to France; and, farther, that he must be ready to give his assent to the new arrangements to be proposed in a few days at Ratisbon. To this mandate the emperor of Germany, since he could not resist the order, wisely submitted without remonstrance, and by a formal deed, resigned his office and title of emperor of Germany, and annexed his German provinces and states to the empire of Austria‡. On the 1st of August the confederates announced to the diet at Ratisbon, their separation from the empire; and on the same day a note was presented to

* The archduke Ferdinand, grand duke of Wurtzburg (formerly archduke of Tuscany, and afterwards elector of Salzburg,) acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, on the 30th of September, 1806.

† July 20. ‡ August 6.

the diet, in the name of the French emperor, declaring that he no longer acknowledged the existence of the Germanic constitution.

When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope held out to her by France, of being permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was under the protection of France.* But no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient, imperial dignity; and deposited the sceptre of the Othos at the foot of the modern Charlemagne; than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and assistance no longer wanted by Bonaparte, found herself condemned to another disappointment, aggravated by the reflection, that she was indebted for this mortification to the want of wisdom and probity in her councils. She was told, that from deference to England, Bonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her confederacy, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection.† He was not averse to her plan of a northern confederation; but his regard to justice and respect for the law of nations, would not allow him to see any compulsion used to make independent princes belong to it against their

will. The wise prince, she was told, who governed Saxony, seemed not inclined to contract the new obligations which Prussia wished to impose upon him; and France could not see him enslaved, or forced to act against the interests of his people.‡ The elector of Hesse, another member of the proposed northern confederation, was reminded by the French minister at Cassel, of the inability of Prussia to do any thing for her allies. He was then invited to join the confederacy of the Rhine, and as an inducement to comply, the remaining possessions of the prince of Orange, brother-in-law of the king of Prussia, were offered to be transferred to him.— And, when he refused these tempting proposals, the Rhenish confederation passed a resolution, by which he was cut off from access to part of his own states.¶

In the midst of these injuries and mortifications, Prussia discovered, that France, which had been continually urging her to the invasion of Swedish Pomerania, had engaged to Russia, to prevent her from depriving the king of Sweden of his German territories; and that after guaranteeing to her the possession of Hanover, her faithless ally had negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of that electorate.¶

To which of these grounds of complaint we are to attribute the

* Prussian Manifesto, Oct. 9th.

† Letter from the emperor of the French, to the king of Bavaria, Sept. 27.—Prussian manifesto.

‡ Ib.—and letter from the French emperor to the senate, Oct. 9th.—Reports from Talleyrand, Oct. 3 and 6.

¶ Prussian Manifesto.—Circular note of the prince primate, to the confederation of the Rhine, Sept. 18.

¶ Prussian Manifesto.

final determination of Prussia, to risk the chances of hostility with France, we presume not to decide. But we apprehend, that her reluctance to part with Hanover, her indignation at the treacherous conduct of France in that affair and the growing influence of public opinion upon her counsels, were the chief causes that stimulated her to that resolution. The king himself, is said to have been the last person in his cabinet, who was brought over to the opinion for war.

At what time all hopes of peace were abandoned, and hostilities finally resolved upon by Prussia, we are equally uncertain. Her government began to make preparations about the middle of August, and to put her army on the war establishment. It is generally understood, that Knobelsdorff was sent to Paris, in the beginning of September, for the purpose of gaining time, and not with any view to an amicable adjustment of the differences between Prussia and France. Lucchesini, who had been long the Prussian minister at Paris, when he foresaw that war between France and Prussia was inevitable, had contrived, that one of his dispatches to his court, full of complaints against the French government, should fall into their hands.—Incensed at the tone of his dispatch, the French demanded his recall from Paris, and imputed to his misrepresentations, the misunderstanding that had arisen between France and Prussia. With this demand the court of Berlin willingly complied, and congratulated itself on the success of a stratagem, which, it hoped, had given a false direction to the

suspicious of its enemy. To prolong the deceit, it made choice of general Knobelsdorff to be its minister at Paris, a warm partizan of France, sincerely attached to peace, and quite unsuspecting of the artifice, which he was sent to practise. The professions of peace, which he made by desire of his court, after it had determined on hostilities, were on his part sincere; and so little was he aware of the secret designs, either of his own government or of that to which he was sent, that when Bonaparte left Paris to take the command of his army against Prussia, Knobelsdorff enquired with the greatest simplicity, whether he should not accompany his majesty the emperor to head quarters, little suspecting against whom his march was directed. Such a negotiator might be duped by his employers, but could not long deceive the penetration of Bonaparte and Talleyrand. Knobelsdorff arrived at Paris, on the 7th of September, with a letter from his Prussian majesty to Bonaparte, full of civil and friendly expressions, to which corresponding returns, probably equally sincere, were made. On the 11th, a note was addressed to him by Talleyrand, complaining of warlike preparations in Prussia, which were publicly stated at Berlin, to be directed against France; and adding, amidst professions of regard for Prussia, and of regret that she should listen to counsels so much at variance with her true interests, that the emperor had ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army. Knobelsdorff in reply,* assured the French minister, that his master had entered into no concert with the

* Sept. 12.

enemies of France, and that the war-like preparations of Prussia had arisen from a misunderstanding, which the emperor's late interesting conversations with himself and Lucchesini, he had no doubt, would remove. On receiving these assurances, Bonaparte authorized his minister to declare,* that he should make no public declaration on the subject of his differences with Prussia, till the effect of Knobelsdorff's report at Berlin was known.—A second communication from Talleyrand,† complaining that the intelligence from Berlin wore every day a more hostile aspect, and expatiating on the natural ties between France and Prussia, war between which, he said, appeared to the emperor a political monstrosity, maintained for some time longer the appearance of a negotiation with a view to peace. But, in the mean while, the French troops were continually advancing towards the future scene of action, and on the 24th of September Bonaparte left his capital to take the command of his army, having three days before summoned the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their contingents. On the first of October the mask, which Prussia had so ineffectually worn, was at length laid aside. A note was presented by Knobelsdorff, demanding as a preliminary to negotiation, that the whole of the French troops should instantly re-pass the Rhine; that no obstacle should be raised by France to the formation of a northern confederacy, including all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation

should be the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the reoccupation of the three abbeys by the Prussian troops. To these demands the French emperor did not even deign to answer. But Talleyrand, in a report on the causes of the war,‡ availed himself of them with great dexterity, to shew, with some degree of plausibility, if not with perfect truth, that had France been willing to gratify the unjust ambition of Prussia at the expence of her weaker neighbours, the flames of war would not have been rekindled on the continent. Prussia had in truth been as perfidious, as unprincipled in her ambition as France; but she had conducted herself with less ability and with less success. Her morality had been the same; but, after selling her honour and reputation, she had been defrauded of the price.

It was a great error of his Prussian majesty, when he determined upon war with France, to continue the same persons in his government, who had directed his counsels during the whole of the late disgraceful proceedings. These persons had given abundant proofs of incapacity, in all the negotiations they had conducted; and such was their reputation, that they had no means of inspiring other governments with confidence in the sincerity of their professions, but by embarking their master, alone and unassisted, in a contest with Bonaparte. Whether it was from this conviction, or from a vain hope, in which they indulged to the last moment, of adjusting their differences with France, they were strangely remiss in communicating to other powers their intention to

* Sept. 13.

† Sept. 13.

‡ Oct. 6.

go to war. It was from Russia only, that Prussia could expect, in the first instance, to receive effectual aid. But, though a letter from his Prussian majesty had informed the emperor of Russia, in the month of August, of the relations in which he then stood towards France, no intimation was given to Russia of the approaching war; nor was any measure taken for obtaining from her assistance, till the 18th of September, when count Krusemack left Berlin for Petersburg, charged with such a commission. Krusemack arrived at Petersburg on the 30th. Orders for marching, though expedited immediately after his arrival, could not reach the Russian army in Poland till the 5th or 6th of October, nor could that army arrive at the scene of action in Germany before the middle of November; so that Prussia voluntarily exposed herself for a whole month, without assistance, to resist the best army and the best generals of Europe.

With such men as Haugwitz, Lombard and Beyme at the head of affairs, it ceases to be a matter of surprize, that no overtures of friendship or alliance had been proposed to the court of Vienna, nor even an attempt made to sound the intentions of that government, or to open with it a confidential intercourse. But, considering of how much importance, in the present circumstances of Prussia, was a good understanding between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, it is surprizing, that his Prussian majesty should have retained ministers in his confidence, whose presence in his councils was sufficient to prevent so desirable an end from being attained. Of the minor powers in the north of Germany, Saxony was the un-

willing ally of Prussia. Hesse, in expectation of a subsidy from England, affected neutrality. Mecklenburg was really neutral. The Swedish army had reoccupied the dutchy of Lauenberg, abandoned by the Prussians.

Scandalous as had been the conduct of Prussia towards England, and unwilling as she was still to give up Hanover, which she foresaw must be the price of any assistance from Great Britain, the desire and hope of a subsidy got the better of every consideration, and induced her ministers, when they sent count Krusemack to Petersburg, to communicate to Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Hamburgh, the disposition of his Prussian majesty to accommodate his differences with the king of Great Britain. A desire was expressed, that some person should be authorized by the English government to open a negotiation for that purpose; but no communication was made by the Prussian ministers of the nature of their differences with France, nor assurance given of their readiness to adopt for the basis of negotiation, the restitution of Hanover to its lawful owners. The English ministry, though they had reason to believe, that the quarrel between France and Prussia, originated in the offer of the former to give back Hanover to the king of Great Britain, hesitated not a moment to comply with their request, but appointed Lord Morpeth to proceed without delay to the head quarters of the Prussian army, there to enter on negotiations for peace. Lord Morpeth left London on the 1st of October, and having passed off Heligoland a packet with baron Jacobi on board, the late Prussian minister

minister at London, who was returning in that capacity to England, he arrived at Hamburgh on the 6th, and reached the head quarters of the Prussian army at Weimar on the 12th. This promptitude did not suit the views of the Prussian ministry. They were on the eve of a great battle, which might decide the fate of the campaign; and they were unwilling, while the event was uncertain, to pledge themselves to an act of justice, or entangle themselves in connections of no immediate utility. If victory remained to the Prussians, Hanover might still be theirs. If defeated, they were afraid, lest their having contracted engagements with England might be prejudicial to them, should they be compelled to solicit peace from France. Persisting to the last in his duplicity and irresolution, Haugwitz, who had been named to negotiate with the English minister, contrived by breaking his word and by other disingenuous shifts, to avoid seeing him at Weimar and Erfurt; and subsequently to the battle of Auerstadt, but while the result of it was unknown, Lord Morpeth having asked Lucchesini, whether the court of Prussia was ready to enter on immediate negotiation, the Italian unguardedly replied, "that it would depend on the issue of the battle which had just been fought."

The English ministry, when they appointed Lord Morpeth to negotiate with Prussia, gave further proof of the sincerity of their disposition to reconciliation, by removing the blockade of her ports and rivers,* which had hitherto sub-

sisted with great inconvenience to the north of Germany.

After this review of the conduct of Prussia and of the causes that led her to engage in hostilities with France, we must admit, that her provocations were great, numerous and galling; but we look in vain for such open insult or impending injury, as leave states, against which they are directed, no alternative but an immediate appeal to arms. If the indulgence of her resentment was her object in commencing hostilities, prudence should have restrained her anger, till means of gratifying it had been secured. If her motive was an honourable desire of asserting the liberties of Europe, and setting bounds to the encroachments of France, greater caution might have been expected from her government, than to have embarked with such inadequate means, in so arduous an enterprize. But if Hanover was the cause of her quarrel, nothing could be more absurd than to make war, in order to maintain her pretensions to a country, which she must begin by ceding to its lawful owner, for his assistance to enable her to carry on the contest.

Having brought the affairs of France and Prussia to the breaking out of the war, it is necessary to revert to the transactions between France and England, and to give an account of the negotiations for peace, in which these two powers and Russia were during a great part of the present summer unsuccessfully engaged. We shall afterwards return to the short but disastrous history of the Prussian campaign.

* Sept. 25.

CHAPTER IX.

Negotiations for Peace between England and France—Circumstances which led to the first Overture from France—Mr. Fox proposes that Russia should be a Party to the Negotiation—Objections of M. Talleyrand to the Intervention of Russia—Discussions on this Subject, and Failure of the Negotiation—Second Overture from the French Government through Lord Yarmouth—Favourable Nature of the Terms proposed—Minute of Lord Yarmouth, containing the Particulars of his Conversation with M. Talleyrand—Return of Lord Yarmouth to Paris—French retract their former Offers—Impression which their shuffling Conduct makes on the English Ministry, and particularly on Mr. Fox—His Unwillingness to give up Sicily—Instructions to Lord Yarmouth—M. D'Oubril signs a separate Peace for Russia—Lord Yarmouth produces his full Powers—Resolution to send Lord Lauderdale to Paris—Joint Representation to the French Negotiators from Lord Lauderdale and Lord Yarmouth—Delays created by the French Negotiators—Emperor of Russia refuses to ratify D'Oubril's Treaty—Whereupon the French are ready to give more favourable Terms to England—But the English Minister refuses to sign any but a provisional Treaty without the Concurrence of Russia—Violence and Impatience of Bonaparte moderated by his Ministers—Final Conference of Lord Lauderdale with M. Champagny—Mistake of supposing that the Negotiation broke off on Account of the Refusal of the French to cede Dalmatia to the Russians—Review and Justification of the Conduct of the English Cabinet throughout the Negotiation—Reception of the News of the Failure of the Negotiation in England—Account of D'Oubril's Treaty—Favourable Disposition of the new Russian Cabinet towards England.

AS the correspondence and intercourse, which took place between the governments of France and England, though they lasted for no less than six months, were finally broken off, without any treaty of peace, a brief relation of the conduct and of the leading events of the negotiation, will be sufficient to explain the principles

of the respective parties, and to ascertain the causes, which led to the unfavourable termination of these important discussions. The sentiments of Mr. Fox on the subject of the war, were generally known throughout his own country and Europe; and it was supposed, that he had selected the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, with the

the hopes of being able to accomplish with greater facility the favourite object of his heart—a general and permanent peace. The period, however, at which he was at length called to his majesty's councils, was peculiarly unfavourable to such an immediate overture to the French government as in any other circumstances he would no doubt have wished to resort to.—The recent successes of the French had been so signal and decisive, that an overture would have appeared an acknowledgment of weakness rather than a desire of pacification. Sufficient time had scarcely elapsed since the battle of Austerlitz and treaty of Presburg, to ascertain the feelings of the Russian government; and in addition to the difficulty of speculating upon the impressions which the late calamities might have produced on that distant court, a change of administration was expected in that capital; any decided step, therefore, without previous concert with the new ministers at Petersburg, might become the cause or the pretext for some estrangement of that cabinet. In this predicament Mr. Fox seems to have determined on making no direct overture to France, till some event might give rise to it, or at least till the views and wishes of the court of Petersburg had been fully ascertained, and the form, object, and nature of any negotiation previously concerted with that cabinet. But the French government, perhaps, sincerely desirous of putting an end to hostilities, or possibly deluded by an idle hope that Mr. Fox's strong inclination to peace would betray his prudence, and

lead him to measures, that would impair the stability of the connection between Russia and England, availed itself of the first opportunity of making direct overtures for a negotiation. The circumstances from which they arose, are too singular in themselves, and too honourable to the English minister and nation, to be passed over in silence.

About ten days after Mr. Fox came into office,* he received a letter from a person calling himself Guillet de la Gevrière, stating that he was arrived at Gravesend without a passport, and requesting Mr. Fox to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate, which would give Mr. Fox satisfaction. On receiving this letter, Mr. Fox gave orders through sir Francis Vincent, under secretary of state, to Mr. Brooke of the alien office, to send for the man from Gravesend, and a private interview having been solicited, to bring him on his arrival in London to Mr. Fox's house in Arlington-street, instead of taking him to the foreign office. In consequence of these orders, the Frenchman was next morning carried to Mr. Fox's house, and there admitted by him alone into his closet; when after some unimportant conversation, he proceeded to the object of his journey, which was to inform Mr. Fox that a plan had been entered into for the assassination of Bonaparte, and a house hired at Passy, from which it could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. Surprized and confounded with the audacity of the villain, in making him the confident of so execrable a design, Mr. Fox, without enquiring

* Feb. 14.

further into the particulars of the plot, instantly dismissed the Frenchman from his presence, and desired Mr. Brooke to send him as soon as possible out of the kingdom. But on reflection he ordered him afterwards to be detained, till such information could be given to the French government, as might prevent the perpetration of his crime, if really projected; and with that view he transmitted to M. Talleyrand,* a short and simple statement of the occurrence, and of what he had done thereupon.† The answer to this communication‡ was a natural and well turned compliment to the honour and generosity of Mr. Fox's character, and was accompanied by an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body,¶ in order, as M. Talleyrand observed, "that Mr. Fox might know, if the advantages of peace were duly appreciated, on what terms it might be discussed." The extract was a simple offer "to conclude peace, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style, which is the characteristic of all his public dispatches. He objected to the uncertainty of the basis of Amiens; the variety of modes in which it had been interpreted; and the delay,

which the explanations on the meaning of it would unavoidably occasion, even if no other objection should exist. "The true basis of such a negotiation, he observed, between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicane, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle; viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace, honourable for both and for their respective allies; and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."||— He then proceeded to state the impossibility of treating, much less of concluding any thing unless in concert with Russia, but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements, while they were waiting for the actual intervention of that power; and he forestalled an objection, which might be made to his statement, founded on the few material points in issue between Russia and France, by insisting upon, and extolling the interest taken by that power in all that concerns the greater or less degree of independence enjoyed by the different princes and states of Europe. He ended this letter with an expression of his desire of peace, and a short but firm exposition of the ability of Great Britain to continue the contest.

A correspondence of some length

* Feb. 20.

† The Frenchman continued in custody till the 7th of March, when he was sent under the care of a messenger to Harwich, and embarked on board of a vessel bound for Husum. He had arrived at Gravesend in a vessel called the Toby, Van Zoust master, declared from Embden, under Prussian colours, but supposed to have come direct from Holland.

‡ March 5.

¶ March 2.

|| Mr. Fox to M. Talleyrand, March 26.

ensued,

ensued, in which, as M. Talleyrand observes, there is a character of openness and precision, that had not hitherto been seen in the communications between the two courts. The great difficulty consisted in the admission of Russia into the negotiation. M. Talleyrand endeavours with much ingenuity to represent that power as interposing its authority between two great nations fully competent to adjust their own differences, but Mr. Fox insists on her being a party in the question, and an ally of Great Britain, whose interests are inseparably connected with her own. To bring the discussion to a point, Mr. Fox states explicitly,* that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negotiate separately. A month elapsed without any answer being given to this dispatch, and the first overture may be said to have failed in consequence of the determination of England not to negotiate separately, and the unwillingness of France to admit the intervention of Russia. But, though no arrangement took place, "the spirit of conciliation manifested on both sides, was considered as a great advance to peace;"† and in the course of the month of May, the English cabinet were, no doubt, enabled to ascertain with greater precision, the views and intentions of the court of St. Petersburg, and enabled to determine how far the substance and advantage of a joint negotiation might be preserved, without insisting on the forms, to

which France seemed to feel so much repugnance.

Whether M. Talleyrand calculated on the probability of such communications between the two courts, or was only anxious to prolong a correspondence, which might ultimately lead to a negotiation, he wrote a letter on the 2d of June, in the form of an answer to Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 20th of April, in which, after some vague observations on the nature of alliances, and some trivial objections to a joint negotiation, he proposes,—
 "first, to negotiate in the same preliminary forms, which were adopted during the administration of the marquis of Rockingham, in 1782; forms, which were not renewed with so much advantage in the negotiations of Lisle, but which were perfectly successful in the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Amiens;—secondly, to establish as a basis two fundamental principles; the first, taken from Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of March, namely, "*That the two states should have for their object, that the peace be honourable for them and their respective allies, and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as it is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe;*" the second principle to be an acknowledgment on the part of the two powers, of their mutual right of intervention and guaranty in continental, and in maritime affairs.‡

The English government does not seem to have returned any immediate answer to this letter. Indeed,

* Mr. Fox to M. Talleyrand, April 20.

† Id. to Id. April 8.

‡ From M. Talleyrand to Mr. Fox, June 2d.

though the form of the proposals contained in it, gave it an appearance of great precision and exactness, some time seems to have been necessary to understand the meaning of the French government, in making a reference to the preliminary forms in the administration of lord Rockingham, and those which preceded the treaty of Amiens; for they were not only dissimilar, but it appears from Mr. Fox's answer, that by adopting the precedents of 1782, the French would have completely established the mode of negotiation, to which they objected, and admitted the principle, against which M. Talleyrand, in the very letter containing that offer, peremptorily protests. Whether these considerations, or an expectation of further communications from the Russian cabinet, induced Mr. Fox to suspend the correspondence, no answer was made to this letter, till the 14th of June, by which time a new channel of communication was opened, and a fresh overture was made from the French government, which led to all the subsequent negotiation between the two countries. As, however, Mr. Fox answered the letter of the 2d of June without any reference to this new negotiation, it may be right to close our account of the direct correspondence between M. Talleyrand, and the English minister, by stating the substance of the last letter of that correspondence.* It consists of a civil but convincing reply to the objections urged by M. Talleyrand to a joint negotiation, a simple statement of the preliminary

discussions in 1782, and a comparison of the situation of England then with relation to the allies of France, with that of France to the allies of Great Britain, at the date of the letter, and an offer of the same forms of treating, which France at that time thought proper to insist upon. "We then treated with France and her allies. Let France now treat with us and our allies." After acquiescing in the basis offered in the second proposition, upon condition that the two powers mutually agree to abstain from all encroachment on the greater or lesser states of Europe; and after expressing his hope, that no difficulties in *form* rather than in *substance* should retard the restoration of peace; he implies, that any mode of negotiation, to which Russia will assent, will be agreeable to Great Britain, and takes that opportunity of observing, that an honourable peace was no less conformable to the wishes of Russia, than to those of England and of France.

Thus ended the direct correspondence between the two ministers for foreign affairs; and Mr. Fox had probably strong reasons from his communications with Russia, as he had undoubtedly from the assurances he had lately † received through lord Yarmouth, to foresee that the question of joint or separate negotiation would no longer be an obstacle to a more regular and formal discussion of the interests and pretensions of Great Britain and her allies.

In the course of the above related

* Mr. Fox to M. Talleyrand, June 14th.

† Communication from lord Yarmouth to Mr. Fox, June 13.

correspondence,

correspondence, and in consequence of the conciliatory manner in which it had been conducted, Mr. Fox had solicited as a personal favour the release of several of his private acquaintance prisoners at Verdun, the peculiar circumstances of whose detention had rendered any arrangement for their exchange impracticable, as it would have been derogatory to the dignity of the country to have acknowledged the principle on which they had been detained. The applications of Mr. Fox were in many instances successful, and among the persons named by him was the earl of Yarmouth, only son of the marquis of Hertford, who together with his wife and family, had been detained in France since the commencement of the war. On lord Yarmouth's arrival in London, early in June, he communicated the substance of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms, on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favourable, that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negotiation, on the basis contained in them. The bearer of the proposition was better able to judge of, and to enforce the adherence to the terms proposed, than any other person whatever; the residence of his family in France rendered lord Yarmouth's return

less liable to public observation; and it was understood,* that excepting himself, no one would have been permitted to remain twelve hours in France, without producing full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace. These were probably the reasons, which induced the English cabinet to direct lord Yarmouth to return. Before his departure, Mr. Fox, with an observation that we were all mortal, requested him to commit to writing the heads of the proposals made by M. Talleyrand. His† memorandum of a conversation with that minister, preserved in the secretary of state's office, and afterwards laid before parliament, is the only written evidence of the proposals which induced Mr. Fox to treat directly for peace with the French government. As the unwillingness of France to adhere to her original offers not only occasioned the first departure from that spirit of conciliation, in which the former correspondence had been conducted; but was the real cause of the ultimate failure of the negotiation, the substance of those overtures necessarily forms the most important part of the whole transaction. Unfortunately lord Yarmouth could not foresee the necessity of the disclosure of so confidential a paper. It consequently is not drawn up in that methodical style which is generally desirable in a public document. The want, however, of official precision, and the omission of some inferior points were amply supplied by his lordship's comments and explanations in the house of commons, when the subject came into discussion. From

* Lord Yarmouth's speech in the House of Commons, Jan. 5, 1807.

† Papers relating to the negotiation with France, No. 12.

the paper combined with those declarations, it is clear that three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat, viz. the restoration of Hanover, the possession of Sicily as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*, and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without establishing a congress or recognizing the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connection and alliance.

The restoration of Hanover was considered as a point unconnected with the basis of the treaty. It was a compliment to the crown of Great Britain in return for the recognition virtual or stipulated, of the emperor of France, and of the numerous sovereignties conferred on various branches of his family since the commencement of the war. Bonaparte had in all probability promised the electorate to the king of Prussia, if he had not actually guaranteed the possession of it to that monarch; but in order to retain the power of amusing the court of Berlin as long as he might find his interest to do so, he was naturally anxious to conceal this offer of sacrificing her supposed interests to the attainment of peace with Great Britain. Such indeed seems to have been his motives in preferring a message through lord Yarmouth to a continuance of the correspondence between the ministers of the two countries. The occupation of Hanover by Prussia was in itself a reasonable plea, even to Great Britain, for not committing the offer of its restoration to writing, till further progress had been made towards the conclusion

of peace. Many well informed persons have, notwithstanding these precautions, attributed the war between France and Prussia to the knowledge acquired by the latter of this overture. The conduct of the Prussian cabinet, so emphatically termed inconceivable by Bonaparte, is in this instance much too unintelligible for us to unmask. Future historians may obtain documents to which we have no access. It will be for them to determine whether the promoters of the campaign of 1807, in addition to the other instances of their insatiation, had actually the strange pretension of punishing Bonaparte for his sacrifices in favour of peace, and of avenging on France her predilection of the rights of our sovereign at the expence of projects for the aggrandizement of Prussia. The French emperor must have been more and more aware of the hostility of Prussia in proportion as the negotiation advanced; yet he never shewed any wish to conciliate her dispositions or to recede from his offer of restoring Hanover to its lawful sovereign.

On the other points of the negotiation his conduct was very different. If, on the return of lord Yarmouth, the outward appearance of conciliation was preserved, the substance of the terms demanded was very unexpectedly altered, and the circumstances of the two countries openly maintained by M. Talleyrand to be materially changed in favour of France. The fact was, that the French had either ascertained that M. D'Oubril, the Russian minister, was secretly authorized to treat for a separate peace, or foresaw, with their usual sagacity, that the weakness of his

character would enable them to intimidate him into that fatal and inconsiderate measure. M. Talleyrand,* therefore, predicted that the advantages of a joint negotiation were defeated, and openly insisted on that circumstance as a legitimate motive for extending his demands. If this view of the subject was not to be reconciled to high and chivalrous notions of honour, it must be acknowledged to be within the usual line of policy, which states prescribe to themselves; and, that to have disdained the advantage which France might have derived from this change of circumstances, would have been a rare instance of forbearance among the transactions between nation and nation. The French government, on the contrary, seem to have been elated with the prospect of success likely to attend their negotiation with M. D'Oubril. They had not determined on the extent of the fresh demands to which this new state of things would, in their judgment, entitle them; and, M. Talleyrand, † in the first interview with lord Yarmouth, after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his clear and explicit offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vague allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some person duly authorized and empowered to treat. This first deviation from the original overtures was received by the British ministry as the omen of the failure of negotiation. From that period Mr. Fox ‡ is said to have despaired entirely of its success.

That great statesman, at all periods of his life, attached uncommon importance to the preponderance of power in the Mediterranean; and it is probable that the value of the island alone would have rendered him less disposed to surrender Sicily than any European possession, over which France had not hitherto acquired a control. But to the honourable mind of Mr. Fox there must have been a yet stronger objection to any cession of that country. Not only had Great Britain no right to cede it without the consent of his Sicilian majesty, but the court of Palermo, with all its vices and imperfections, had a claim on the gratitude and justice as well as on the magnanimity of Great Britain and Russia. The obligation, indeed, was stronger on the latter power, and, it is true, that at that period the Russian minister shewed little inclination to be bound by it. But the correspondence of Mr. Fox abundantly proves that even the instances of an ally, to whose wishes he was so anxious to defer, would, with difficulty, have extorted from him any compliance with a measure of so doubtful a character. The value, therefore, of the possession itself, and the claims of the Sicilian court on the protection of the allies must have made such a demand on the part of France at any time a material obstacle to the progress of the negotiation. The circumstances in which it was made rendered it yet more discouraging. The English cabinet considered it not only unreasonable in itself but as a departure from the principles and basis of the

* Papers, No. 14.

† Papers, No. 14.

‡ Lord Holland's Speech on the Slave Trade.

negotiation, a denial of the offers which had been held out to them as inducements to treat, and an indication of the little reliance to be placed in the language or sincerity of the French negotiators. The instructions therefore to lord Yarmouth were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the* readmission of Sicily as the *sine quâ non* of the production of his full powers, which, "to avoid all pretence of cavil" were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean while the conduct and language of M. D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris, and who on the 10th of July opened his negotiations in form with the French commissioner general Clarke, fully justified the expectations of M. Talleyrand. It was soon manifest that no scruple about Sicily would prevent that minister from accepting such terms as Bonaparte might choose to grant, and nothing but the immediate and unqualified concurrence of England deter him from signing a separate peace. With the view of postponing so fatal a step, and of securing M. D'Oubril's co-operation on the other points in discussion, the English cabinet seems for one moment to have been willing† "to ascertain whether any practicable shape could be given to the proposal of an exchange for Sicily." This guarded relaxation was evidently the result of an extreme compliance with the wishes of M. D'Oubril not a variation of opinion on the importance of the object, much less an acknowledgment of the right of

France to recede from the original basis, within the scope of which it is carefully stated to be brought, in Mr. Fox's dispatch of the 18th of July. But the fears and the impatience of M. D'Oubril did not allow him to wait till the sentiments of the British cabinet were known. Such was the success of the French negotiators that they intimidated him into a belief that the delay of forty-eight hours in the signature of a separate treaty would expose Germany and Europe to dismemberment and destruction, and that an immediate acquiescence with the demands of Bonaparte was the only method of averting those evils. He accordingly signed a treaty on the 20th of July, and‡ without communicating to lord Yarmouth some of the most material articles to which he had consented, hastened, according to his own expression, to lay his work and his head at the feet of his imperial master. The French very naturally regarded the signature of this treaty in|| the light of an important victory, and by the same arts as they had practised on M. D'Oubril so far succeeded in terrifying lord Yarmouth with the consequences of a rupture or of delay, that they prevailed upon him to produce his full powers, before the basis originally offered had been again recognized, before the extension of its application to Sicily had been in any shape renewed, and before the impression produced on the British cabinet by the precipitate conduct of M. D'Oubril had been ascertained. General Clarke was immediately appointed to treat with lord Yarmouth on the part of

* Papers, No. 15.

† Papers, No. 18.

‡ Papers, No. 26.

|| Papers, General Clarke, No. 25.

France, and thus—although “the discussions had, according to Mr. Fox’s dispatch of the eighteenth of July,* been prolonged solely for the purpose of temporizing in compliance with the wishes of M. D’Oubril, lord Yarmouth was actually exchanging notes, and holding conferences with a French commissioner after that gentleman had signed a separate peace and left Paris, and before his court was apprized of either of those events. The circumstances in which his lordship was placed were undoubtedly very embarrassing, and it is but just to observe, that it would have required great address and experience to have withheld his full powers without bringing the discussions to an abrupt and unsuccessful termination. But as his instructions had been peremptory, it is not any matter of wonder that the English cabinet was† not satisfied with the step which he had taken. The necessity of some other negotiator “fully instructed in the sentiments of his majesty’s government on all the various points of discussion that might arise,”‡ was immediately felt; and the important charge was entrusted to lord Lauderdale, a nobleman whose discernment and talents eminently qualified him for the task, and whose uniform disposition to a pacific system of policy was a strong earnest of the sincerity of the British cabinet in their endeavours to obtain peace. Nor were these the only recommendations of lord Lauderdale. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend and tried political adhe-

rent, was a pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and to consult the spirit of his policy.

The first endeavour of lord Lauderdale on his arrival at Paris, was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and to the application of that principle to the island of Sicily. lord Yarmouth after having for that purpose concurred with his colleague in representing § formally and officially the substance and tendency of Talleyrand’s original overtures, left the subsequent part of the negotiation exclusively in his hands. The French negotiators, (for M. Champagny, minister of the interior, was soon appointed joint plenipotentiary with general Clarke), never actually admitted the basis of the *uti possidetis*, after the arrival of lord Lauderdale, and constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having in the first instance proposed it. They contrived however, under various pretences, and in one instance by an actual delay of the passports for a messenger, to detain lord Lauderdale at Paris, till it became the policy of Great Britain, as well as France, to await the decision of the court of Petersburg upon the treaty which M. D’Oubril had carried thither for ratification.

On the 3rd of September a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the emperor had refused to ratify M. D’Oubril’s treaty, and this refusal was not the consequence of any representation from the court of London, for it was declared before any messenger arrived

* Papers, (No. 20). † Papers, (No. 26). ‡ Papers, (No. 26).

§ Papers, (Enclosure E, in No. 35.)

from London, or the English minister in Russia had received any instructions from his court. M. Talleyrand with* great apparent frankness informed the British negotiator of this piece of intelligence, the day after its arrival in Paris, and assured him that France was now disposed to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been induced to admit. The probability of the ratification of M. D'Oubril's treaty being refused, had been foreseen, and lord Lauderdale was instructed "to † consider the two courts as having reverted to their former situation with additional bonds of union, resulting from fresh proofs of their respective adherence to the spirit and principles of their alliance." As it was soon obvious, that the abandonment of Russia was to be the price of the more favourable terms, so ostentatiously announced to Great Britain the honourable determination of our court not to listen to any such projects, prevented any precise detail of the concessions France was willing to make for the attainment of her object. It is however worthy of remark, that no offer of Sicily was even in the supposition of a separate peace ever made during the course of the negotiation. Mr. Fox was now unable to discharge the duties of his office. The principles, however, which he had laid down, seem to have regulated the conduct of the British cabinet throughout the discussions. An attention not only to the interests but to the wishes of Russia, a firm determination to listen to no measure

that could give her umbrage or suspicion, and a strong desire to preserve Sicily, amounting nearly to a resolution not to abandon it, were on the part of Great Britain, the most prominent features of the latter, as they had been of the early part of the negotiation. Lord Lauderdale was not authorized "to ‡ sign any treaty except provisionally, such treaty not to have its full effect until peace should be concluded between Russia and France;" but he was at the same time instructed, § "to impart to the French plenipotentiaries, the conditions upon which Russia, (according to the full and perfect knowledge his Britannic majesty had of the intentions of that court,) would be willing to negotiate with the French government; to reduce them into the form of a treaty in the event of their being agreed to on both sides; and to insert an article in the provisional treaty between Great Britain, and France, by which his Britannic majesty should engage to employ his mediation for the purpose of obtaining the accession of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the said treaty." It should seem that M. Talleyrand felt || little or no objection to the above-described form of proceeding; but notwithstanding the conciliating tone adopted by that minister, the official note in which the promised acquiescence of the emperor was signified, breathed a very different spirit. It contained much irrelevant and offensive matter; it was conceived in the language of remonstrance and reproach; and ¶ barely conveyed a reluctant consent to the

* Papers, (No. 46). † Papers, (No. 41). ‡ Papers, (Enclosure A. in No. 49). § (Ibidem.) || Papers, [No. 49, and No. 50.] ¶ Papers, (Enclosure A. in No. 50).
proposal

proposal of lord Lauderdale: It is manifest from this circumstance, as well as from other passages of the correspondence, that the impatience of Bonaparte would have brought the negotiation to an abrupt and violent conclusion, but for the frequent and wise interposition of his ministers, who sometimes by address and sometimes by representation, contrived to soften the tone and moderate the language of their official communications. The English negotiator in *his reply to the above-mentioned paper, though he took as much notice of the offensive topics introduced into it, as was essential to the maintenance of his own dignity, very judiciously combined it with the personal assurances of M. Talleyrand, and considered it as amounting to a full admission of his proposal. But on the renewal of the conferences it did not appear that France was disposed to relax in any one of her pretensions. In the mean while Bonaparte had left Paris for the army on the Rhine, and one of the plenipotentiaries (gen. Clarke,) as well as M. Talleyrand accompanied him on his journey. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorized to †relinquish the claims of Joseph upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in ‡such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg. The negotiation was therefore at an end, and lord Lauderdale peremptorily insisted on his passports. In the last conference M. Champagny, though he had previously doubted his powers of hearing lord Lauderdale upon the subject of Russia (notwithstanding

the assurances contained in §the public note and §conversations of M. Talleyrand) offered || to cede the full sovereignty of Corfu to that power. This was rejected as insufficient, which has led to the erroneous opinion that the negotiation was broken off solely because Great Britain insisted on the cession of Dalmatia to Russia.

It appears, however, that even if Great Britain, departing from the principles which had guided Mr. Fox in the commencement of the negotiation, had considered her own views of the interest of Russia rather than the wishes of that court, in a treaty provisionally signed for her approbation, yet it would have been impossible, in the shape in which it was proposed, to acquiesce in the relinquishment of Dalmatia, without incurring the risk of forfeiting the confidence of Russia, and neither accomplishing a general, nor even a separate peace after all. Had the English ministers completed the part of the treaty relating to Russia without securing to that power the object of which she was most desirous, the French, by insisting on stipulations, which England considered as utterly inadmissible, but to which Russia was comparatively indifferent, would have thrown upon them the imputation of sacrificing the interests of their ally. This was the more to be apprehended, because on points of that description, especially Sicily, the French had shewn no disposition whatever to relax. The consequence would have been, that the strength of the alliance between the two courts would have been broken. The feeling of a common cause

* Papers, (Enclosure B, in No. 50.) † Papers, (No. 51.) ‡ Papers, (No. 52.)
Papers, (No. 49, No. 50, and Enclosure A, in No. 50.) || Papers, (No. 52.)

would have been destroyed, and the two powers would have incurred, both in appearance and effect, the disadvantage of contending with France for objects essentially different, and upon distinct and separate grounds. The obvious policy of France, when she despaired of any separate peace with Great Britain, was to induce her to admit in the project of a treaty such terms as she foresaw would alienate the affections, and shake the confidence of her ally the emperor of Russia. The honourable determination of our cabinet, and the firm but temperate conduct of our negotiator defeated this design, and his earnest and peremptory demand of passports was at length granted, though they were accompanied with a note* evidently composed under the immediate direction of Bonaparte. This paper insinuates that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; that a departure from the basis laid down by him had thrown the first obstacle in the way of pacification, and that to the loss of that great man alone was to be ascribed the further continuance of the calamities of war. To these charges lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited, manly, and convincing reply. Indeed no impartial person can peruse the early part of the negotiation, without being persuaded, that if the French had conducted themselves towards Mr. Fox as they did towards his successors, the result must have been precisely the same. Whether, if the life of Mr. Fox had been fortunately preserved, confidence in that great cha-

racter, reliance on the stability and permanence of his power at home, and apprehension of the authority of his name throughout Europe, and in France in particular, might not have induced Bonaparte to relax in his pretensions, and to revert to the councils of moderation which seem to have dictated M. Talleyrand's first correspondence, is mere matter of speculation. We have good reason to believe that Mr. Fox himself despaired of any such event, and if our confidence in the weight of his character is greater than his own, it can in no degree affect the merits of his successors and colleagues who met with no such forbearance or moderation in the councils of the enemy. The charge, "that the British government had resolved to forego the prospect of a peace," though probably intended by Bonaparte to inflame the English public against the administration, was little calculated to produce that effect. Through the industry of those most hostile to the ministry, the public were more prepared to censure the terms of a peace than to lament the continuance of war, and the rupture of a negotiation was the last accusation which a court party would have thought it prudent, at that time, to urge against the servants of the crown. The animosity so studiously excited at the commencement of the war, was by no means extinguished in the public, and an incident soon occurred to shew that motives yet more inexcusable contributed to the general sentiment in favor of the rupture of the negotiation. Though the grounds upon which the discussions had been bro-

* Papers, (Enclosure B, in No. 55.)

† Papers, (Enclosure B, in No. 55.)

ken off were unknown, the intelligence of lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at Lloyd's Coffee House, with bursts of approbation and shouts of applause; a disgusting proof of the indifference with which men can contemplate the calamities of their species, when they conceive that any personal advantage can accrue to themselves from the continuance of them. In this instance the policy was as short sighted as the feeling was contemptible. The capture of Buenos Ayres had raised visions of conquest and of wealth as extravagant as those of El Dorado, and though the ministers could scarcely have been the dupes of that delusion, they took little pains to undeceive the people. Perhaps a government weakened by the loss of its most efficient member, could hardly be expected, at the moment of breaking off a negotiation for peace, to check a feeling so well calculated to reconcile the public to that calamity. Though there is no reason to suspect that the infatuation was encouraged by those in power, it was by no means confined to the city of London. It spread through every part of the country, and as it is our duty to record the opinions of our countrymen, as well as the events which gave rise to them, we must with shame acknowledge that the prevalent sentiment of the nation was joy at the prospect of extended commerce and conquest in South America, rather than disappointment at the failure of peace, or grief at the protraction of the horrors of war.

The preliminaries of peace signed at Paris by D'Oubril and refused to be ratified at St. Petersburg, con-

tained the following articles. Russia gave up to France, Cattaro and all the places occupied by her troops in Dalmatia; in return for which the French emperor consented, at the request of the emperor of Russia, to restore Ragusa to its former state, and to abstain from hostilities against the Montenegrins. The republic of the seven islands was declared independent, but the Russians were allowed to station 4000 troops in its territory. The independence of the Ottoman Porte was recognized, and the integrity of its possessions guaranteed by both parties. The French were to evacuate Germany within three months, and the Russians to withdraw all their troops from the Mediterranean, except the corps they were allowed to leave in the seven islands. No mention was made of their Sicilian majesties in the public treaty, but one of the secret articles is said to have contained a slighting declaration on the part of France, that the emperor had no objection to the late king of Sicily and his wife finding an asylum wherever they could. There was no stipulation about Sicily; but by another secret article, Majorca, Minorca and Iviza were to be transferred from Spain to the duke of Calabria, with the title of king of the Balearic isles, on condition that the ports of these islands should be shut against the English during the continuance of the war. The only article in favour of England, if it could be so called, was an admission on the part of the French emperor of the good offices of Russia for the attainment of a maritime peace.

When this treaty was brought to St. Petersburg, it was laid before a council

council summoned specially for that purpose;* and after comparing it with the instructions given to M. D'Oubril before his departure, and with the subsequent orders sent to him at Vienna, it was declared by the council, that M. D'Oubril, in signing these articles, had not only departed from his instructions, but had acted directly contrary to their sense and spirit; and upon this ground his imperial majesty was advised to withhold his ratification of the treaty. His resolution to that effect was accordingly signified without delay to the French government, and notified by a circular letter to all the Russian ministers at foreign courts. M. D'Oubril was disgraced and exiled from court, but neither deprived of his rank nor of his appointments.

Notwithstanding the declaration of the Russian council, that D'Oubril, in signing this treaty, had acted in the face of his instructions, the very slight punishment to which he was condemned for conduct so inexcusable, if truly represented, leaves some doubt upon the mind, whether he had so far deviated from his secret instructions as to justify the imputations cast upon him. On the other hand, the difficulty of giving any rational explanation of the change of opinion on the subject of peace, which must be supposed to have taken place in the court of St. Petersburg after his departure from Vienna, if he negotiated in conformity to secret instructions which were afterwards disavowed, inclines

us to believe, that he must have deserved in some degree his disgrace; and his remarkable expression after signing the treaty, "that he would carry to Petersburg his work and his head, and lay them before the feet of his master," seems to imply, that he was conscious of having incurred a dangerous responsibility, by acting in opposition to his instructions. It has been said, that he was led into this error by a private conversation which he had with the emperor before his departure from St. Petersburg, in which he imagined that he discovered a more pacific spirit and more accommodating policy in his sovereign, than was contained in the public instructions of the ministers; and to this circumstance, if true, may perhaps be imputed the mildness of his punishment. It has been also said, that in addition to the impression made on his weak and pusillanimous character by the menacing language of the French, he was precipitated into the fatal measure of affixing his name to the treaty, by an erroneous opinion, that the new ministers at St. Petersburg were less favourably inclined to England than their predecessors. In this idea, however, he was widely mistaken. General Budberg, the successor of Czartorinski, was a man of inferior talents and reputation, but equally attached to the connection of Russia with England, and disposed to make every sacrifice and exertion to maintain the alliance of the two powers.

* August 25th.

CHAP. X.

Unfitness of the Duke of Brunswick to be Generalissimo of the Prussian Army—Position of the Prussians before the Battle of Auerstadt—Of the French—Defeat of the Prussian Left and Death of Prince Lewis of Prussia—French get Possession of the Prussian Magazines—Battle of Auerstadt—Loss of the Prussians in that fatal Action—Errors of their Generals—Surrender of Erfurt—Defeat of Kalkreuth in attempting to retreat over the Hertz Mountains—Defeat of the Prussian Reserve under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg—Release of the Saxon Prisoners and Armistice between France and Saxony—King of Prussia escapes across the Oder—Bonaparte enters Berlin—His Conduct at Berlin and Potsdam—Capture of Prince Hohenlohe's Army—Retreat of General Blucher to Lubeck—That City taken by Storm, and the Remains of Blucher's Army forced to lay down their Arms—Bad Defence of the Prussian Fortresses—Surrender of Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, Hameln, and Nieu-burg—Invasion of Westphalia from Holland—Occupation of Hesse Cassel and Expulsion of the Elector—Occupation of Hanover, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg—Peace between France and Saxony—Title of King conferred on the Elector of Saxony—The Princes of the House of Saxe admitted into the Confederation of the Rhine—Occupation of Hamburgh, and Confiscation of all English Produce and Manufactures found in that City—Berlin Decree—Armistice between France and Prussia signed by Lucchesini, but refused to be ratified by the King of Prussia—French cross the Oder—Progress of their Arms in Silesia—in Poland—Arrival of the Russians at Warsaw—Their subsequent Retreat behind the Narew—Military Precautions of the French—Passage of the French over the Narew—Actions on the Narew and Wkra—Defeat and Retreat of the Russians—Exaggerated Accounts of the Sickness prevailing in the French Army.

THE capital error of the Prussian government, when it determined upon war with France, was in the choice of its general. It was at first settled, that the king, assisted by a council of general officers, should take the command of his army in person. This arrangement was undoubtedly liable to many objections. A military coun-

cil composed of generals, among whom there was no marked superiority of rank or character, and controlled by a monarch, inexperienced in war, diffident of his abilities, and therefore unsteady in his determinations, governed by ministers equally timid and irresolute as himself, was, it must be confessed, a most unfit instrument to oppose to

to the greatest military genius of this or of any other age. But, exceptionable as was the plan of a military council to direct the operations of the war, it may be questioned, whether it was not exposed to fewer objections than the appointment of such a commander as the duke of Brunswick to be generalissimo of the army. A more unfortunate choice for that important situation it was impossible to have made. The duke of Brunswick had distinguished himself, in early youth, under his uncle prince Ferdinand, as an active, successful partizan; and had afterwards gained a high reputation in courts, by the prosperous issue of his expedition against the Dutch patriots in Holland; but that reputation, which among military men had been always somewhat equivocal, he had subsequently forfeited by his mis-carriages in France; and on no occasion had he ever displayed the talents of a great general, or shewn a mind sufficiently capacious and comprehensive to direct the movements of a great army. A well-disposed sovereign and well-bred courtier, he was neither a good general nor a great man. Elevated to his present high command, not by the opinion of his merit, or the recollection of his services, but by his skill and management of intrigue, it was soon evident, that the narrowness of his mind was unequal to the magnitude of a situation, which he had ambition to covet, but wanted ability to fill. Wrapped up in mystery and concealment, he had little intercourse with officers of merit, and admitted no general but Mollendorf to his councils of war, where he discussed military plans with the king, Haug-

witz and Lucchesini. Immersed in details, he bestowed on inferior concerns the time, which should have been occupied with business of importance; and yet so deficient was he in method and arrangement, that the sole result of his labours was confusion and discontent. Unable to form and combine a well digested system of operations for the conduct of the campaign, his perplexed and contradictory orders, the irregular marches and counter-marches of his troops, shewed too plainly, that he pursued no steady plan, nor had any well-defined object in view. Disconcerted and alarmed by every movement of the French, it was manifest, that he had not penetrated the designs of the enemy, nor provided against their success. So obvious was his incapacity, that his army quickly perceived his unfitness to command them, and lost all confidence in their general.

Early in October the Prussian head-quarters were at Naumburg, where also their principal magazines were collected, and their army extended itself in the country bordering on the Saale in Upper Saxony. On the 4th of that month their head-quarters were moved forward to Erfurt, and on the 10th to Weimar. The position of their army was nearly as follows.

Their left, commanded by prince Hohenlohe, under whom were general Tauenzien and prince Lewis of Prussia, occupied Saalfeld, Schleitz, and Hof, and its advanced posts extended to Munchberg and Culmbach. Their centre, commanded by the duke of Brunswick, marshal Mollendorf, and the king in person, was distributed in the neighbourhood

hood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach, and its vanguard under the duke of Saxe Weimar, was stationed at Meinungen on the Werra. Their right commanded by general Ruchel extended to Mulhausen. From this disposition of the Prussian army it is probable, that had not the duke of Brunswick been anticipated by the French, it was his intention to have begun hostilities by bearing down with his right on Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzberg, and with his left on Bamberg. A separate corps under general Blucher which had been stationed at Gottingen, for the protection of Westphalia, joined the main army before the battle. Hesse was neutral, but the Saxons acted as auxiliaries to the Prussians, and served in the left under prince Hohenlohe. The reserve of the Prussian army under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, did not arrive from Custrin till after the battle of Auerstadt. The whole force, Prussians and Saxons, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, did not amount to less than 150,000 men.

While this immense army remained inactive on the banks of the Saale, the French were collecting their scattered troops and concentrating their forces in the neighbourhood of Bamberg. On the 6th of October Bonaparte arrived in that city, and on the 8th the French army was in motion to attack the Prussians. Why the French were suffered peaceably to assemble their forces, without any movement of the Prussians to attack them before the divisions of their army had formed a junction, it seems difficult to explain. If offensive operations

did not enter into the plan of the campaign, why did Prussia hurry on the war so unnecessarily; why advance beyond her frontiers, to meet an enemy, whom she had determined not to attack? was it to get the start of Bonaparte in Saxony, and prevent its elector from acting towards her the part, which the elector of Bavaria had done last year towards Austria? but, had that been her motive, would Prussia have consented to the neutrality of Hesse, for no better reason than to indulge the avarice of the elector, who hoped to obtain from England, by an affected backwardness in the war, a larger subsidy for his assistance? And, after all, what were the Saxons and Hessians in comparison of the Russians, from whom every step taken by the Prussians in Thuringia was removing them to a greater distance? If the Prussians were too weak to attack the French, before the armies of the latter had united, they were still less able to resist them after their junction; and in that case nothing remained for the weaker party, but to fall back on the allies, who were coming up to its aid.

The position of the Prussian army in front was strong and perhaps impregnable. But a wise general, attentive to every danger to which his troops are exposed, should have reflected on the possibility of the enemy turning their flank: getting possession of their magazines: shutting them up in a country without resources; and forcing them to fight at a disadvantage, and, if worsted, without a possibility of escape. The magazines at Hof, Zwickau, Weissenfels, and Naumburg were left with-

out

out protection, exposed to the attacks of the enemy, and when cut off from these, the Prussians had no alternative but to fight or starve. There were no resources in the barren country of Weimar for maintaining so large an army and numerous cavalry as the Prussian. There was no bread, no beer, no brandy for their men, and no fodder for their horses. When their cavalry took the field on the morning of the battle of Auerstadt, the horses had been without corn, and the men without food for two nights and a day. Another fatal error in the disposition of the army was its encampment on the left bank of the Saale, by which the electorate of Saxony, the chief fortresses of the Prussian States, and the capital itself were laid open to the enemy; and the Prussians, in case of a disaster, were cut off from Magdeburg, the only rallying point, where they could assemble, or place of refuge, where they could be in safety.

The French army advanced on the 8th, in three divisions. The right, composed of the corps of marshals Soult and Ney, and of a division of Bavarians, set out from Amberg and Nuremberg, joined at Bayreuth, and from thence marched against Hof. The centre commanded by the grand duke of Berg, the prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte), and marshall Davoust, marched from Bamberg to Cronach, and from thence to Saalburg and Schleitz. The left, composed of the corps of marshals Lannes and Augereau, advanced from Schweinfurth upon Coburg, Graffenthal, and Saalfeld. By these movements the left wing of the Prussians, which stretched to a great distance from

their centre, was exposed to the attack of the whole of the French army. Aware of their danger, the Prussians at Hof, who were at the extremity of the line, and in the greatest danger of being cut off, fell back upon Schleitz before the arrival of marshal Soult. Some prisoners, however, were taken, and all the magazines at Hof fell into the hands of the enemy. Soult, followed by Ney, at the distance of half a day's march, pressed forward to Plauen in Upper Saxony, where he arrived on the 10th. The French centre passed the Saale at Saalburg, after a slight resistance on the part of the Prussians, and advanced on the 9th to Schleitz, where a body of 10,000 Prussians was posted under the command of general Tauenzien. An action ensued, in which the Prussians were worsted with considerable loss, and next day the French advanced to Auma, and on the 11th to Gera, within half a day's march of Naumburg, where lay the great magazines of the Prussian army. The French left had equal success with the other divisions of their army. Lannes entered Coburg on the 8th, and advanced to Graffenthal on the 9th. On the 10th he attacked at Saalfeld the advanced guard of prince Hohenlohe, commanded by prince Lewis of Prussia, and gained over it a signal victory. Prince Lewis, to whose rashness and disobedience of orders in quitting his position at the bridge of Saalfeld, and advancing to attack the enemy, this misfortune was entirely to be attributed, fell in the action. The Prussians were completely routed, and lost 30 pieces of cannon, besides 600 men killed, 1000 taken prisoners, and a great number wounded.

By

By the success of these operations the French, after turning the Prussian left, became masters of their magazines, and placed themselves between their grand army and the cities of Berlin and Dresden. On the 12th, part of the French centre, under Marshal Davoust, entered Naumburg, and took possession of the Prussian magazines, which they set on fire. Their army now extended along the right bank of the Saale from Naumburg to Neustadt. Their first line was composed of the corps of Davoust, at Naumburg; of that of Lannes, at Jena; and of that of Augereau, at Kahla. In the second line was the grand duke of Berg, between Zeitz and Leipzig; the prince of Ponte Corvo, at Zeitz; the emperor and Soult, at Jena; and marshal Ney, at Neustadt.

The disasters of Schleitz and Saalfeld, and the unfortunate death of prince Louis, when known at the Prussian head-quarters, produced there universal consternation and dismay, though the extent and consequences of these calamities were far from being fully understood or foreseen. Fears were entertained, that the French, after breaking through and defeating their left, would advance to Dresden and take possession of Saxony. But so remiss were they in the most ordinary precautions, and so absurdly confident in the strength of their positions, that one of their patrols, sent out from head-quarters towards Naumburg to reconnoitre, returned without going to Naumburg, because when half way they met a traveller who told them there were no news of the French at Naumburg. From this state of blind security they were roused by the blaze of their magazines on the night of the

12th, which at once disclosed to them the real intentions of the enemy, and shewed how successful he had been in accomplishing his designs. Nothing now remained for them but to risk a general engagement without delay. Next day was employed, on both sides, in making arrangements for the important battle decisive of the fate of Prussia. The French army extended from Naumburg to Kahla, along the Saale, a line of six hours march, its centre being at Jena. The Prussians, who had been collecting the whole of their forces into one point, were assembled between Auerstadt, Weimar, and Jena. The two armies were separated by the heights of the Saale, which seemed to afford an impregnable position to the Prussians, and to oppose an insuperable barrier to the French. But, by some incredible oversight, the Prussian generals, satisfied with guarding the high road between Jena and Weimar, left the most important passes of the Saale unoccupied. Of this omission the French failed not to avail themselves. During the whole of the night of the 13th they were indefatigably employed in securing these passes, and transporting cannon to defend them; in which they were so successful, that, when day broke, the Prussians saw themselves attacked in their elevated position, which they had considered as an impregnable fortress; and so unsuspecting were they to the last moment of their danger, that at Rauhthal, the French, who had penetrated by the neglected pass of Swetzen, arrived within 300 paces of one of their columns before its approach was suspected.

At break of day the whole of the French army was under arms. The light

light troops of the centre began the action by opening a brisk fire on the Prussians, which drove them from their advanced positions, and enabled the French line to extend itself on the plain, and draw up in order of battle. The Prussian left, amounting to about 50,000 men, were dispatched early in the morning towards Naumburg, to take possession of the impregnable defiles of Koesen; but these were already occupied by Davoust, whom they attacked eleven times successively, but in vain attempted to dislodge. Their centre, consisting of 80,000 men, was opposed to the French centre at Jena; and these were the only two divisions of their army engaged in the heat of the action. Their right, under general Ruchel, amounting to 12,000 men, did not come up till their centre was broken and thrown into disorder; and their rear guard, (formerly their vanguard), commanded by the duke of Saxe Weimar, was still at Meiningen, 30 miles distant from the field of battle. A thick fog obscured the early part of the day; and when it cleared up, the two armies beheld each other at the distance of less than cannon shot. The action began by some French battalions taking possession of a small village, from which the Prussians attempted to dislodge them. Lannes advanced to support his countrymen, and Soult to get possession of a wood upon his right occupied by the enemy. Another body of Prussians having made a movement upon the French left, Augereau put his troops in motion to repulse them. In less than an hour the action became general. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men with seven or eight hundred pieces of

artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful scenes ever beheld. The Prussian infantry behaved with courage and firmness; but their cavalry, worn out, fatigued, and disheartened, maintained not its antient reputation. The French cavalry charged with the greatest spirit and boldness; and their artillery performed wonders. The most courageous soldiers could not approach without trembling the shower of balls that preceded the march of their columns. Both armies manœuvred with the same exactness as on a field day, but the rapidity of the French evolutions astonished and disconcerted the Prussians. Soult having got possession of the wood, after a combat of two hours, pressed forward; and, at the same instant, the French reserve, both cavalry and infantry, advanced to the front line, which, being thus strengthened, threw the Prussians into disorder, and forced them to retire. They rallied, however, and returned to the action, which they maintained for about an hour; but they were again thrown into confusion by the advance of the second French reserve, composed of the dragoons and cuirassiers under the command of the grand duke of Berg. The charge of this body of horse, at the conclusion of the day, was irresistible. Neither cavalry nor infantry could withstand the shock. In vain did the Prussians form themselves into square battalions: their ranks were broken; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were put to rout. The French reached Weimar as soon as their fugitive enemies.

While the Prussian centre and right were thus completely defeated, their left, repulsed by Davoust in its repeated

repeated attempts to drive him from the defiles of Koesen, was forced, after a combat of several hours, to fall back upon Weimar, at the moment when the broken corps, which had reached that city, were attempting to retreat in the direction of Naumburg. The confusion arising from these opposing currents may be easily imagined; in addition to which, the innumerable baggage waggons, that blocked up all the roads leading to Erfurt, impeded the retreat of the troops, and compelled them to consult their immediate safety by a precipitate flight. The king himself was forced to quit the high road, and, at the head of a small body of cavalry, to escape from this scene of disorder across the fields.

According to the French accounts, more than 20,000 Prussians were killed or wounded in this disastrous action, and from 30,000 to 40,000 taken prisoners. The duke of Brunswick * and lieutenant-general Schmettau were mortally wounded. Above twenty generals and lieutenant-generals were made prisoners, and 300 pieces of cannon and 60 standards were taken.

The loss of the French is stated, in their official reports, at 1,100 killed, and 3000 wounded. None of their officers above the rank of a brigadier-general was either killed or wounded.

Many were the errors of the Prussian generals in this engagement. In addition to those already hinted at in the course of this narra-

tive, the most fatal was their omitting on the 13th to possess themselves of the impregnable heights and defiles of Koesen; their neglecting to have any corps in reserve to support their battalions against the double reserve of the French; their leaving the duke of Saxe Weimar with 16,000 men at Meinungen, where he remained till next day, unacquainted with what had passed; the absence of all concert and co-operation between the two divisions of their army principally engaged; and the unprepared state in which they were found by the enemy when the action began. After the duke of Brunswick was carried off the field, there was no commander in chief to issue general orders to the army. The corps fought singly, without plan or combination, or attention to the movements of the enemy. When the action was lost, the troops who escaped from the field of battle fled in different directions, and, ultimately, were all taken prisoners or dispersed, because no rallying point to retreat upon had been settled, in case such a disaster should befall them.

A considerable body of Prussians under marshal Mollendorf and the prince of Orange Fulda made good their retreat to Erfurt; but next morning they were invested in that place by the grand duke of Berg; and on the following day they surrendered by capitulation. The prisoners taken at Erfurt amounted to 14,000 men, among whom, besides Mollendorf and the prince of Orange,

* The duke of Brunswick was wounded in the face by a grape shot in the beginning of the action, in consequence of which he was obliged to quit the field. He was transported in a litter to Brunswick, where he arrived on the 21st. But the approach of the French, whose enmity he in vain attempted to soften, having compelled him to seek a more distant asylum, he was carried to Altona, where he died of his wounds on the 10th of November, in the 72d year of his age.

were many other officers of distinction. A park of 120 pieces of cannon, with all the requisite implements and ammunition, and magazines of great value, fell at the same time into the hands of the French. Mollendorf, when taken prisoner, was dangerously ill of his wounds. A marked degree of attention was shewn to him by the French, as one who had done all that lay in his power to prevent the breaking out of hostilities; while the duke of Brunswick and others, whom they denominated of the war faction, were treated with the coarsest scurrility and abuse in their official gazettes, and with extreme rigour when they had the misfortune to fall into their hands, or were reduced to the necessity of soliciting their clemency and indulgence.

Another division of the Prussian army, under general Kalkreuth, attempted to escape in a body over the Hertz mountains; but was overtaken at the village of Greusen, and defeated with loss. Magdeburg was the quarter to which the fugitive columns of the Prussians chiefly directed their flight; and prince Hohenlohe, though wounded, having reached that fortress, a considerable army was collected there under his standard. The garrison of Magdeburg amounted to 12,000 men; but the place was ill adapted for sustaining a siege or maintaining an army; its magazines having been emptied, with a fatal improvidence, to supply the grand army when it took the field. Marshals Ney and Soult, and the grand duke of Berg, followed the Prussians in their flight to the walls of Magdeburg; and, in the total confusion and disorder into which

they were thrown, made a number of prisoners, and got possession of a great part of their artillery, baggage, and ammunition.

On the other side of Weimar, prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, who was advancing with the Prussian reserve from Custring, instead of falling back on the news of the battle, continued his march to Halle, where he was attacked by the prince of Ponte-Corvo*, and defeated with considerable loss. In this engagement, which destroyed the last entire corps of the Prussian army, the French took 5000 prisoners and 34 pieces of cannon. The Prussians, in their retreat, burned the bridge at Dessau over the Elbe; but it was quickly re-established by the French. An attempt was also made to destroy the bridge at Wittenberg, which the French arrived in time to prevent.

Previously to the battle of Auerstadt†, a proclamation had been issued by Bonaparte, addressed to the Saxons in the Prussian army, with the view of detaching them from, or at least of rendering them suspected to, their allies; and, immediately after the battle, 6000 Saxon prisoners, who had been taken in the action, were set at liberty on giving their parole not to serve against the French; whose sole object, they were assured, in taking up arms, had been to preserve the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy. These measures were accompanied by a friendly message to the elector at Dresden, in consequence of which that prince, who had been preparing to fly from his capital, remained there, withdrew from his connection

* October 17th.

† On the 11th.

with Prussia, and soon after concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with France. Heavy contributions were, nevertheless, imposed on the electorate for the support of the French army; and the city of Leipzig, which had been long a place of deposit for English merchandize, was occupied, without delay, by a French column under general Macon; * whose rigorous search for English goods and property in that city is less remarkable than his anticipation of the famous Berlin decree, in his declaration to the merchants of Leipzig, that the island of Great Britain was in a state of blockade.

The unfortunate king of Prussia, who had behaved with great gallantry in the battle of Auerstadt, arrived at Charlottenberg, near Berlin, on the 17th, and from thence continued his route to Custrin on the Oder. From Custrin he soon after repaired to Osterode in West Prussia, and from Osterode to Königsberg, where he remained at the end of the year, without having again joined the army. He was followed to Custrin by the garrison of Berlin, which was withdrawn from that city on the 21st, and a provisional administration appointed to maintain the public tranquillity till the arrival of the French. This last event was not long delayed. On the morning of the 25th the corps of marshal Davoust entered Berlin, and was next day followed by that of Augereau. Bonaparte had arrived on the 24th at Potsdam, where he stopped to examine the apartment and visit the tomb of the great Frederick. He ordered the sword of that great man, his scarf, the

ribbon of his order, the black eagle, and all the colours he took in the seven years war, to be sent to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris, as a present to the old soldiers who had served in the Hanoverian war, and memorial of one of the greatest generals recorded in history. He had already seized an opportunity of gratifying the long wounded vanity of his countrymen, by taking down the monument erected in commemoration of the battle of Rosbach, and ordering it to be conveyed to Paris, as a proof that the disgrace which that day had brought on the French arms was at length effaced. At Potsdam he was informed that Spandau had surrendered, though held by a strong garrison, and amply provided with stores and ammunition. On the 27th, he made his public entry into Berlin; and next day he gave audience to the foreign ministers of powers in amity with France, resident in that city; to the Lutheran and reformed consistories, whom he assured of his protection; to the members of the court of appeals, to whom he gave instructions how to administer justice, and to the civil authorities of the city, to whom he recommended strongly to maintain a vigilant police. "I will not suffer any windows to be broken," said he: "my brother the king of Prussia ceased to be a king from the day when prince Lewis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his majesty's ministers: his majesty should have ordered him to be hanged." Some of the persons, who presented themselves before him, on this and other occasions, were received with bitter taunts and

* October 18th.

studied mortifications, on account of the share which they or their relations were supposed to have had in lighting up the flames of war; but no one was forbid his presence, except prince Hatzfeldt, head of the provisional government of Berlin. That nobleman, accused of acting as a spy for prince Hohenlohe, and of sending him intelligence from Berlin of the military movements of the French, was, a few moments afterwards, arrested and delivered over to a military tribunal, by which he would have been inevitably condemned to death, and, in a few hours executed, but for the intercession of his wife, the daughter of the minister Schulenburg, whose grief and despair extorted his pardon from Bonaparte.

While these scenes were acted at Berlin, the wreck of the Prussian army, collected at Magdeburg under prince Hohenlohe, was making an unsuccessful attempt to gain the banks of the Oder. With a force of near 40,000 men, but disheartened and dispirited, including the whole of the Prussian guards who had escaped from the battle of Auerstadt, that general set out from Magdeburg for Stettin, after sending forward detachments of cavalry, to destroy the bridges, over which the French must pass to intercept his march. He appears to have proceeded without interruption to Zehdenick on the river Havel. But, at that place, the advanced guard of his army, consisting of 6000 cavalry, was attacked by the grand duke of Berg and generals Lasalle and Grouchy, with a body of light cavalry and dragoons. A hot action ensued, in which the Prussians were worsted, with the loss of 300 killed and 700 wounded. After this affair, the

French generals, who had no infantry to support them, pushed forward to Templin, which lay in the line of the prince of Hohenlohe's march, in order to stop his progress till their infantry under marshal Lannes should come up. But the Prussian general, by making a detour through Furstenberg, avoided Templin, and reached Boitzenberg, without having been again compelled to fight. Near Boitzenberg another action ensued, in which 500 of the Prussian gendarmes were made prisoners. A second detour by Schoenemark became necessary, in order to reach Prenzlau, where the army hoped to find bread and forage, of which it stood much in need. But no sooner had the Prussians reached the heights of Prenzlau, than the French shewed themselves on their right. An engagement immediately ensued, in which the superior numbers and artillery of the latter compelled the former to retreat with precipitation into the town. All hope of reaching Stettin was now extinguished. That city was seven German miles from Prenzlau. The Prussians were without bread or forage, and almost without ammunition. The French were preparing to renew the attack, and reinforcements were every instant coming up to join them. In this deplorable situation, prince Hohenlohe saw no resource, but to accept the terms of capitulation offered to him, and accordingly surrendered with the whole forces under his command, amounting to about 17,000 men. This misfortune happened on the 28th, and next day a body of 6,000 men, belonging to his army, which had pushed forward by another route to Pasewalk, was forced also to surrender. There appears to

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have been no fault of prince Hohenlohe in this unfortunate retreat, unless it be true, as the French insinuate, that he lost two days unnecessarily at Magdeburg.

The rear of prince Hohenlohe's army, commanded by general Blücher, had reached Boitzenberg, and was preparing to set out for Prenzlau on the morning of the 29th, when intelligence arrived of the surrender of the main body of the army on the preceding evening. Blücher immediately resolved to change his route, and direct his course towards Strelitz, in the hope of meeting with the corps commanded by the duke of Weimar, which had not been engaged in the battle of Auerstadt, and had since been attempting to cross the Elbe. His own corps was 10,500 strong, and consisted of the Prussian reserve, which after its defeat at Halle, had been taken from prince Eugene of Württemberg, and placed under his command by prince Hohenlohe. On the 30th, Blücher had the good fortune to join, in the neighbourhood of Strelitz, the duke of Weimar's corps of 10,000 men, which, after passing the Elbe at Havelberg, had reached Strelitz by the way of Rhinsberg, after falling in with a third corps, commanded by the duke of Brunswick Oels; but, together with this fortunate occurrence, he received the unwelcome news, that Soult had also crossed the Elbe, and was between him and that river with his army. Having taken the command of these three corps, Blücher resolved on making an attempt to pass the Elbe at Lauenburg, in order to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in lower Saxony, and with that view directed his march through Mecklenburg to the lake of Schwerin,

where he arrived on the 3d November. In this march he was hotly pursued by the French, and several sharp actions took place, particularly at Wahren, and in the village of Fahren near the lake of Schwerin. The French corps, commanded by the prince of Ponte Corvo pressed upon his rear; that of Soult on his left intercepted his communication with the Elbe, and frustrated his design of crossing that river at Lauenburg; while a third division, under the grand duke of Berg, advancing on his right along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania, took prisoners some of his straggling columns, and prevented him from seeking refuge with his army under the walls of Stralsund. Hemmed in on all sides, he had no alternative but to throw himself into Lubeck, or with troops exhausted by hunger and fatigue, to risk an engagement with an enemy greatly his superior in numbers. In Lubeck he hoped to enjoy some repose, and refresh his men after the severe fatigues they had undergone. But his indefatigable enemy was at hand. One of the gates of Lubeck was forced, and a combat ensued in the streets and squares of that city, in which the Prussians were worsted, and many corps of their army cut literally in pieces, besides 4000 made prisoners. The unfortunate citizens of Lubeck, who had no concern in the quarrel of which they became the victims, suffered all the horrors incident to a place taken by storm, and were abandoned for some hours to the lust, cruelty, and rapacity of the conquerors. Blücher, who had brought down these calamities on their unhappy city, made good his retreat from this scene of horror and devastation, and reached the frontiers of Danish

Holstein with the small remains of his army; but less able than ever to hazard an engagement with the French, and not daring to violate the neutrality of the Danish territory, he was there forced to surrender. The dismal affair of Lubeck took place on the 6th of November, and on the following day Blücher surrendered at Swartau with his army, which was now reduced to less than 10,000 men. A body of 1,600 Swedes, on their way home from Lauenburg, who had been detained by contrary winds at the mouth of the Trave, were also compelled to lay down their arms.

The surrender of the army under general Blücher left no corps of Prussians in the field upon the German side of the Oder; and his obstinate and skilful resistance, as it was the most glorious, so it was the last of their exertions to avert the total ruin and downfall of their monarchy. Their fortified places seemed emulous which should first open its gates to the enemy, and those, which were best supplied with the means of defence, were commonly the first to surrender. When Spandau capitulated,* the French observed, that, well defended, it might have sustained a siege of two months after the trenches had been opened. Stettin surrendered on capitulation to the first column of French troops, which appeared before it,† who found to their surprise, that it contained a garrison of 6000 fine looking troops, 160 pieces of cannon, and abundant magazines of all sorts. Custrin, a place of considerable strength, and of great importance on account of its situation upon the

Oder, surrendered to marshal Davoust as soon as it was invested and summoned,‡ though its garrison consisted of 4000 men amply provided with magazines. Magdeburg, the bulwark of the Prussian monarchy on its western frontier, capitulated to marshal Ney§ after a few bombs had been thrown into the city; and Hameln, the chief fortress of the electorate of Hanover, had not even that excuse for its surrender.¶ In Magdeburg were found 22,000 troops, including 2000 artillery men; and in Hameln there was a Prussian garrison of 9000 men, with six months provisions and stores and ammunition of every kind. The French general, to whom the place was given up, had no forces with him, except two Dutch regiments and a single regiment of French light infantry. Never were the effects of panic terror more visible or more fatal than in these occurrences. The battle of Auerstadt had deprived the Prussians of all courage and confidence, and seemed even to have bereft them of understanding.

While the grand French army was proceeding in this uninterrupted course of victory and success, an inferior army, assembled at Wesel under the command of Louis Bonaparte, the newly created king of Holland, overran the Prussian provinces of Westphalia, and penetrated into the electorate of Hanover; and a still smaller corps under general Dandaels took possession of Emden and East Friesland. At Munster and other places, valuable magazines fell into the hands of the invaders; and no resistance was any where made to them.

* Oct. 21. † Oct. 29. ‡ Nov. 1. § Nov. 8. ¶ Nov. 20.

Hameln was given up to general Savory in the manner already related, and Nienberg, the last place of the electorate held by the Prussians, capitulated a few days afterwards.* The surrender of Plessenberg, a small fortress in the territory of Bayreuth, completed the conquest of the Prussian fortresses in Germany to the west of the Oder.

In the mean time marshal Mortier, who had formerly commanded in in Hanover, after taking possession of Fulda in the name of his sovereign, made a sudden irruption into Hesse, and expelled the elector from his capital and dominions. The pretences for this violence, were the ancient treaties of subsidy and alliance between Hesse and England, and certain acts of the present elector and of the hereditary prince before the battle of Auerstadt, inconsistent with the neutrality which they professed. The fortresses of Hanau and Marburg were ordered to be destroyed; the magazines and arsenals to be removed; the Hessian troops to be disarmed and disbanded; and the sovereign arms of Hesse Cassel to be every where taken down. Resistance to these orders, which must have been fruitless, was not attempted by the elector. The Hessian troops suffered themselves to be disarmed, and part of them engaged in the service of France. But, though possession was thus peaceably obtained of Hesse, such was the severity of the contributions and other vexations imposed on the inhabitants, and such their dread of the French conscription being introduced among them, that to-

wards the close of the present year, the country people flew to arms against their oppressors, and joined by the disbanded Hessian soldiers, surprised and defeated some French detachments quartered in the villages. Similar insurrections broke out at Lingen in Westphalia, and at Bayreuth and other places. But these disturbances, though harassing and alarming to the French, then engaged in carrying on war in the heart of Poland, were suppressed without difficulty, and the authors of them punished and disarmed.

While the elector of Hesse was thus expelled from his dominions, because he had sold the blood of his subjects to England, and because his existence on the frontiers of the French empire was incompatible with its safety; the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin was exposed to the same fate,† because he was related to the emperor of Russia, and because the Russians had taken unjust possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. As in these instances the princes, thus despoiled of their territories, had observed the strictest neutrality in the late hostilities, it was natural that the houses of Brunswick Lunenburg and Brunswick Wolfenbittel, which had taken an active part in the war, should be deprived of their states by the same authority. Within ten days after the battle of Auerstadt the house of Brunswick was declared to have lost the sovereignty of its ancestors;‡ and soon after the occupation of Hesse, Mortier marched into Hanover, and took formal possession of the electorate.¶ Of all the princes of

* Nov. 25.

† Nov. 27.

‡ Oct. 25.

¶ Nov. 14. The same ceremony had taken place in the duchy of Brunswick, on the 31st of October.

Germany, who had joined with Prussia in the war, none were treated with clemency or indulgence by the French emperor; except the elector of Saxony and the princes of the house of Saxe. By a treaty signed at Posen on the 11th of December the elector was declared king of Saxony, and he and the other princes of the house of Saxe were admitted into the confederation of the Rhine, and received under that denomination among the new vassals of the French empire. The dukes of Saxe Weimar and Saxe Gotha were in the number of princes, who consented to hold their dominions upon these terms.

From Hesse and Hanover Mortier proceeded to Hamburgh, which he entered without opposition on the 19th of November, and next day he issued an order for the sequestration of all English produce and manufactures found in the city, whether belonging to English subjects or to other persons. State-ments were demanded from the merchants and bankers, of the English manufactures or funds arising from the sale of English manufactures in their possession; domiciliary visits were threatened to enforce compliance; and those who gave false returns, were menaced with summary punishment by martial law. To strike greater terror, the English merchants at Hamburgh were put under arrest, and though afterwards released on their parole, they were placed under a guard of soldiers, and threatened to be sent to Verdun. These acts of violence brought less profit to the French, than they did harm to the Hamburgers. The trade of Hamburgh was annihilated, while

the amount of English property and manufactures confiscated was inconsiderable. Before the armed force sent to Cuxhaven to stop the English vessels at the mouth of the river, arrived at that place, the merchantmen apprised of their danger had made their escape. The seizure of Hamburgh had been long foreseen, and though the French minister in that city persisted to the last in his declarations that its neutrality would be respected, little credit had been given to his assurances. The fate of Leipzig had been a warning to the merchants of Hamburgh. No exertions had been spared by the factors and commercial agents of the English, in disposing of their goods and winding up their concerns before the arrival of Mortier and his army; so that, after all, the most valuable prize from this expedition proved to be the corn found in the magazines of Hamburgh, great quantities of which were sent to Berlin, where apprehensions of famine began to be entertained.

But the order for confiscating English property at Hamburgh, and the rigorous though ineffectual measures taken to enforce it, were not insulated acts of violence and rapacity, but parts of an extensive plan for excluding the produce of English industry from the continent, which the French emperor, in his present intoxication of success, vainly imagined he had power to accomplish. This new system of warfare he promulgated at Berlin on the 20th of November, in a decree interdicting all commerce and correspondence, direct or indirect, between the British dominions and the countries subject to his controul. By this decree the British

fish islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all subjects of England found in countries occupied by French troops were declared prisoners of war, and all English property was declared lawful prize; all letters addressed to Englishmen or written in the English language were ordered to be stopped; all commerce in English produce and manufactures was prohibited; and all vessels touching at England or any English colony, were excluded from every harbour under the controul of France. The pretext for these infringements of the law and practice of civilized nations was founded, partly, on the extension given by England to the right of blockade, and partly on the difference in the laws of war by sea and by land. By land the property of an enemy is not considered lawful prize, unless it belongs to the hostile state. By sea the property of unarmed, peaceable merchants is liable to capture and confiscation. By land no one is considered a prisoner of war who is not taken with arms in his hands. By sea the crews of merchantmen are considered prisoners of war equally with the crews of armed vessels. For these reasons the French emperor declared, that the regulations of the decree, which he now promulgated, "should be regarded as a fundamental law of the French empire, till England recognized the law of war to be one and the same by sea and by land, and in no case applicable to private property or to individuals not bearing arms; and till she consented to restrict the right of blockade to fortified places actually invested by a sufficient force."

On these reasons we shall merely

observe, that the superiority of England by sea being at that time as great and undisputed as the superiority of France was by land, the difference between the laws of war by sea and by land was entirely to the advantage of England and to the disadvantage of France; and in these circumstances it was not unnatural for the French emperor to attempt either to confine hostilities at sea within the same limits to which they were restricted by land, or to extend to a war by land all the rights claimed and exercised by belligerents at sea. But, though it was the interest of France to attempt such an innovation in public law, the decree was not less an innovation of the most pernicious kind, on account of its tendency to revive the ancient laws of war, which the progress of civilization had gradually softened. Nor was the assertion in the preamble of the decree less a falsehood, that the conduct of England is not conformable to the law followed by other civilized states, and laid down and approved of as the law of nations; for the law of England with respect to blockade and capture at sea is the same, which all writers on public law have held, and all nations, France not excepted, have followed. That part of the decree, which declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies were confined within their ports by the naval forces of England, was an empty menace, which the French government had no power to enforce, nor as it afterwards appeared, any intention to act upon. But those parts of the decree which prohibited all commerce in English produce or manufactures,

manufactures, filled the commercial cities of the continent with dismay, as a measure fatal to their prosperity. Deputations were sent to Bonaparte from Hamburgh, and from Nantes, Bourdeaux, and other cities of France, to solicit, upon this head, some relaxation of a decree, not less injurious to his own subjects than to the English. But his answers were stern and uncomplying. When told by the merchants of Hamburgh, that "these measures would involve them in universal bankruptcy, and banish commerce from the continent," his reply is said to have been, "so much the better; the bankruptcies in England will be more numerous, and you will be less able to trade with her. England must be humbled, though the fourth century should be revived, commerce extinguished, and no interchange of commodities left but by barter." But notwithstanding these alarming appearances, this decree soon became perfectly harmless and inoperative. Some slight and temporary embarrassments in commerce were experienced from it at first; but, in a short time, though formally extended to Holland and other countries under the controul of France, its existence was only known by the bribes given to generals of division and custom-house officers for omitting to enforce it, and by the occasional confiscation of some unfortunate vessel, which had neglected that necessary precaution.

Immediately after the battle of Auerstadt, the king of Prussia had applied to Bonaparte for an armistice, and though his request of a cessation of hostilities was refused, he was encouraged to send a pleni-

potentiary to the French headquarters to negotiate peace. Lucchesini was accordingly dispatched thither without delay, and arriving there on the 22d of October, Duroc was named on the part of the French emperor to negotiate with him. At first the Prussian minister was amused with hopes of concluding a peace on the terms which he was authorized to offer; but as the situation of his sovereign became every day more desperate, by the capture of his armies and surrender of his fortified places, the demands of the French rose in proportion; and, at length, the emperor Napoleon, explicitly declared, that he would never quit Berlin nor evacuate Poland, till Moldavia and Wallachia were yielded by the Russians in complete sovereignty to the Porte, and till a general peace was concluded on the basis of the restitution of all the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies and possessions taken by Great Britain during the war*. With this declaration all hopes of peace vanished, instead of which an armistice was now proposed by the French, and after much fruitless negotiation concluded by Lucchesini † on terms so disadvantageous to his master, as well as impossible for him to execute, that reduced as his circumstances were, he refused to ratify it. ‡ To justify him in this determination it is sufficient to mention, that he was made to purchase by this convention a suspension of military operations, without any hope of peace, and with a reservation to France of a right to renew hostilities after ten days notice, by surrendering Dantzic, Graudenz, Colberg, Breslau, or, in one word,

* Nov. 10th.

† Nov. 16th.

‡ Nov. 22d.

almost all the fortified places in his possession, besides engaging, what he could not perform, to prevent the entrance of the Russian troops into his dominions. Desperate as was the chance of war, it was better than submission to such conditions.

While this negotiation was going on, the French were prosecuting the war with unremitted activity. Two corps of their army crossed the Oder early in November; the one under the command of marshal Davoust entered Posen on the 10th; and the other, consisting of the troops of Wirtemberg and Bavaria with Jerome Bonaparte at their head, undertook the conquest of Silesia, where victory seemed easy and sure, as there was no army to contend with, and the fortified places were destitute of the means of defence. But the panic, which had delivered up so many Prussian fortresses without resistance, had begun to subside. Great Glogaw, the capital of lower Silesia, though invested on the 8th, and defended by a garrison of only 2500 men, held out till the 29th; and Breslau, though bombarded for more than three weeks, did not surrender till the 5th of January, 1807. Repeated sallies were made by the garrison, and the besiegers were repulsed with loss in an attempt to storm some of the works. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of the inhabitants during the bombardment, though the town was set on fire in different places, and many persons were killed, and many houses and churches destroyed. An attempt was made to raise the siege by the prince of Anhalt Pless; but his army, drawn from the garrisons in upper Sile-

sia, after being repeatedly defeated, was at length dispersed. This disaster extinguishing all hopes of relief, Breslau surrendered by capitulation.

As the attempts of the French emperor to excite insurrection in Poland were attended with little effect, and failed ultimately of success, it will be unnecessary to enter at length into the measures taken by his emissaries for that purpose, or to make extracts of their speeches and proclamations. Dombrowski, a Polish exile in the French service, was the chief actor in this scene, and even the celebrated Kosciuszko was brought again upon the stage. Some little sensation was produced in South Prussia, where the French armies were in force, and where the nobles were discontented with the Prussian government, for interfering with their privileges, and abridging their antient authority over their serfs. But even in this part of the country none of the great nobles joined the French, or showed a disposition to profit by their flattering offers of raising Poland again to her former rank among nations, and avenging her of her now humbled oppressors. In Russian Poland all classes were reconciled to their chains, and the nobles in particular, delighted with the splendor and consideration they enjoyed at Petersburg, had lost all recollection of the republic of Poland and *liberum veto* of their ancestors, as completely as those who now summoned them to freedom had forgotten the rights of man and republic one and indivisible.

The Russian troops, advancing to assist the Prussians, reached Warsaw before the French, and having taken possession of that city with a view
to

to maintain it against the enemy, they sent forward a detachment to Lbwicz, to defend the passage of the river Bzura. But this corps was attacked on the 27th of November by the advanced guard of the grand duke of Berg's division, and driven back with loss to Blonie. General Benningsen, who commanded the Russian army, having in the mean time received more accurate information of the French force marching against him, determined to abandon Warsaw and repass the Vistula with his troops, and not content with this retrograde movement, he continued his retreat beyond the Narew. The French entered Warsaw on the 28th and 29th, and applied themselves immediately, with the greatest industry, to fortify the suburb of Prag on the opposite side of the river, and to re-establish the wooden bridge over the Vistula, which the Russians had burned in their retreat. The same military precautions were taken at Thorn by marshal Ney, and at Zakroczym by marshal Augereau. At both places bridges were thrown over the Vistula, protected by formidable works, which at once facilitated the advance of the army, and secured, if necessary, its retreat. In addition to these measures of precaution, the fortresses of Custrin, Stettin, Spandau, Wittenberg, Erfurt, and Magdeburg were placed in the best possible state of defence, and strongly garrisoned, forming a chain of posts between the French army in Poland and the heart of Germany. And, besides compelling the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their full contingents to the army, a message was sent from Berlin to the French senate, before the departure of the emperor to Poland, desiring that

the conscripts of 1807, who by law could not be called out to serve till the following September, might be placed at his disposal on the 1st of January, 1807. This prudence and caution, worthy of an experienced general, and most suitable to the circumspect and wary character of Bonaparte, appeared to the Russians the result of fear and apprehension; and this conceit filled them with a barbarous exultation and stupid confidence in their arms. That such should have been the impression on the Russians, who know no tactics but marching straight forward to battle, and have no resource after battle but victory, does not in the least surprise us; but that the same opinion should ever have prevailed elsewhere, does indeed fill us with astonishment; we cannot, however, forget, that for a short period there were men of understanding who seriously believed, that the conqueror of Austria and Prussia was afraid of the half-civilized half-disciplined savages of the north.

The Russian general Benningsen having formed a junction behind the Narew with the second division of the Russian army under the command of Buxhoevden, and further reinforcements having arrived with Kamenskoy, who had been appointed by the court of St. Petersburg commander in chief of the army, the Russians began again to advance, and fixing their head quarters at Pultusk, threatened to drive the French over the Vistula. But while they were anticipating triumphs, and celebrating with fireworks at Sierock the junction of their three armies, a small French detachment passed in the night over the Narew, and before morning had entrenched itself so strongly, that the Russians could

not

not afterwards dislodge it. A bridge, similar to those thrown over the Vistula, was immediately constructed and fortified with works; and when this was finished, the whole French army began at once to move forward, in order to bring the united Russian and Prussian armies to a general engagement.

The French emperor having left Berlin on the 25th of November, and remained at Posen till the 16th of the following month, receiving addresses and congratulations from the Poles, arrived at Warsaw on the 18th; and on the 23d, put himself at the head of his army and crossed the Narew. The French army was distributed in the following manner. The right, consisting of the divisions of Lannes, Davoust, and the grand duke of Berg, and commanded by Bonaparte in person, having crossed the Narew at the above-mentioned bridge, was opposed to the left flank of the Russians, who were so injudiciously drawn up by their generals as to be exposed to its attacks in this unfavourable position. To the left of this great division of the army was the corps of Augereau at Zakroczym on the Vistula, and at a still greater distance in the same direction was the corps of Soult, which had crossed that river at Polock. The French left, consisting of the divisions of Ney, Bessieres, and the prince of Ponte Corvo, after having advanced from Thorn to Golub, and from thence to Sierpsk, was directed to attack the Prussians under general Lestocq, and, by a rapid movement, to cut off their communication with the Russians. These orders were executed by Ney and Bessieres with their accustomed promptitude and success. The chief actions were at

Biezun and Soldau, in both of which the Prussians were defeated with considerable loss of men and artillery, and thereby prevented from forming a junction with the Russians. These actions took place on the 23d and 26th of December. The operations of the French right began on the night of the 23d, by an attack on the village of Czarnowo, on the Narew, where the Russians were in great force, and had erected batteries; but, after an obstinate resistance their batteries were carried, and their troops dislodged by the French. Next day, the army under Kamenskoy was driven from its entrenchments at Nasielsk, and compelled to fall back several leagues; and the same day Augereau passed the Wkra at Kurscomb and defeated a body of 15,000 men, who disputed with him the passage of that river. On the 25th, there was no action of consequence. The Russian columns, broken and dispersed, retired before the French in disorder, and nothing saved them from being entirely cut off, but the shortness of the days, which was favourable to their escape, and the badness of the roads, which prevented the advance of the French artillery. At this critical moment Kamenskoy, the Russian commander in chief, left his army and retired to Ostrolenka. The cause of his departure has been variously explained. His enemies gave out, that the late reverses of the army had disordered his mind, and rendered him incapable of the command. But there are some who pretend, that he was the only one of the Russian generals who was aware of their danger, and that he left the army in disgust and despair, when he found his authority insufficient to curb the inconsiderate

inconsiderate ardour of the younger generals, who were determined on risking another engagement. In consequence of the departure of Kamenskoy, the command of the Russian army was divided between Benningsen and Buxhoevden, the former at Pultusk, and the latter at Golomyn. Both were attacked by the French on the 26th, and both made an obstinate resistance. They were both, however, driven from their positions, and forced to retreat with precipitation, leaving behind them great part of their baggage and artillery. Soult had been sent forward by another road to cut off their retreat; but the horrible sloughs, the consequences of rain and thaw, retarded his march, and saved them from total destruction. According to the French accounts, the Russians lost in these actions 80 pieces of cannon, all their ammunition waggons, 1200 baggage carts, and 12,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their own loss they admit to have been 800 killed and 2000 wounded; among the latter were six general officers, and one general of dragoons was killed. After the action of the 26th, the French army went into cantonments on the banks of the river Orzyk, and the emperor Napoleon returned to Warsaw.

An account of the battle of Pultusk, claiming the victory for the Russians, and making no mention of the preceding engagements, or of the battle of Golomyn, was ad-

ressed by general Benningsen to the emperor of Russia, and published in the Petersburg gazette. Similar intelligence was transmitted to Vienna and other parts, and eagerly disseminated over Germany and the north, where implicit credit was given to it by all who had suffered from the oppression of the French, or who trembled at the progress of their arms. It was added, that besides this disaster in the field, dysentry and other camp diseases were making dreadful havoc in their armies, and had already greatly reduced their effective strength. The confidence with which these accounts were circulated, and the minute detail of circumstances with which they were accompanied, imposed for a time on the most sceptical and desponding. Some of those, who in former wars had most despaired of success against France upon the continent, from any league or combination of its princes, began now to indulge in chimerical expectations, and to hope from Russia and Poland what Austria and Prussia had contended for in vain. But this delusion was of short duration. The grossness of Benningsen's misrepresentations was soon detected, and certain intelligence was obtained, that though the French soldiers were far from enjoying such exemption from sickness as their official bulletins announced, the diseases prevalent in their army were neither so general nor so fatal as reported and believed by their enemies.

CHAP. XI.

Rapture between Russia and Turkey.—Causes that led to it.—Invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Russians.—State of the Turkish Empire.—Continuance of War between the Russians and Persians.—Intercourse between France and Persia.—Austria displeased with the Russians for invading Turkey.—Internal Affairs of Austria.—Courts of Inquiry.—Military Reforms.—Conduct of the King of Sweden.—Annexation of Holstein to Denmark.—Holland erected into a Kingdom in favour of Lewis Bonaparte.—Internal Affairs of Holland.—Speech of his Batavian Majesty at the opening of the Dutch Legislature.—Domestic Affairs of France.—Strains of Flattery addressed to Bonaparte—at Munich—at Paris.—Meeting of the French Legislature.—Opening Speech of the Emperor.—Report of the State of the Empire by Champagny.—Imperial Decrees.—Venice annexed to the Kingdom of Italy.—Naples given to Joseph Bonaparte.—Berg and Cleves to Murat.—Guastalla to Prince Borghese.—Neufchatel to Berthier.—Revival of Fendal Benefices in Italy.—Benevento assigned to Talleyrand—and Ponte Corvo to Bernadotte.—Order of the Iron Crown.—Message to the French Senate, communicating the Berlin Decree.—Report on the French Finances.—Revival of the Tax on Salt.—Convocation of the Jewish Sanhedrim at Paris.—Co-establishment of the Jewish with the Catholic, Lutheran, and reformed Religions.—Ideas of Religious Toleration entertained in France.—Prohibition of Commerce in English Goods throughout Switzerland.—Proclamation of the Papal Government against harbouring Malcontents in the States of the Church.—Warlike Preparations in Spain—suddenly Countermanded.—Danger of Portugal during the Negotiation between France and England.—Threats of invading that Kingdom by the French.—Earl St. Vincent sent with a Fleet to the Tagus with offers of Assistance to the Portuguese Government.—Army assembled at Plymouth.—General Simcoe and Earl of Rosslyn sent to Portugal.—Instructions of the English Commissioners.—Result of the Expedition equally useful and honourable to England.

WHILE these events were passing in Poland, hostilities broke out unexpectedly between Russia and the Porte. This termination of the friendship and alliance which had subsisted between these two powers since the invasion of Egypt by Bonaparte, was brought

about partly by the machinations of the French ambassador at Constantinople, and partly by the inconsiderate ambition and precipitate violence of the court of St. Petersburg.

It had been settled by a convention between Russia and Turkey in

1802, that the hospodârs of Moldavia and Wallachia, when once appointed by the Porte, should remain in office for seven years, and should on no account be removed from their governments before the expiration of that term, without the concurrence of the Russian minister at Constantinople. That such a stipulation was derogatory from the sovereignty, claimed and exercised by the Ottoman Porte for ages in these provinces, cannot be denied. But the terms of the convention were clear and precise, and, when concluded and ratified, any contravention of its articles by one of the contracting parties, without the consent of the other, could not but be regarded as a breach of treaty, affording to the other party a just ground of complaint, and on refusal of redress a justifiable cause of war. The convention might have been originally improvident on the part of the Turks, as being incompatible with the dignity and inconsistent with the interests of their empire, but when concluded, they were bound to abide by it, and had no right to abrogate or set it aside without the consent of Russia.

Affairs were in this posture, when the Ottoman government, alarmed at the progress of the French power, consented to send a special embassy to Paris, to congratulate Bonaparte on his assumption of the Imperial dignity; and contrary to its former determination, agreed to receive an ambassador from France. This concession was regarded as an import-

ant victory by the French cabinet, and to improve the advantage it had gained, general Sebastiani was selected to be its ambassador at the Porte, as a person eminently qualified to promote its views in that quarter, by persuading Turkey to break her alliance with Russia and England, and revert to her antient connection with France. Fully instructed in the part he was to act, no sooner had Sebastiani arrived at Constantinople, than he laid before the divan the treaty between France and Russia, recently signed at Paris by D'Oubril; and contending that an article of that treaty, which guarantied in general terms the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, amounted to a virtual repeal of the convention concerning the hospodârs, which he knew to be disagreeable to the Turks, he succeeded in persuading the Porte to recal the reigning hospodârs and appoint others in their place, without consulting the Russian ambassador, or regarding his formal protest against these measures.* Having carried this point against the Russians, while it was still uncertain whether D'Oubril's treaty would or would not be ratified by the court of St. Petersburg, the French negotiator proceeded next, as soon as he understood the ratification of that treaty had been withheld, to present a note to the Ottoman government,† in which he demanded that the passage of the Bosphorus should be shut against all Russian ships of war, as well as against every other vessel

* Sebastiani arrived at Constantinople on the 10th of August. The hospodârs were displaced on the 24th, fourteen days after his arrival. D'Oubril's treaty had been signed on the 20th of July.

† Sept. 16.

of that nation, bringing troops, ammunition, or provisions; though he knew, that by treaty between Russia and the Porte, that passage was open to the vessels of the former, without exception or limitation. If these and other demands in his note urged with equal insolence and contempt of good faith and of the obligations of treaties, were instantly complied with, he assured the Turks of the friendship and protection of his master, the great Napoleon; but if not immediately acceded to, he threatened them with instant war, and announced the presence of a formidable French army in Dalmatia, ready to punish or defend them, according to the party they espoused.

The Porte, instead of resenting these insolent proposals in the manner they deserved, whether governed by the intrigues, or terrified by the threats of Sebastiani, shewed a disposition to comply with his desires, and communicated the note received from him to the English and Russian ambassadors at Constantinople, in order to obtain their advice in this critical juncture of its affairs. Both these ministers, as was to be expected, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the wavering, undecided policy, which had lately directed its councils; but their representations made little impression on its government, till the Russian ambassador, Italinski, threatened to leave Constantinople, and began to make preparations for his departure.* Alarmed at the threats of the Russian minister, as they had been formerly dismayed by the menaces of Sebastiani, the

Turks yielded a second time to their fears, reversed their late orders, restored the deposed hospodars in the manner required by Italinski, and acceded in fact to all his demands.†

All cause of war between Russia and Turkey seemed now removed, when suddenly a Russian army under general Michelson entered Moldavia, and took possession of Chotzim, Bender, and Jassi.‡ What were the motives of Russia for this unprovoked aggression, and on what grounds it is to be justified, we confess that we are yet to learn. The march of general Michelson was accompanied by a proclamation, but the grievances which it enumerated, were either frivolous or unfounded, or wrongs already redressed, or matters of complaint which are not just grounds of war between independent states. The Porte, it is true, had violated its engagements with Russia by deposing the hospodars; but this error, which was momentary, had been subsequently retracted and atoned for. It had hesitated about refusing a passage through the Bosphorus to Russian armed vessels; but this hesitation, which arose, not from its ill will to Russia, but from its fears of France, had been overcome; and its last declarations to Italinski had been assurances of its determination to maintain inviolate its alliance with the court of St. Petersburg. If the invasion of Moldavia was caused by an apprehension, lest the French should take possession of that province, an apprehension which considering the position of the armies it is

* Sept. 29.

† Oct. 15.

‡ Michelson entered Moldavia on the 23d of November.

Difficult to believe was ever seriously entertained, ought not the Russians to have apprized the Ottoman government of their intentions, before they committed so violent an act, as to enter, in a hostile manner, the territory of an ally, and occupy, without notice, his towns and provinces? But so far was Russia from seeking to conciliate the Porte, or from disguising the ambitious views that influenced her conduct, that Italinski was left a full month at Constantinople after the commencement of hostilities, without instructions to explain her reasons for passing the Ottoman frontier with an army;* and in the articles of capitulation of Chotzim terms were inserted by her generals, which plainly shewed, that she looked forward to the permanent possession of that fortress. It is indeed but too evident from a review of these transactions, that Russia availed herself of the recent compliances of the Porte with Sebastiani, as pretexts to cloak her own ambitious projects, and that views of conquest and aggrandizement, and not of just and reasonable satisfaction for injuries, were her motives for this unseasonable diversion of her forces.

When the news of Michelson's invasion reached Constantinople, that city was filled with indignation and surprise. The cry for war was loud and universal, especially among the janizaries and ulemas, whose religious fanaticism and general hatred of Europeans were inflamed by the perfidy of the faithless Muscovites, the objects alike of their superstitious dread and deep-rooted

aversion. But, so unwilling was the Turkish government to engage in hostilities with Russia, that notwithstanding this ardour on the part of the people, more than thirty days were suffered to elapse, before war was determined upon and declared. A Russian brig, which attempted to pass through the Streights of Constantinople, brought matters at last to a crisis. This vessel was stopped by the Turkish batteries,† and the dispatches which it bore for the Russian minister, and which are said to have been explanatory of Michelson's invasion, were thrown overboard and lost. This event determined Italinski to leave Constantinople without delay. He accordingly embarked in the *Canopus*, an English 74, which had been for some time at anchor in sight of the Turkish capital, and contrary to the old but barbarous custom of the Ottomans, he was suffered to depart without molestation.‡ Next day a rescript from the Grand Seignior to the Grand Vizier was published, containing a formal declaration of war against Russia. Great preparations were made by sea and land for carrying on hostilities with vigour. Paswan Oglou, pacha of Widin, formerly pursued as a rebel, but now invested with legitimate authority in the revolted province, which he had successfully maintained against his sovereign, and Mustapha Bayracter, ayan of Ruschuk, had been already commissioned to repel the infidels by force, and to oppose the further progress of their invasion. The pachas of Romelia were now or-

* Mr. Arbuthnot's letter to the dragoman of the Porte, Dec. 13.

† Dec. 25.

‡ Dec. 29.

dered to advance towards the Danube to support them; and an army was assembled in Asia, at the head of which it was announced that the Grand Vizier would take the field in spring, bearing the sacred standard of the empire. The naval armaments of the Ottomans, as far as their means would allow, corresponded to their military preparations. Their fleet was got in readiness and manned with the best sailors they could procure; and to prevent any hostile designs upon their capital, orders were given to put the castles of the Dardanelles in the best possible state of defence. The ambition and injustice of the Russians seemed to have infused life and activity into the worn-out and exhausted carcase of the Ottoman power, which once the terror, had long been the scorn of Christendom.

In the mean time the Russians under Michelson, after having completed the conquest of Moldavia, entered Wallachia, and having defeated a body of troops, which the ayau of Ruschuk had sent to oppose them, they took possession without resistance of Bucharest,* the capital of that province, and from thence sent detachments in all directions. At the close of the year they were masters of the three provinces of Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Wallachia; and threatened to cross the Danube, and join the revolted Servians under Czerni George; who after gaining repeated victories over the Turks, and nearly driving them from Servia, were at this time employed in the siege of Belgrade.

Never had there been a period when the Turkish empire seemed in

greater danger of immediate destruction than the present; Egypt in a state of anarchy; Mecca and Medina in the hands of the Wahabees; Bagdad independant; the Servians flushed with victory, and masters of nearly the whole of their fruitful province; the janizaries discontented with the European tactics introduced into the army; the councils of the Divan distracted by the opposite factions of France and England; a Russian army on the banks of the Danube; a French force collected in Dalmatia; an English fleet cruising before the Dardanelles, and a ship of war at anchor within sight of the seraglio; all professing friendship and attachment to the Porte, but all denouncing enmity against it, unless its counsels were submitted exclusively to their direction. By what accidents the Ottomans have obtained a respite from the dangers that encompassed them, by what mismanagement they were thrown into the arms of France, and how they afterwards escaped from the resentment of the English, forms part of the history of the succeeding year, which it is not our business at present to anticipate.

Towards the end of November an English fleet of three ships of the line and four frigates, commanded by admiral Louis, made its appearance off Tenedos, and two vessels, the Canopus of 74 guns, and the Endymion of 44, passed through the Dardanelles without opposition, and cast anchor before Constantinople. The Canopus was afterwards employed in carrying away from that city Italinski, the Russian ambassador. The Endymion

* Dec. 27.

kept its station before the seraglio point at the end of the present year; and in the beginning of the next, rendered a similar service to Mr. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador; when, yielding to his fears of Turkish violence, he unfortunately determined on quitting Constantinople, and abandoning the field of diplomatic warfare to his more dextrous and successful adversary.

While Russia by her conduct towards Turkey was unnecessarily increasing the number of her enemies, part of her forces continued to be occupied on the shores of the Caspian, in gaining fruitless victories and making useless acquisitions at the expence of the Persians. Unable to contend with her arms, and hopeless of assistance or relief from England, whose good offices for the restoration of peace with Russia, they had in vain solicited during Mr. Pitt's last administration, the Persians, in the course of the present year, sent an embassy to Paris, to request the aid and cultivate the friendship of Bonaparte. That restless and ambitious conqueror, whose views were still turned towards the east, had already dispatched M. Doucet Pontecoulant, a member of the French senate, on a secret mission to Persia, to promote his schemes and advance his interests in that quarter.

The invasion of Moldavia by the Russians, besides other bad consequences to the allies, excited the jealousy and ill-humour of Austria, and produced in her cabinet a temporary alienation from their cause. The system of Austria during the present campaign had been that of a cautious and prudent neutrality.

When war between France and Prussia became inevitable, she assembled a formidable army on the frontiers of Bohemia, but declared at the same time to the belligerent powers, that she had no other intention in taking this step, than to maintain inviolate the integrity of her territories.* While the fortune of the war was uncertain, those assurances appeared to both parties satisfactory, and no one presumed to find fault with her conduct, or doubt the sincerity of her professions. But, when the Prussians were driven across the Oder, an imperious message was delivered at Vienna in the name of the French emperor, demanding the recal of the Austrian troops from the frontiers of Bohemia, and insisting on their return to their usual quarters. To this order the Austrian ministers had the prudence to submit without delay or hesitation. It was at the moment when this humiliation was fresh in their recollection, that the Russians chose to awaken their jealousy and alarm their fears by advancing to the Danube, and threatening to encompass them on the side of Turkey with the dominions or vassals of the court of St. Petersburg.

Towards the close of the present year the courts of inquiry, which had been appointed to sit on the conduct of the Austrian officers, accused of misbehaviour in the campaign of 1805, brought their labours to a conclusion. Many officers were in consequence of these inquiries degraded and dismissed from the service. The prince of Auersberg, who had neglected to burn the bridge at Vienna, though he had received positive orders to

* A circular note of count Stadion to the foreign ministers at Vienna.

destroy

destroy it, was condemned to ten years imprisonment; and general Mack received sentence of death by the unanimous verdict of his judges. But the emperor remitted the capital part of his punishment, and softened the severity of many of the other sentences.

While these wholesome examples of rigour were given, some reforms of importance were made in the constitution of the Austrian army under the direction and authority of the archduke Charles; but, whether these were sufficient to correct the manifold evils of the military system, to which the government of Vienna has been too long wedded, time, and experience of their effects have not yet enabled us to decide.

The king of Sweden, who had hitherto waged against France a harmless war of official notes and virulent proclamations, began about the close of the present year, to exchange real blows with his adversary: A body of Swedish troops, who had been stationed in Lauenburg, were made prisoners at Travemünde, as they were endeavouring to make their escape to Sweden by sea; and towards the end of December marshal Mortier advanced with a small army to the frontiers of Pomerania, in order to form the siege of Stralsund, and drive the Swedes from the Isle of Rugen. An attempt had been previously made by the French emperor to open a separate negotiation for peace with the king of Sweden, for whose character he expressed the highest esteem and consideration; but his proffers were rejected with disdain by that high spirited monarch, and the Swedish envoy at Hamburg, who

had listened to the overtures of his emissary, was severely reprimanded for giving ear to them.

Denmark persevered during the present year, in the maintenance of that pacific system, which was most suitable to the smallness of her means, and best adapted to secure the happiness of her people; and in consequence of the interruption of trade in the North of Germany, occasioned by the progress of the war, and the decrees of the French, she thereby greatly improved her commerce and navigation, and transferred to herself a great part of that trade, which used formerly to be carried on under Prussian colours and through Prussian ports. On the dissolution of the Germanic constitution, the king of Denmark formally annexed Holstein to his other dominions, as an integral part of the Danish monarchy, and declared it to be for ever separated from the Germanic empire, and to owe no allegiance but to himself*.

Holland was this year doimed to experience a revolution more singular than unexpected. With that restlessness of character which must ever be at work, and that proneness to regulation and love of uniformity, which the habits of a military life naturally inspire, Bonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of *republic* in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the rest of Europe. The Cisalpine republic was transformed into the kingdom Italy; the Lignrian was absorbed into the great empire; the free cities of Germany were made over to the vassal kings, who approach the foot, or decorate the steps of his throne; and such

* Declaration of his Danish majesty, Sept. 9th.

was his rage for harmony and regularity in the political edifice he was erecting, that even the people of the United Provinces, born and nurtured under republican institutions, were compelled to descend to the level of other nations, and to acknowledge a fellow mortal to be their sovereign. After such discussion and deliberation as military despots permit to their subjects, this important change was announced publicly at Paris, by a deputation of Dutchmen sent for that purpose from the Hague*. Lewis Bonaparte, a younger brother of Napoleon, was selected to be the king of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the frivolities and delights of Paris, to superintend, in a foggy climate, the concerns of a laborious, parsimonious, and impoverished people, who had yet to teach their lips the accents of loyalty, and their necks the obedience due to a king. It is but justice, however, to acknowledge in favour of the new king of Holland, that since his elevation to the throne he seems to have taken a deep and laudable interest in the welfare of his subjects, and that on several occasions he has counteracted the arbitrary orders and regulations of his brother, when they interfered with the commerce and prosperity of his kingdom.

As the new constitution, which accompanied the new king, has no guarantee but the will of its author, it hardly deserves our notice. It may be remarked, however, that by one of its articles, the government of the colonies, and all that relates

to their internal administration, is vested exclusively in the king†; a provision which, considering the vast extent and importance of the Dutch colonies in comparison of the mother country, would alone render all checks and limitations of the royal prerogative nugatory and inefficacious. By another article of the same code, the guardianship of the king of Holland, when a minor, unless the queen-mother should happen to be alive, is vested in the French emperor, to be placed by him in whatever hands he is pleased to select; and, by a treaty with France, reckoned, we suppose, of equal authority with the constitutional act itself, it is stipulated that the king of Holland, by virtue of his office, shall enjoy the dignity of grand constable of France‡. The ancient flag of Holland, by another article, is to be quartered with the imperial eagle of France; nor is it disguised, nor, indeed, attempted to be disguised, in any part of this transaction, that Holland, though governed by a separate king, is to be considered as virtually a province of the great empire, and subject in all international relations to the will of its chief.

The history of King Lewis, for the first half year of his reign, to which we are necessarily confined, presents few events of importance. While Bonaparte was gaining the battle of Auerstadt, and pursuing the wreck of the Prussian army after its defeat, the king of Holland overran Westphalia, and penetrated without opposition into Hanover. General Daendels, formerly a re-

* June 5th. Admiral Verhuell, formerly a leader of the stadtholderian faction, was at the head of this deputation.

† State Papers, p. 700.

‡ Treaty concluded by Talleyrand and Verhuell, May 24th.

publican officer of the Louvestein party, entered East Friesland at the head of another part of the Dutch army; and reduced that province to obedience. At the conclusion of the campaign, King Lewis returned to the Hague; and having there assembled the states of his kingdom*, he made them an opening speech, in imitation of the orations which his brother Napoleon addresses, on similar occasions, to the legislators of France. In this speech he ingenuously owns that the finances of Holland are in the greatest possible disorder, and that its foreign commerce is nearly annihilated; nor does he hold out the expectation of any solid improvement in these particulars till the return of peace, on the restoration of which he announces many great works and useful establishments to be undertaken. In the mean time he recommends two orders of knighthood to be instituted, the one to be called the order of merit, and the other the order of union; and he informs the deputies, that enlightened men, in various parts of the country, are employed in framing new codes of civil and criminal law, and devising new forms of judiciary establishment, which in due time shall be submitted to their consideration. Such is the rage of innovation in every slip and scion of the imperial stock, that a country subject to their dominion must not only submit to them as its masters, but change, at their caprice, all its ancient laws and institutions, however useful and suitable, or venerable and respected. The only consolatory information in the speech of his Batavian majesty relates to

the colonies still retained by the mother country, which he represents to be in a flourishing condition.

It shews us the notions entertained of representative government by the new military despots of the continent, when we observe, that only three days before the meeting of this legislative assembly, † the king of Holland had, of his own authority, issued a royal decree, extending to all his dominions the provisions of the celebrated Berlin decree of his brother Napoleon; and the ideas which the same class of persons entertain of the liberty of the press, may be collected from the boast of the same royal personage to his legislature, that he had taken effectual measures to repress the insolence of some journalists, who had expressed themselves with unbecoming freedom of foreign powers. The journalists whom he punished might possibly deserve the chastisement they received; but the summary proceeding by which their licentiousness was checked, affords a melancholy sample of the subdued and degraded state into which the once free press of Holland has unhappily fallen.

The domestic history of France, during the present year, is uncommonly barren of incidents, and contains little else but an account of the journeyings and other acts of Bonaparte, before whom the senate, tribunate, legislative assembly, and other public bodies of his empire have dwindled into insignificance, and ceased to excite our interest or awaken our curiosity to their proceedings.

Immediately after the ratification of the peace of Presburg, the French emperor, having first had an inter-

* Dec. 5th.

† Dec. 1st.

view with the archduke Charles in the neighbourhood of Vienna, quitted that capital,* and set out for Munich on his way to Paris. At Munich he stopped a fortnight, in order to be present at the marriage of his step-son Eugene Beauharnois with a princess of Bavaria; and, in honour of the nuptials, he took this opportunity of declaring Eugene his adopted son, and of appointing him his successor in the kingdom of Italy.† Great were the festivities at Munich on this joyous occasion, as well as on account of the royal dignity assumed by its elector. The grossest adulation was addressed to Bonaparte, and, however extravagant and misplaced the flattery, it was received by him as no more than his due. It was discovered by the courtiers at Munich, that of all persons who had worn the imperial purple, the one most resembling Bonaparte was Titus, because Titus had been called the delight of the human race, and to convey to him the pleasing discovery, in a manner sufficiently delicate not to wound his modesty, the *Clemenza di Tito* of Metastasio was acted in his presence at the public theatre of Munich; “when all eyes were instantly directed to the Titus of France, and all voices raised in prayers for his life and happiness.”‡ From Munich he repaired to Stutgard, and from Stutgard to Carlsruhe; to enjoy similar homage and adoration from his other vassals; and on the 26th of January he arrived at Paris, where strains of flattery, still more soothing and gratifying, were prepared to

meet his royal ear, and recompence him for all his toils and services for the good of his people. But as we have little taste for such compositions, we shall not fatigue our readers with extracts from adulatory harangues. Much allowance is undoubtedly to be made for the enthusiasm really felt on the return of so great a conqueror after such glorious and splendid successes. But the flattery of the French senate was gross and fulsome, and marked the absence of every free or noble sentiment in that assembly. “Happy are they,” said François de Neufchateau, “who have escaped or survived our unfortunate discords, to witness the glory of their country, and to contemplate the brilliancy and prosperity, which Heaven sheds on this empire, since the senate, the people, and God himself have placed the sceptre in hands worthy to bear it||.” Happier they, might the French nation have replied, who closed their eyes in death, before their country was reduced to servitude, after so much blood unprofitably shed to assert its freedom; happier the soldiers who fell at Fleurus, than the veterans who have lived to conquer under Bonaparte.

The next public proceeding in France which engages our attention, is the meeting of the legislative body, and the opening speech delivered by the emperor on that occasion.§ The chief feature of this speech, besides a natural and not exaggerated account of his successes; and a studied and well deserved encomium on his

* Dec. 28th, 1805.

† By letter to the senate, dated Jan. 12, 1806.

‡ Vie de Bonaparte, t. 8 p. 72.

|| Address of the senate to the emperor by François de Neufchateau, Jan. 29th.

§ February 22d.

army, was the expression of his desire to make peace with England, which led in the manner we have already related, to the first negotiation between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand. The speech of the emperor was followed, at a subsequent meeting,* by a report of the state of the empire by M. Champagny, minister of the interior, containing a repetition and amplification of the topics, touched upon more slightly by his master, and an ostentatious account of the labours in which the government was engaged for the improvement and prosperity of France. We had designed to have extracted from this report whatever tended to illustrate or make known the present state of the French empire, but we have found in it little accurate or precise information, and some assertions and statements of the correctness of which we are in doubt. Much is said of the public spirit of the country; and great praise bestowed on the ardor and alacrity with which the young conscripts obey the summons to arms. A minute account is given of the exertions of the government in repairing and constructing ports and naval arsenals, bridges, and canals. Two new cities are announced by the name of Napoleonville, which are to be reared, the one in Morbihan, the other in La Vendée; and the port Bonaparte, worthy of his name, will soon, it is said, be an object of terror to England in the channel.

Ever anxious to connect his family with the other princes of Europe, Bonaparte announced, about the same time,† to the senate, his intention of marrying the princess Stephanie Beauharnois, niece of the

empress Josephine, to the hereditary prince of Baden.

His next communication was of more importance. On the 31st of March he submitted to the senate a variety of decrees for its approbation; by the first of which he established various regulations for the education of the princes of his imperial house; by the second he annexed the Venetian territories to the kingdom of Italy; by the third he conferred the kingdom of Naples on his brother Joseph; by the fourth he bestowed the dutchies of Berg and Cleves, in full sovereignty, on his brother-in-law Murat; and the principality of Guastalla on his sister Paulina, and her husband, prince Borghese; by the fifth he gave to Berthier the principality of Neufchatel; by the sixth he united to Lucca, the countries of Massa, Carrara, and Garragnana; and by the seventh he created a number of dutchies, with suitable revenues, in Italy, to be distributed among the civil and military officers, who had distinguished themselves in his service, and to be held by them in property, transmissible by inheritance to their direct descendants in the male line. The last of these decrees presents the curious spectacle of the revival of benefices by Bonaparte, within less than twenty years after the extinction of the feudal institutions, derived from the victories and destructive conquests of Charlemagne. It should seem, from many recent occurrences in the history of Europe, that in the moral and political, as in the natural and physical world, there are certain limits not to be transgressed, within which, amidst all the apparent exu-

* March 5th.

† March 6th.

uberance and variety of nature, every thing subject to her power is irresistibly and irrevocably confirmed.

The erection of the duchy of Benevento into a fief of the French empire, in favour of Talleyrand, with the title of prince and duke of Benevento; and the grant of the duchy of Ponte Corvo to marshal Bernadotte, by a similar tenure, followed some months after the preceding establishments*. Cardinal Fesch, uncle of Bonaparte, was appointed at the same time to be co-adjutor and successor of the archbishop of Ratisbon, arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire. A new order of knighthood was also instituted for the kingdom of Italy, called the order of the Iron Crown, and established on the footing of 200 knights companions, besides commanders and other higher dignitaries. Many Frenchmen as well as Italians were decorated with the insignia of this order.

The last communication made by the French emperor to his senate in the present year was of his celebrated Berlin decree, of which we have already given some account in a preceding part of the present chapter. This communication† was accompanied by a most ingenious and artful report of Talleyrand in justification of that measure, in which it is represented, in a manner calculated to impose on a superficial reader, as a necessary act of retaliation, called for by the violence and injustice of England, and calculated for the general good of civilized nations. The same message stated the determination of the emperor not to evacuate Berlin, Warsaw, or any

of his other conquests, till a general peace should be concluded on the basis of the restitution of the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies, to the mother countries; and it concluded with demanding, that the conscripts for 1807 should be placed at his disposal in the ensuing January, in place of the September following. The answer of the senate contained, as usual, a grateful acknowledgment of the emperor's condescension, an expression of profound admiration of his wisdom, and an unqualified acquiescence in his demands.

A report on the French finances, presented to the emperor in the month of April, by Gaudin, minister of finance, estimates the expence of the government for the current year at 894 millions. The same report informs us, that the system of direct contributions continued to be so unpopular in France, that the government had been induced considerably to diminish their amount, an operation, which it had been enabled to accomplish by the increasing productiveness of the customs, and other branches of indirect taxation. For a similar reason it had now determined to abolish the turnpike duties throughout France, having found them odious, vexatious, and unproductive; and in future to raise the sums necessary for making and repairing the highways and bridges, by a moderate duty on salt, collected at the place of its fabrication.

A convocation of Jews from the principal cities of France, which was this summer assembled at Paris by order of Bonaparte‡, excited much curiosity and attention through-

* June 5th.

† Dated November 21st.

‡ Dated May 30th. The convocation met on Saturday the 26th of July.

out Europe. The pretext for calling this meeting was to devise some expedient for exciting a spirit of honest industry among the individuals of the Jewish persuasion, in order to induce them to abandon the scandalous and dishonest acts, to which the greatest part of them have recourse habitually to obtain a livelihood. These objects were stated to the convocation by M. Molé, in the name of the emperor, after which, various questions were proposed to its members, respecting their laws and usages, which they were desired to consider maturely and answer at their leisure. The questions first put to them related to their use of polygamy and divorce among themselves, and to the lawfulness of their intermarriages with Christians. They were next asked, what civil relations they were permitted by their law to hold with persons of a different religious persuasion from themselves; whether they could lawfully render obedience to the civil laws and institutions of the state; and whether they considered themselves bound to take up arms in its defence. They were then questioned about the jurisdiction and authority of their rabbins, and about the mode of their election; and they were asked, whether their present usages in these respects might not lawfully be changed. Last of all, they were questioned on the subject of usury.

These inquiries had for their object not only to shew that the Jews were not debarred by the peculiarities of their religion, from the enjoyment of the same civil privileges as the members of other religious communities, but to ascertain, whether the same influence and patronage, which the French government had acquired

by means of the *concordat*, over the clergy of the Catholic, Lutheran, and reformed persuasions, might not be extended to the Jewish priesthood. The answers of the convocation were so conformable to the wishes of Bonaparte, that a grand sanhedrim was summoned to meet at Paris, for the purpose of considering the same questions, and giving a solemn opinion with respect to them, which should be afterwards considered as obligatory on all persons professing the law of Moses. The time fixed for the meeting of the sanhedrim was the 20th of October; but as its discussions were prolonged to the ensuing year, it falls not within our province at present, to give an account of its deliberations. We cannot forbear, however, mentioning in general, that the results of this assembly were satisfactory, and corresponded in every respect with the views and intentions for which it had been summoned. Its members were prevailed upon to acknowledge, that their laws concerning marriage and divorce were subordinate to the regulations of the civil magistrate; that their precepts respecting diet might be dispensed with during military service, or absence from home for any other cause; that their present form of church government might be lawfully changed, having no other origin but in views of expediency; and that their prohibition, and in other cases, their permission of usury, related to charitable loans, and not to mercantile transactions. In return for these concessions and explanations, the French government undertook to pay stipends to the Jewish priesthood, and succeeded in giving such a form to their church establishment, as ensured to the state a complete influence

influence and command over their clergy. There are, consequently, in the French empire, four religions established by law, and pensioned by the state—the Catholic, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Jewish. No other modes of worship are legally tolerated in that extensive empire; nor, we believe, suffered to be exercised in public; but no French subject is prevented from following in private the dictates of his conscience, or conclusions of his reason; nor deterred by civil disabilities from professing any religion, or none. In this singular mixture of laxity and strictness, of toleration and intolerance, we discover the true character and principles of the present ruler of France. Careless of what faith his subjects may profess, he is jealous of whatever may endanger his own authority. Indifferent about religious uniformity, he is as ambitious of power and influence over the priesthood, as those who have been most anxious to maintain it. The church with which he is willing to form an alliance, is not one and indivisible, but manifold as the modes of faith among his subjects. But no sect, however harmless its tenets, and innocent its practice, is permitted to have public worship in his dominions, unless its spiritual directors are under his influence and controul. Liberty of conscience he affects to consider a natural right, independent of the magistrate; but freedom of worship he holds to be a civil right, depending on the permission of the magistrate, who may grant or refuse it at his pleasure.

Switzerland, surrounded by France and her allies, and cut off by the

peace of Presburg from every power that could assist her in re-asserting her freedom, affords us in the present year no events of importance to commemorate. When possession was taken of Neufchatel and Valengin by the French*, great quantities of English merchandize were seized in these provinces, where they used to be deposited by the merchants of Basle, till opportunities were found of introducing them clandestinely into France. Loud complaints of this illicit traffic were inserted in the *Moniteur*†, and a formal remonstrance against it was presented by Talleyrand to the Swiss minister at Paris; upon which orders were issued by the Helvetic diet for suppressing it, and for putting a stop to all commerce in English goods throughout Switzerland. The merchants, whose effects had been seized at Neufchatel, having imprudently petitioned the French emperor to have them restored, were arrested at the requisition of his minister at Basle, and detained in custody till they gave security to abstain in future from this forbidden commerce. Similar measures were taken against the introduction of English goods and manufactures into the kingdom of Italy, and other states dependent upon France.

The states of the church having become an asylum and place of rendezvous for the malcontents and insurgents of the kingdom of Naples, a severe edict was issued by the papal government‡, ordering all persons of that description to be expelled from the ecclesiastical territories, and prohibiting its subjects from affording them, on any pretext whatever, assistance or relief.

* In March.

† April 18th.

‡ Sept. 17th.

Spain continued to languish in servitude and obscurity, under the debasing administration of the prince of the peace, while that minion rose daily in power and importance, through the undeserved favour and misplaced confidence of his abused and besotted sovereign. The prince of Asturias, heir apparent of the crown, though less an object of jealousy and hatred to his mother and her paramour since the death of his wife, was still carefully excluded from any share of the government, and scandalously left without influence or authority in the kingdom, over which he was destined one day to reign, unless prevented by the criminal projects of those, whom the ties of nature and obligations of duty ought to have made the most faithful guardians and steadiest supporters of his rights. Men of virtue and talents lamented in exile or retirement the degradation of their country; while the nation at large, animated with a noble ambition and emulation of its ancient glory, contemplated its fallen state with surprise and indignation, and could hardly suppress its resentment against the authors of such intolerable disgrace and humiliation. To one who knew well the temper and character of the Spanish people, it was evident that a mass of combustible matter was collecting in that kingdom, which a spark only was wanting to light up to the astonishment and admiration of Europe.

When certain intelligence reached Spain of a negotiation for peace between France and England, the self-importance of the prince of the peace was offended that he had not

been consulted in the matter, nor invited to become a party to the negotiation; and when the secret articles transpired of the treaty concluded between France and Russia, by which it appeared that Bonaparte had transferred the Balearic isles to the duke of Calabria, without the formality of even communicating his intention to the court of Madrid, his indignation became extreme. In the first transports of his wrath, he issued proclamations*, calling upon the loyalty and patriotism of his countrymen, and ordering a considerable augmentation of the Spanish army and militia, while he privately opened a confidential intercourse with the court of Lisbon, preparatory, as was supposed, to a renewal of friendly communications with Great Britain. But his designs of emancipating his countrymen from the French yoke, if they ever assumed a definite form, were extinguished, before they had matured into action, by the disasters of Prussia. On the news of the battle of Auerstadt, the levies that had been ordered throughout Spain were hastily countermanded; and to conceal the real object of the armament, a ridiculous tale was fabricated, of a project said to have been entertained by the English government, of invading Andalusia with an army of Moors, to prevent which, it was pretended, these extraordinary preparations had been made. So flimsy a pretext was not calculated to impose upon Bonaparte; but occupied as he was at that moment with his designs on Poland, he judged it prudent to dissemble his resentment, and wait for some more favourable opportunity

* October 9th and 11th.

to take vengeance for the meditated injury. He, therefore, expressed himself to be perfectly satisfied with the conduct of his ally, but took this opportunity of soliciting the aid of a body of Spanish troops, to assist him in his wars in the North. Glad to have escaped so well from the danger, into which his rashness had nearly plunged him; the prince of the peace acceded most readily to this demand, and, indifferent to the fate of his countrymen, though he must have felt that he was delivering them over as hostages for his future conduct, he sent 16,000 men, under the command of the marquis of Romana, an able and distinguished officer, to act in conjunction with the troops of Bonaparte, in completing the subjugation of the continent.

In the course of the summer the attention of the British government was anxiously directed towards the critical situation of Portugal. It had for a considerable time been manifest, that as soon as France should terminate all her differences with the Germanic Powers, and establish such a peace in the North, as her unexampled successes entitled her to dictate, she would turn her arms against the only remaining ally of England upon the continent; and there was but too much reason to apprehend, that she would easily succeed in dissolving that ancient connexion, if not in making herself mistress of the Portuguese dominions. This apprehension was founded upon the want of energy which had of late years been conspicuous in the courts both of Lisbon and Madrid; and the feeble state to which the resources of both

had been reduced by a long course of the worst species of government, both civil and ecclesiastical. In the last war too, it was evident that the Spanish cabinet, so far from opposing any obstacle to the destruction of its weaker neighbour, had actively assisted France in the invasion afforded an easy passage to the French troops, and taken the province of Olivenza, as a recompence, at the peace which followed. There was no reason whatever to expect in the present instance, a better conduct on the part of the queen of Spain and prince of the peace, whose influence was become more absolute than ever, and whose views were at least as wavering, and, of consequence, as subservient to France as they had been at any former period of the war. The predominance of the French influence at Lisbon, had in the mean while displaced the boldest and most upright class of Portuguese statesmen, and put into their stations a set of feeble and corrupt ministers, the mere creatures of the court, intriguers who, with a single exception, possessed nothing like talents or capacity for government; while that one*, though unquestionably a man of distinguished abilities and much experience, was greatly suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of his country, and was certainly a person of too unsteady a line of politics to render him an object of implicit confidence to any party, in so extraordinary an emergency. The Portuguese army, under such rulers, had wasted away to a skeleton, and could scarcely be said to be on a better footing, either in numbers, discipline, or appoint-

* M. D'Araujo.

ment, than it was when count La Lippe began to attempt its reformation. In this government, so administered and so supported, the people, far from placing any confidence, took no manner of interest, and there could be little doubt, that had the French invaded the country, their progress would have been observed with perfect indifference by the great body of the inhabitants. These things were not unknown at Paris, where, except the negotiations with England and Russia, nothing now remained, since the peace of Presburg, to occupy the attention of Bonaparte, and to delay his favourite project of subduing the last ally of England. Should those negotiations fail, as there was but too much reason to fear they must, from the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and the general repugnance of both the court and the people in this country, to any such peace as the situation of the continent entitled us to expect; then it was evident that the invasion of Portugal would be the first step of the French government. Scarcely any thing else, indeed, remained to be done—for it was the only stake which England still had to lose on the continent of Europe. And even during the course of the negotiation this threat was held out in the plainest terms, while authentic intelligence from different quarters, proved that some advances were made in carrying the menace into execution. The British government, therefore, saw clearly that at all events Portugal must be invaded; that a blow would in all probability be struck at that defenceless ally, during the progress of the negotiation, and for the purpose of has-

tening its conclusion; that to a certainty, even if it were delayed so long, the rupture of the negotiation would be the signal for immediately marching an army from Bayonne to the Tagus. It became, therefore, the first care of the British ministry to provide the means of assisting our ancient ally with forces proportioned to the magnitude of the threatened danger, and with the promptitude which its imminency demanded.

Orders were immediately dispatched to the earl of St. Vincent, who was then cruising off Brest, at the head of the Channel fleet, and within little more than a week after the intelligence had been received of the threatened attack, and only ten days after the menace had been held out to the British negotiators at Paris, that famous commander rode at anchor before Lisbon, with a squadron of six sail of the finest ships of the line. By treaty we are restricted from keeping more than this number in the Tagus at one time. So that the admiral ordered another vessel which accompanied him to cruise off the coast, and made the other ships relieve her by turns. The rest of the Channel fleet, and the squadron off Ferrol, were in readiness to reinforce this detachment at a moment's notice, if any occasion should require it.

In the mean time, and with the same dispatch, a large and well appointed army was assembled at Plymouth, the destination of several detachments of our forces having been changed for the present, in order to afford the means of speedily assisting the Portuguese government. Lieutenant-generals Simcoe and the

earl of Rosslyn, with their staff, were immediately sent to join lord St. Vincent in the Tagus*, and to open, in conjunction with him, such a communication with the court of Lisbon, as might at once lead to a full understanding of the extent of the threatened danger, the means of resisting it, and the best mode of co-operating for that purpose. General Simcoe was taken ill on the voyage, and his malady increased so rapidly after his arrival, that he was under the necessity of speedily returning to England, where he died a few hours after he landed. The negotiation was, therefore, carried on by lord Rosslyn and the admiral. It would have been difficult to find persons better qualified for the management of this important affair. The high name of lord St. Vincent, so renowned over every part of the world, was held in particular veneration in Portugal, where he had so often commanded, had gained his greatest victory, and from which, indeed, he had even taken his title after that memorable exploit. He had lived so much among the Portuguese, and rendered himself so popular both with the court and the country, that they never thought of him as a foreigner, but familiarly termed him a countryman of their own. Lord Rosslyn, whose services in the Mediterranean were well known in these parts, had also served as second in command with sir Charles Stuart for several years, the last time that an English army was sent to the assistance of Portugal. His talents for affairs, and the activity of his disposition, as well

as his conciliatory manners, qualified him peculiarly well for carrying on the communication between the British government, or the military force sent to the Tagus, and the court of Lisbon. Add to this, that both the admiral and the general enjoyed, in the greatest degree, the confidence of the English administration, to which, by the political sentiments, as well as by personal connexions, they were intimately attached. The army collected and embarked at Plymouth, was held in readiness to sail at a moment's warning, as soon as the state of the negotiation at Lisbon required it. But it was with a becoming caution and a due tenderness for the critical circumstances of our ally, that the British government did not send it over in the first instance, but waited until the precise extent and imminency of the danger should be ascertained. Had an army been suddenly sent with the fleet to the Tagus, a pretext would have been afforded to Bonaparte for his meditated invasion; and the transaction would have borne an appearance, of all others the most to be avoided, of imposing on the Portuguese government the necessity of adopting our plan of defence. It was better on every account to delay the expedition until the enemy should actually invade Portugal, or until our ally should require our assistance and co-operation for her defence.

It was the obvious and single intention of the British cabinet in the whole of this proceeding, to assist Portugal against France, and to give

* Lord Rosslyn and General Simcoe arrived at Lisbon on the 25th of August, and found Lord St. Vincent with his fleet at anchor in the Tagus.

this aid in the way that should be deemed most acceptable by herself. Upon this plain and certain principle the instructions of lord St. Vincent and his coadjutors, were entirely founded. They were ordered, in the first place, to communicate the intelligence received from various quarters, of the hostile designs entertained by France, and to encourage, by every offer and argument, any disposition to resist them, which they might perceive in the prince regent or his ministers. In a word, they were to offer the whole naval, military, and pecuniary resources of England, in so far as the same were disposable, to assist the Portuguese in defending themselves from the threatened invasion. It was, however, to be considered as a possible case, that the court of Lisbon might be found either too timid, or too slothful for the crisis in which it was placed. The influence of the councils, or the terror of the army of France, might prevent our ally from adopting the vigorous measures prescribed by the dangers of the occasion. Or, it might be, that upon a full and fair investigation, Portugal should be found wholly incapable of defence, against the combined attacks of France and Spain. In this case another offer, equally liberal, was to be made on the part of the British government. In the event of his finding that the court of Lisbon either could not or would not defend itself, lord St. Vincent was instructed to offer the whole of his fleet, with the army already embarked, and waiting his signal to sail, as well as the most liberal supplies of money, for the purpose of securing the Portuguese government a safe retreat in the Brazils, and establishing them there as an inde-

pendent state. Thus, if the court of Lisbon either chose to defend Portugal, or was afraid to run the hazard of such a contest, or found itself unable to resist the enemy, or from whatever cause, preferred a retreat, in either case the British government offered to place the whole resources of the empire at its disposal; without a single equivalent, except that of saving an ancient ally; without any security for the future; upon no condition or bargain whatever, except that Portugal should do her best to resist or to escape. The transactions so disgraceful to the English name, which have recently taken place elsewhere, render it necessary to add, what might otherwise have been taken for granted, that no idea whatever was entertained of taking the fleets or arsenals of Portugal in security or as a deposit; and that such a demand was never hinted at, either in the instructions of the mission, or in the communications held with the court of Lisbon.

There was, however, a third case, highly improbable no doubt, but still within the bounds of possibility, and to be provided for accordingly. If the court of Lisbon should, from indecision and the influence of a French party in its councils, both refuse to defend its dominions in Europe, and to retreat to those in South America; if it should persist in a resolution neither to fight nor to fly, but determine to remain and be voluntarily swallowed up, with its whole resources, by the invading enemy, it then became the duty of England to prevent those resources from falling into the hands of France, and accordingly the admiral and general were instructed to declare, that should the enemy

invade Portugal, and should the court refuse both to oppose him and to escape from him, then it would become necessary to prevent the fleet from falling into his hands. This was, indeed, a thing so self-evident, that it was scarcely necessary to mention it; but the British government, for the sake of preserving to the end that frankness and plain dealing which had all along marked their proceedings towards this old ally, deemed it proper to add the above to the other instructions. The case to which it should be applicable was scarcely a conceivable one, but it was more safe and accurate to provide for every possible combination of circumstances.

During the interval between the sailing of Lord St. Vincent's squadron, and the opening of the communications at Lisbon, in the beginning of September, a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs in the North. The Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify D'Oubril's treaty, the king of Prussia had begun his preparations for making war upon France, and it was also apprehended that Austria would not remain neutral in so extensive a contest. The natural consequence of this unexpected change of circumstances, was the abandonment of the designs upon Portugal for the present; the troops on their march to assemble at Bayonne were countermanded; the French ambassador at Lisbon, general Junot, instead of proceeding to his destination, was sent away to the army in Germany; a large body of Spanish troops was marched to the assistance of France in the North, and Bonaparte and his ministers left Paris to join the armies.

A respite was thus obtained for Portugal, which it was evident must last at least as long as the new war should continue; and that country might be considered as altogether safe, until the allies should be again completely conquered, and their new coalition dissolved.

When this change took place, time had only been afforded the negotiators at Lisbon to open their business, and ascertain the disposition and resources of the Portuguese government. They found on the part of the prince regent, the best possible disposition towards England. The cabinet was, indeed, feeble, both in talents and spirit, but was well inclined to do whatever might reasonably be expected, should the threatened dangers approach nearer. The liberal and disinterested offers of the British government were received with the warmest expressions of gratitude, and the friendly solicitude shewn by that generous ally, made a deep and lasting impression upon the prince. When the unexpected intelligence arrived, that hostilities were recommencing in the North, the court of Lisbon deemed it advisable no longer to request the protection of the British admiral, and it was evident, that for the present, the landing of any English force in Portugal, could only serve to give umbrage at Madrid, without answering any good purpose. The troops were accordingly disembarked at Plymouth, lord St. Vincent returned to his station off the Tagus, and lord Rosslyn sailed for England, carrying back with him the most friendly and sincere expressions of the prince regent's gratitude to the British government, and the strongest protestations of his increased confidence

dence in so faithful an ally. The universal sentiment of the court of Lisbon was, that for the present they were not exposed to danger; as soon as the necessity should return, they would expect the same kind assistance from England, either in defending them from the enemy, or in helping them to retreat to Brazil, should resistance be deemed impossible. In the mean time the happiest effects resulted from this mission; the union between the two courts was drawn closer

than before; the most salutary reforms were undertaken in the military establishment of Portugal, as well as in the finances, in concert with England; and no doubt could remain, that if a proportionate degree of prudence and promptitude, should be shewn hereafter, in assisting the prince when the moment of attack arrived, he would either make a stand in conjunction with us, or retire to his American dominions under our protection.

CHAP. XII.

Naval Transactions—Vigilance and Activity of the Board of Admiralty—Great Number of marauding Squadrons of the Enemy at Sea—Rochefort Squadron—Brest Squadron—Sir T. Duckworth's Victory—Fate of the Squadron under Admiral Villamez—Capture of Linois by Sir J. B. Warren—Capture of four Frigates by Sir S. Hood—Summary of the Naval Successes of the Present Year—Conquest of the Cape of Good Hope by Sir D. Baird and Sir H. Popham—Unauthorised expedition of Sir H. Popham to the Rio Plata—Capture of Buenos Ayres—Reconquest of that Place and Capture of the English Garrison by the Inhabitants—Reflections on the Policy of the English Government in regard to South America—Delusions of the English People on that Subject—Expedition of Miranda to the Spanish Main—Revolution in St. Domingo—Conspiracy of the Negroes in Trinidad—Prosperity of the United States of America—Pacific System of Mr. Jefferson—Differences of the United States with Spain—with England—Impressing of Seamen—Colonial Trade—Maritime Jurisdiction—Negotiations on these Points—Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation signed by Lord Holland and Lord Auckland on the Part of Great Britain, and by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney on the Part of the United States of America.

THE British navy maintained during the present year its accustomed superiority over the enemy. But, though successful in every action, it could neither achieve the same victories, nor sustain the same calamities as in the preceding campaign. It had neither a Nelson to lose, nor a hostile fleet like that of Trafalgar to vanquish. Its efforts were directed to the humbler but useful service of protecting from insult and depredation the colonies and commerce of the empire, left exposed at the commencement of the year, without adequate means of defence, to the numerous squadrons of the enemy, which during the winter months had eluded the vigilance of our blockading fleets, and escaped to sea. Much praise is due to the board of Admiralty, which under these circumstances was called to the naval administration of the country, for the sagacity and judgment with which it traced the course of these marauding expeditions, and for the vigilance and promptitude with which it provided against their designs and baffled their plans. So hotly was the enemy pursued and so closely watched in every quarter, that after threatening to lay waste our colonies and interrupt our commerce, he was compelled to renounce these projects and consult his safety by a precipitate and ignominious flight. Few of his ships employed

in these expeditions returned to France. The greater part of them were taken or destroyed by the English, while others perished from storms in search of some friendly harbour to shelter them from the pursuits of their enemy.

The only squadron of the enemy, that got back to France during the present year without any disaster, was the Rochefort squadron, which had sailed from that port about midsummer 1805, with orders to repair to a certain latitude, and wait there for the arrival of the other squadrons of the combined fleet. After cruising in vain at the place of rendezvous and taking and destroying a number of vessels, neutral as well as English, and falling in with and capturing the Calcutta of 56 guns, this squadron had at length the good fortune to return to Rochefort about the beginning of the year, bringing with it above 800 English prisoners on board.

The fleet that escaped from Brest harbour in December 1805* was not equally fortunate. This fleet consisted originally of 15 ships of the line, 6 frigates, and 4 corvettes: but after having been ten days at sea, it separated into different squadrons, one of which, consisting of 5 ships of the line, 2 frigates, and a corvette, commanded by Admiral Leisseigues, made directly for Saint Domingo and having arrived at that port without any accident,† disembarked a body of troops and supply of ammunition, which it had on board, for the use of the colony. After having performed this service, the French admiral loitered away in the bay of Oeca for more than a fortnight, taking in water and repairing the damages sustained by his ships in

their voyage; at the end of which period he was fortunately descried by sir John Thomas Duckworth,‡ who was cruising in these seas with a squadron of 7 ships of the line and 4 frigates, and had received intelligence of the arrival of a French fleet at St. Domingo. The French admiral, who was greatly inferior in strength, endeavoured to make his escape on the appearance of the English squadron, but being speedily overtaken, an action commenced, which lasted with great fury for near two hours, at the conclusion of which three of the French line of battle ships remained prizes to the English, and two were driven on shore and burned. The two French frigates and corvette put to sea and made their escape. The loss of the English in this engagement was 64 killed and 294 wounded. No officer above the rank of a midshipman was killed, but several were severely wounded. The French had 760 killed and wounded on board of the three ships that were taken, and they no doubt lost a proportional number in the two others that were destroyed.

Another division of the Brest squadron, commanded by admiral Villamez, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but having touched at the isle of Noronha, the admiral was there informed of the capture of that settlement by the English; upon which he proceeded to San Salvador in Brazil, and after remaining there for some time to refresh his seamen, among whom symptoms of scurvy had begun to appear, he set sail for the West Indies.§ and arrived without accident at Martinique in the end of June. The squadron which Villau-

* December 13th.

† January 20th.

‡ February 6th.

§ April 21st.

mez conducted to Martinique consisted of six ships of the line and one frigate, to oppose which sir Alexander Cochrane, the English admiral upon the station, had at that moment only four ships of the line and three frigates; but with this inferior force he gallantly pursued the enemy, in order to watch his motions and check any enterprises he might meditate. No sooner had the French admiral collected the whole of his squadron at Martinique, than he put again to sea, and steered to the north, followed at a distance by Cochrane, who, though he avoided an engagement, hovered in sight of the enemy's squadron, to prevent him making any attempt on the ports or shipping of the English islands. In passing St. Thomas's* the French slackened sail for the English, as if desirous of coming to action, but Cochrane, considering the inferiority of his force, the French having been joined by another ship of the line and three frigates after they left Martinique, declined fighting, and satisfied with having traced the course of the enemy to Porto Rico, returned to Tortola, leaving two frigates to watch their motions.† It was fortunate for the French admiral that he lost so little time at Martinique: for on the 12th of July sir John Borlase Warren arrived at Barbadoes with six sail of the line, which had been dispatched from England with unexampled promptitude,‡ on the first surmise of the French having repassed the line and directed their course to the West Indies. Ano-

ther squadron under sir Richard Strachan had been previously sent out to cruise for them; and when news arrived of their escape from the West Indies, a third squadron under sir Thomas Louis put to sea to intercept their return;§ besides which, blockading squadrons watched all the principal ports of the continent, into which they could attempt to enter.

So many provident and well combined precautions must have been followed by the capture of the French squadron, if it had ventured on returning to Europe, or had the ships of which it was composed, continued cruising together at sea. But the French admiral seeing all his plans frustrated by the vigilance and activity of his enemies, determined on consulting the individual safety of his ships by dispersing them in different directions. The Veteran of 74 guns, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, seems to have been the first that separated from the rest of the squadron, and to have been the most fortunate in its voyage home. On the 16th of August as this vessel was about three hundred leagues west of Brest, to the northward of the Azores, it fell in with the homeward bound Quebec fleet, under the convoy of the Champion frigate, and took and destroyed six vessels laden with timber and other valuable articles; and on the 26th of the same month after having been chased by an English man of war, it reached in safety the coast of Brittany, and got into the small harbour of Concarneau,

* July 6th.

† July 8th.

‡ Sir J. B. Warren sailed from Spithead on the 4th of June, where he had lost several days from contrary winds, after he had got orders to sail. To this delay Villaumez owed the escape of his squadron.

§ August 28th.

under

under the protection of batteries, where, though the vessel was stranded, the stores and guns were saved, and the captain and crew got on shore.

After the separation of Jerome from the admiral, which took place in the gulph of Florida, the rest of the squadron encountered a tremendous gale of wind,* in which they suffered most severely. The admiral's ship, the *Foudroyant*, of 84 guns, reached the Havannah under jury masts, after an action with the *Anson* frigate of 40 guns, which drove her for protection under the batteries of the Moro Castle.† The *Impeteux*, after having lost her masts, bowsprit, and rudder in the storm, and being otherwise damaged, was standing in for the Chesapeak under jury masts, when she was descried by three of the vessels of sir Richard Strachan's squadron, and having taken ground as she attempted to escape, was there burned by the boats of the *Melampus*, and her crew made prisoners.‡ Two other seventy-fours, which got into the Chesapeak, after having been greatly damaged in the storm, were eventually destroyed by the English on the American coast, while the *Cassant*, which was supposed to have foundered at sea, arrived at Brest in the middle of October.

The French admiral Linois, who had so long wandered about the Indian seas, unmolested and unattacked, and carried on with success a predatory and most destructive war against our commerce in the east, was this year intercepted, in his return to France with his plunder; by

sir John Borlase Warren,§ and brought to England, with the *Marengo* of 80 guns, and the *Belle Poule*, of 40 guns, being the only two ships under his command.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort, were next day|| met at sea by a British squadron under commodore sir Samuel Hood, and after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The loss of the English in this action amounted to 9 killed and 32 wounded; but their gallant commander received a severe wound in the right arm, which rendered the amputation of the limb necessary.

It would be in vain to recapitulate all the individual instances of courage, enterprise and skill exerted by the British navy in the various actions in which it was engaged during the present year. The capture of the *Pomona* frigate on the coast of Cuba,¶ though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun boats, all of which were destroyed by the two English frigates, the *Arethusa* and *Anson*, engaged in this enterprise; the action between the French frigate the *Salamander* of 44 guns, supported by batteries and troops provided with musketry and field pieces on shore, and the English ship the *Constance*, of 24 guns, assisted by a sloop of war and a gun brig, in which both vessels were stranded and lost, though not till after the Frenchman had been compelled to strike his colours, and been taken possession of by the English; and the boldness

* Aug. 18th.

† Sept. 15.

‡ Sept. 14.

§ March 13th.

|| Sept. 25th.

¶ August 28rd.

and intrepidity displayed in numerous actions, in which vessels were cut out from under the protection of batteries, or in other circumstances unfavourable for attack; reflect honour on those who succeeded in such hazardous enterprises, and add, if possible, to the glory of the body, by the individuals of which they were achieved. The enemy, whose enfeebled squadrons were reduced to marauding expeditions, in which, when detected, they had recourse rarely to resistance, more frequently to flight, saw with rage and disappointment his ports blockaded by our triumphant squadrons, and the ocean covered with our vessels, armed and unarmed. Mortified with the failure of his hopes, and despairing of success in his maritime schemes, he had recourse, as we have already mentioned, to the wild and furious project of destroying commerce and navigation, since he could not participate in their fruits. But occupied as he was with the continental war, he had not leisure to prosecute his purposes, which terminated for the present year in empty threats and idle declamations, or led at most to some partial and unjust confiscations. The commerce of England went on, unconscious of the Berlin decree, and flourished the more, the greater the efforts of Buonaparte to wither and destroy it. Founded in the wants and necessities of the continent, his fruitless exertions to extinguish it shewed, that however great his power, it was still limited; that however submissive his subjects, it was still possible for them to act against his will.

Four ships of the line were taken

from the enemy during the present year, and seven destroyed or rendered useless. Thirteen frigates were taken and one destroyed; and from 30 to 40 schooners, corvettes and national brigs, besides a great number of privateers, were taken or destroyed. To counterbalance these successes, the only loss sustained by his majesty's navy was that of the *Athenienne*, of 64 guns, which, with its captain and 300 of the crew, perished unhappily in its way to Sicily, by striking on some hidden rocks in the Mediterranean; and that of the *Constance* already mentioned, stranded on the coast of France, with its prize the *Salamanca*. Two transports with troops on board for Gibraltar were taken early in the year by the French squadron under admiral Villameuz; but the troops were afterwards retaken by sir Home Popham,* with the frigate into which they had been put. The most valuable prize taken by the enemy was the *Warren Hastings* East Indiaman, which, after a long and well-contested action, was compelled to strike† to the *Piedmontese*, a French frigate of 44 guns, and was afterwards carried into Mauritius. Some damage was done early in the year, by a French squadron, on the coast of Africa, to the vessels engaged in the slave trade; and several ships, employed in the Greenland and Newfoundland fisheries, were taken and destroyed by the *Guerriere*, French frigate of 50 guns, which, however, was afterwards taken in its way home‡ by the *Blanche*, after a sharp action, near the Ferroe islands.

An expedition against the Cape

* March 4th.

† June 21st

‡ July 19th.

of Good Hope had sailed from England in autumn 1805, at the moment when hostilities were breaking out on the continent, and when from the plan of operations concerted between the British government and its allies, it might have been expected, that the whole of our disposable force would have been employed in some continental diversion; instead of being directed to an object, which however valuable and important in itself, should never have been permitted to interfere with the deeper and more important game, in which we were engaged nearer home. But it was the constant error of Mr. Pitt's administration, to be engaged in the pursuit of two objects at once, and his misfortune, and that of his country, that, in attempting both, he often succeeded in neither, and was sure always to fail in the most important. In the present instance, though Europe was lost, the Cape of Good Hope was taken and reduced under subjection to Great Britain.

The force destined for this conquest consisted of about 5000 land troops under sir David Baird, with a proportional naval force, commanded by sir Home Popham. Having touched at San Salvador for refreshments, the expedition sailed from that place on the 26th of November, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January, 1806. It was the intention of the commanders to have disembarked the troops without delay; but when the fleet arrived at its anchorage, the evening was too far advanced to attempt a landing; and next morning the surf ran so high, that it was found impracticable to land the troops where it was at first intended; nor could

any safer or better landing-place be discovered, after a close examination of the shore from Lospard's Bay to Cape town. In this emergency, it was determined to go northward to Saldahna Bay, about 18 or 20 leagues distant from Table Bay, and, however difficult the march from thence to Cape town, it was judged better to submit to that inconvenience than to hazard any further delay in disembarking the troops. In consequence of this determination brigadier general Beresford was sent to Saldahna Bay with the 38th regiment and 20th light dragoons, the rest of the army being next day to follow him; but next morning the surf was so much abated, that it was resolved to land the army at Lospard's Bay, as at first intended. The disembarkation was conducted with great order under the protection of the fleet, and though a few sharp shooters appeared on the heights and somewhat annoyed the troops, only two persons were wounded by their fire, and the landing would have been attended with no greater loss than this, but for the accident of a boat upsetting, by which 35 soldiers were drowned. The whole of the army having landed on this and the following day, except the detachment sent to Saldahna Bay with general Beresford, sir David Baird began his march to Cape town on the morning of the 8th, and having reached the summit of the Blue Mountains, he there descried the enemy drawn up in the plain and prepared to receive him. They were commanded by general Janssens, governor of the colony, and their force amounted to about 5000 men, chiefly cavalry. Their position was good, and was strengthened by 23 pieces of cannon. The force

force under sir David Baird amounted to about 4000 men. The necessary dispositions, having been made for the attack, the action was begun by brigadier general Ferguson's brigade, which advanced against the enemy's left, under a heavy, but ill directed fire of musketry and grape-shot. The Dutch received the British fire without quitting their ground, but, at the moment of charging, they gave way and fled from the field with precipitation. In this action the loss of the enemy exceeded 700 killed and wounded, while that of the British army amounted only to 15 killed and 197 wounded, and missing.

After this engagement there were no obstacles to impede the progress of the army under sir David Baird, except such as arose from the scarcity of water and want of provisions, or from the natural difficulties of the country through which they had to pass. They reached the Salt river on the 9th, where they proposed to encamp, but a flag of truce having arrived from the town with offers to capitulate, the articles were soon settled, and the troops put in possession of Fort Knocke that same evening. Next day the capitulation was signed, and the town surrendered.

After the battle of the 8th, general Janssens retired with a body of forces to Hottentot Holland's Kloof, a pass leading to the district of Zwelendam, and seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior against the English. But general Beresford having been sent against him, he was prevailed upon

to surrender upon terms, by which the conquest of the colony was completed, and its internal tranquillity secured. By the articles of capitulation signed with general Beresford,* it was settled that general Janssens and his army should be sent back to Holland and not considered as prisoners of war, in return for the complete surrender of the colony and its dependencies.

Sir Home Popham, the naval commander employed against the Cape, had contributed materially to the expedition being undertaken, by the intelligence he had communicated to his majesty's government† of the defenceless state of that important settlement, and of the probability that it would be soon reinforced from Europe. He had also, in common with other naval officers, been occasionally consulted by Mr. Pitt and lord Melville about their designs on South America, and at their desire he had conferred with general Miranda on that officer's views and projects in that quarter. The result of these communications had been his appointment to the command of the *Diadem* of 64 guns, in December 1804, for the purpose "of co-operating with general Miranda, to the extent of taking advantage of any of his proceedings, which might tend to our attaining a position on the continent of South America, favourable to the trade of this country."‡ But he had been afterwards given distinctly to understand, that from deference to Russia, all projects of that nature had been for the present abandoned; and when sent to reduce

* January 18th.

† In July, 1805.

‡ Lord Melville's evidence in sir H. Popham's trial, March 9th, 1807.

the Cape, no instruction, direct or implied, public or confidential, had been given to him, which could authorize his leaving that colony, and employing the force, under his command, in any service unconnected with its conquest or preservation. His mind, however, which had been formerly occupied with schemes of conquest in South America, was some time after the reduction of the Cape, again turned to such speculations, in consequence of information received of the weakness of the Spanish colonies on the Rio Plata, and exaggerated reports of the disaffection of the people towards their government. Having also got accounts from Europe of the dissolution of the third coalition, and of the reduced state of the French marine, in consequence of the battle of Trafalgar, and being satisfied, that the squadron of Villamez, originally destined for the Cape, had gone to the West Indies, he was so far influenced by these considerations, and by the prospect of public and private gain from the conquest of Buenos Ayres, that, forgetful of his duty as an officer to remain in the station which his superiors had assigned to him, he determined on carrying off the whole of the naval force at the Cape, and attempting with it some exploit in the Rio Plata; and having persuaded sir D. Baird to acquiesce in his plans, he obtained from that officer a small body of troops under general Beresford, to co-operate in any enterprise he should attempt.

Thus assisted, he sailed from the Cape about the middle of April, leaving that settlement without an armed vessel to protect it from insult, and directed his course in the

first place 'to St. Helena, where he had the address to procure from the governor a small reinforcement to his little army, which after all did not exceed 1600 men, including marines. With this very inadequate force for so great an enterprise, he steered for the Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. It was now debated, whether an attack should be made on Buenos Ayres or Montevideo, and the former being preferred, the troops were removed from the line of battle ships into the transports and frigate that accompanied the expedition, in which, after surmounting with great skill and perseverance the difficulties of a most intricate navigation, they arrived before Buenos Ayres on the 24th of June, and next day disembarked without resistance at the Punta de Quilmes, about twelve miles from that city. A body of Spaniards placed on a height at two miles distance, witnessed the landing of the British army without opposing it, and general Beresford having marched against them on the following morning, they fled with precipitation at the first fire, leaving behind them their artillery. No other difficulty occurred after this success, except the passage of a river, which it was necessary to cross, before getting to Buenos Ayres; but this being effected with the help of rafts and boats, the bridge having been burnt by the enemy, general Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the viceroy having previously abandoned it and fled to Cordova, with the small body of troops under his command.

While the army was thus employed

played in the conquest of Buenos Ayres, the line of battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Montevideo and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of these places, in which, as it afterwards appeared, were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, from its situation supposed to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. To this accident, and to the misconduct and timidity of the viceroy, who was quite inexperienced in military affairs, the success of an expedition, undertaken not more in defiance of the rules of discipline than in opposition to the dictates of prudence, may in a great measure be attributed. In justice, however, to the British commanders it must be added, that in the execution of their enterprize, they displayed great boldness and intrepidity, and that after victory they shewed a degree of forbearance and moderation to the vanquished, which reflects on them the highest credit. Though the town was without defence when the English army advanced to it, favourable articles of capitulation were granted to the inhabitants; and not only was the private property of individuals on shore religiously respected; but the coasting vessels found in the river, which by the laws of war were good prize to the captors, though valued with their cargoes, at a million and a half of dollars, were restored by proclamation to the rightful owners. Policy had no doubt its share in this liberal conduct; for there were not seamen to spare from the fleet to navigate these vessels, and if they had been destroyed, the views of traffic, in

which the expedition originated, must have been entirely frustrated; as these coasters afforded the only means of maintaining a commercial intercourse with the interior, except the expensive, and in the present state of the country, uncertain communication by caravans. About 1,200,000 dollars of public money were found in the town and sent to England; besides which, public property in quicksilver and Jesuit's bark, to the value of near three millions of dollars, was seized for the benefit of the captors; but, before it was secured on board of ship, the place, as we shall afterwards have to relate, was retaken by the enemy.

We have already noticed the extravagant joy and delusive expectations, which the news of the capture of Buenos Ayres diffused through every part of the British empire. A circular manifesto from sir Home Popham to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing and certainly not underrating the value of the market he had opened, spread widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest; and led, as was naturally to be expected from so unusual and unprecedented an address from such authority, to many rash and improvident mercantile speculations, in which the adventurers had reason afterwards amply to lament their credulity. The delusion was universal, and allowing much for ignorance and want of reflection, incredibly and unaccountably great. It was forgotten, that Buenos Ayres and other parts of South America had been always supplied with English goods through Spanish or neutral bottoms; and, though a
direct

direct trade, by affording our manufactures at a cheaper rate than a circuitous one, might increase the demand for them, it was not to be supposed, that this could be in any proportion to the sanguine expectations and over speculations of the public. Inexhaustible mines; fertile, salubrious plains; an innocent, unoffending population, cruelly oppressed by their former masters, and gratefully repaying with submission and obedience the British valour that had rescued them from slavery; were the false and flattering images, that dazzled every eye, and banished sober and cool reflection from every bosom. It was not considered, that our new acquisition was 1800 miles distant from the mines of Potosi; that the intermediate country was inhabited by a hardy, unsettled race, expert in the management of their horses and spears, and as invincible in defensive war as the Arabs of the desert; nor that Buenos Ayres itself owed its wealth and importance, not to its natural resources derived from the fertile but uncultivated territory that surrounds it, but to its accidental and artificial pre-eminence, as the capital of an extensive government and emporium between the mother country and her more distant colonies. They who knew any thing of South America, were sensible that the possession of Buenos Ayres, though inconvenient to Potosi and Peru, no more led to the subjugation of these countries, than the possession of Macao leads to the conquest of China. They foresaw, that our invasion, whatever might be its ultimate consequences, would in the first in-

stance destroy the established channels of commerce, and they were not sure that it would open others in their room. They allowed, that Buenos Ayres was an excellent agricultural farm; but it must first be settled and improved, they contended, before it could afford a market for our manufactures. But such reasoners were few in number, and amidst the general delusion their voice was unattended to and unheeded.

When intelligence reached government of sir Home Popham's unauthorised departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly dispatched to recal him home, and put a stop to his expedition. These orders were too late to prevent his enterprize; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of his operations. A conquest, which the government would not have made, it had not the resolution to abandon; or possibly, deceived by the ease with which the victory had been gained, it gave in to the popular delusion, and supposed that South America required only to be attacked, in order to be subdued. It cannot be said, that it countenanced or promoted the sanguine calculations of the mercantile part of the community, except by issuing the customary order of council for regulating the trade of his majesty's subjects with the countries that fall under his arms;* but on the other hand, it took no pains to dissipate these errors, or to undeceive the public with respect to the grossness

* Sept. 17.

of its illusions. It is also to be feared, that in resolving to maintain this unexpected conquest, it was far from adopting the system best calculated to preserve it. When the immense extent and scattered population of the Spanish colonies are considered, and the habits, prejudices, and character of their inhabitants taken into the account, it must be obvious, that no foreign power can reduce to obedience or retain in subjection such extensive regions, so amply provided with the means of defensive warfare, except by gaining over the population of the country, and attaching them to the party of the invader. But, however discontented with their government, none but the refuse of a people will join an invading army of foreigners, unless with the hope of obtaining freedom and independence by their assistance. We ought, therefore, either to have renounced all views upon the continent of South America, or have proclaimed to its inhabitants, that in the exercise of legitimate war against their government, we came to assist them in establishing their independence, to conclude with them treaties of commerce and alliance, and to pledge ourselves, if they accepted our offers, to make no peace with their present government, in which they should not be included and recognised as free and independant states. But, if we were not prepared to make such a declaration, it must be confessed, that it was honourable in our government not to excite popular insurrections in the Spanish colonies, till we had made up our minds to support them throughout. For, nothing could have been more base,

than to have encouraged the colonists to take up arms against their sovereign, and afterwards to have abandoned them to his vengeance.

But, long before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was in the hands of the enemy. The Spaniards had been taken by surprise and beaten by a handful of men, because attacked where they were unprepared for resistance; but no sooner had they recovered from their panic, and discovered the smallness of the number of their opponents, than ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to arms, and an insurrection was organized in the heart of the city, under the eye of the English commander in chief, which seems to have escaped his vigilance, till it had arrived at maturity, and was ripe for action. Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog,* unobserved by the English cruizers, and landed at Conchas above Buenos Ayres, bringing with him about 1000 men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by general Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city and summoned the castle to surrender.† The whole inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and the danger appeared so imminent, that the English had determined to evacuate the place and retire to their ships; but they were prevented by the state of the weather, and after

* August 4th.

† August 10th.

a desperate action on the 12th in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, they were compelled to lay down their arms. The terms on which they surrendered, became afterwards a subject of dispute and recrimination between generals Beresford and Liniers, who acted as commander in chief of the Spaniards. This much only is certain, that contrary to the articles of capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war and marched up the country. The loss of the British army in the action of the 12th amounted to 165 killed wounded and missing, besides 1300 made prisoners. Thus terminated the first expedition to Buenos Ayres, and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprize, undertaken without authority, and originating in a "breach of public duty," which, though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a court martial to be "highly censurable," and, for the general good of his majesty's service, deserving of a "severe reprimand."*

Sir H. Popham, the origin of all these calamities, was on board of ship when the city was retaken; after which with the squadron under his command, he continued to blockade the river, till the arrival of troops from the Cape of Good Hope† enabled him to recommence offensive operations. He then attempted, in the first place, to make himself master of Montevideo, but finding it im-

possible for his ships to get near enough to batter the walls, he was forced to desist from this enterprize.‡ A body of troops was then landed at Maldonado, under colonel Vassal, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place and from the isle of Gorriti§, a sufficient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a tolerably safe anchorage procured for the ships. In this situation our army in South America remained at the end of the present year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for further, and as it turned out, still more disastrous successes.

The fear of disobliging the court of St. Petersburg had determined the English government, after listening under two successive administrations|| to the projects of Miranda, and encouraging to a certain degree his designs, ultimately to refuse him its assistance. Disappointed in his expectations from England, that adventurer had recourse to the United States of America, which were at that time upon bad terms with the court of Madrid;¶ and though he failed in persuading the cautious, timid administration of Mr. Jefferson to take an open part in his enterprize, he was suffered to fit out a small armament at New York, with which he set sail for the Spanish main.** His force consisted of the *Leander* armed vessel of 18 guns and two small schooners, on board of which he had some arms and ammunition, and including seamen, about 360 adventurers of different nations. Such were the

* Sentence of the court martial in the trial of sir H. Popham, March 11th, 1807.

† Oct. 5th and 12th.

‡ Oct. 28.

§ Oct. 29th and 30th.

|| Mr. Addington's, and Mr. Pitt's, in 1801. ¶ In 1805. ** In March 1806.

means with which he attempted the invasion of Caracas, without any secret correspondence with the inhabitants, to encourage him in his undertaking, much less any distinct or positive assurances of their aid and support in his enterprize. The sole ground of his hopes was the spirit of disaffection to the mother country, supposed to prevail in the Spanish colonies, and desire to establish independent governments for themselves. Being a natural born subject of the king of Spain, he was sure of being punished as a traitor by any Spanish governor, into whose hands he fell: and as he had no commission from any state to make war on the Spanish settlements, his followers were liable to be treated as pirates, if made prisoners. Such, however, was the inconsiderate enthusiasm and confidence of success, which animated these adventurers, that the danger of an ignominious death made no impression upon them, nor deterred them in the least from pursuing their enterprize.

Instead of proceeding directly to his destination, Miranda stopped at St. Domingo, with views, it is said, of procuring assistance from that island, in which he was disappointed. This delay was extremely prejudicial to his enterprize, because it gave time to the governor of Caracas, who received from thence intelligence of his design, and of the force with which he was accompanied, to fit out a squadron to prevent his landing. From St. Domingo he went to the small island of Aruba, where he stopped to take in water, and was pursuing his voyage to the continent, when he was attacked by

a Spanish brig of 20 guns and a schooner of 16 guns near Puerto Cabello.* An action ensued, in which he lost his two schooners, but escaped himself in the *Leander* to Grenada. Fifty-seven of his followers were taken in the schooners and carried to Puerto Cabello, where they were tried for piracy, ten of them condemned to death, and the rest, three boys excepted, to ten years imprisonment in different fortresses.

From Grenada Miranda repaired to Trinidad, and, nowise disconcerted with his failure, began to prepare there for a second expedition. A number of adventurers, attracted by the hope of plunder, crowded to his standard, and the captains of several British vessels on the coast having undertaken to protect his landing, he set sail under their convoy, and disembarked at Vela de Coro.† Little opposition was made to him at that place, or at Coro, of which he took possession next day; but the people of the country, instead of joining him, abandoned their habitations and fled at his approach. After attempting in vain to bring them back by promises and proclamations, and seeing no appearance of any movements in his favour, he was compelled at length, from despair of succeeding in his enterprize, to reembark for Aruba, from whence he returned to Trinidad. The failure of this expedition is not, however, to be considered as a proof of the coldness and indifference of the Spanish Creoles to independence, but rather as a consequence of their distrust of Miranda, and bad opinion of the success of his enterprize.

* April 27th.

† August 2d.

While these events were taking place on the Spanish main, the negroes of Hispaniola rose against Dessalines their chief, who in imitation of Bonaparte had assumed the title of emperor of Hayti, and having attacked him unawares, put him to death,* a catastrophe he had merited by the cruelty and injustice of his government, and provoked by the indulgence of a jealous and vindictive temper, against which no station or services afforded protection. His successor Christophe contented himself with the humbler title of chief of the government of Hayti, and in that capacity issued a remarkable proclamation,† opening to neutral nations the commerce of his dominions on principles the most liberal and enlightened.

Towards the close of 1805 a formidable conspiracy of the negroes of Trinidad against the white inhabitants was fortunately detected a few days before the time fixed for its execution. It was to have broken out on Christmas eve with circumstances of great barbarity. The ringleaders were seized and punished, and for greater security, martial law was for some time established in the island.

The United States of America continued to prosper under the pacific administration of Mr. Jefferson, and protected by their neutrality, which in the midst of so many belligerent powers they were still able, though with difficulty, to maintain, they extended their trade and navigation beyond all former example. From the 1st of October 1805 to the 30th of September 1806 their exports were valued at 101 millions

of dollars, of which 41 millions were in native commodities and the rest in foreign goods re-exported. Their revenue, arising almost entirely from the receipt of customs, which in 1805 had not exceeded 13 millions of dollars, rose in 1806 to near 15 millions. The reduction of their national debt proceeded as rapidly as the conditions on which it had been contracted would permit, and at the close of the present year the sum actually redeemed amounted to 23 millions of dollars, equal to more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of what remained unpaid. The tranquillity of their Indian frontier was secured by the wise and just policy of their government towards the native tribes, whose esteem and confidence it had gained by the unvarying rectitude of its conduct in all its transactions with them, and by its unceasing attention to promote their happiness and welfare. So successful had been its exertions in eradicating the prejudices, and softening the character of these savages, that many of their tribes were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture, and some had disposed of part of their territory, to purchase the means of improving the remainder, and enable them to subsist their families, while preparing their farms. In the prosecution of this wise and laudable policy, the brightest part by far of Mr. Jefferson's administration, he was powerfully seconded by his precursors in this beneficent work, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who had been for some years diligently employed in inspiring the American savages with a taste for the comforts of civilized life, and in teaching them arts which they had

* Oct. 17th.

† Oct. 24th.

formerly rejected and despised. A treaty of peace between the regency of Tripoli and the United States, had rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean more secure to the citizens of the latter, than it had been at any period since the declaration of their independence; and though a misunderstanding had arisen with the regency of Tunis, it served rather as an excuse for not withdrawing their squadron from the European seas, than as a ground of seriously apprehending the renewal of hostilities with that power. Nothing, then, seemed necessary to consolidate the pacific system of Mr. Jefferson, but an amicable adjustment of the points in dispute between the United States and the governments of Spain and England. For, as to France, great as were the outrages of her marauding squadrons on the ships and commerce of America, Mr. Jefferson never ventured to allude to them in his addresses to congress, though he expatiated largely on every species of injury sustained from England, and inveighed bitterly against the new principles of maritime law, which he accused her of having interpolated in the law of nations.

The differences between Spain and the United States of America arose partly out of the illegal captures of American vessels by Spanish cruizers during the late war, and partly out of the uncertainty of the limits of Louisiana. The Spanish minister for foreign affairs had signed a convention at Madrid in 1802, which admitted that the Americans were entitled to compensation for injuries done to their commerce by the subjects of Spain, and settled that commissioners should be mutually named to investigate their

claims. But before this convention was sent back from Washington with the approbation of congress, the sale of Louisiana and other events had taken place, which determined the Spanish government to refuse to ratify it, without the insertion of additional articles to which the Americans would not accede. The sale of Louisiana to the United States, contrary to the solemn promise of the French government, never to alienate that province without the knowledge and consent of Spain, had offended and alarmed the court of Madrid, and drawn from it some ineffectual remonstrances, which however, with its usual weakness and timidity, it addressed not to Paris but to Washington. While indisposed by this transaction towards the Americans, and jealous of their views on its colonies, it learned with surprise that congress had laid claim to a considerable part of Florida, as included in the cession of Louisiana, and had passed an act empowering the president of the United States to erect fortifications, construct ports, and build custom-houses in districts, which in the apprehension of the Spaniards, were clearly parts of the Spanish territory. It was at this moment that the convention of 1802 was brought back to Madrid for ratification; and in such circumstances it is not to be wondered at, that the Spanish government refused to confirm this agreement, until all matters in discussion between the two nations were finally adjusted; nor does it appear to us, that in this refusal it acted either unwisely or unfairly. There could be no obligation on the Spaniards to make compensation for past injuries to the Americans, while the Americans

icans were committing injuries on the Spaniards. If Spanish cruizers had illegally captured the vessels of Americans, the Americans had encroached on the territories of Spain, and this encroachment had not been the unauthorised act of a private individual, but the effect of a solemn enactment of the legislature. The reality of this injury, it is true, was denied by the Americans, who contended that the territory claimed by the Spaniards was part of Louisiana; but till the limits of that province were settled, the Spaniards, who were in possession of the debatable ground, were entitled to retain it, and to resent any attempt of the American government to dispossess them. It was clear from the language and conduct of the Americans, that the acquisition of one or of both the Floridas was an object on which they were bent; and having succeeded so well in getting Louisiana from France, in exchange for a sum of money and an old debt of the national convention, there was but too much reason to suspect, that they had formed a similar project with respect to the Floridas; that aware of the pecuniary embarrassments of the court of Madrid, they pressed forward their commercial claims, not for the purpose of procuring indemnification to the individuals who had been injured, but with a view of terrifying by the magnitude of their demands, and possibly of bribing by the offer of an immediate supply of money, that needy and profligate court into a surrender of one or both of those valuable provinces. It was quite consistent with such an indirect course of proceeding in the American government, that it raised pretensions to a considera-

ble district in Florida; for, though its claim might not bear examination, it would facilitate a negotiation for the cession or purchase of the province, and keep out of sight the true nature of the transaction.

Such being the views of the Americans, it does credit to the penetration and address of Cevallos, the Spanish minister, that he detected and defeated their design, by refusing to proceed in the question of pecuniary compensation, till the territorial limits were first adjusted. In this state have the Spaniards and Americans continued since 1804, the Spaniards keeping possession of the river Mobile and other parts of West Florida claimed by the United States, and refusing to execute the convention of 1802, till the American government renounces its unjust pretensions upon Florida; while the president, in his annual reports to congress, contents himself with turning phrases about his own moderation, and contrasting it with the violence and obstinacy of Spain. At one time, indeed, in the course of the present year, it seemed as if the disputes between the two countries were proceeding to extremities. A body of Spaniards entered Louisiana from the side of Mexico, and took a position in an old French settlement on the Red river, which clearly belonged to the United States. But in consequence of the remonstrances of the Americans against this aggression, accompanied by threats of more active hostility, the Spanish commander was induced to fall back to the Sabine river; and this river was afterwards fixed upon by mutual consent as the line of separation between the troops of the two nations, till the boundaries of

the province should be settled by authority.

A conspiracy was formed, during the present year, by some private individuals in the back settlements of the United States, to make war on the Spaniards, without waiting for orders from the federal government, and arms were collected and other preparations made for this extraordinary undertaking. But information of the design having been given to the American government, effectual measures were taken for preventing and suppressing the enterprize. Colonel Aaron Burr, late vice president of the United States, was accused of being the leader of this conspiracy, and the object of it was supposed to be no less hostile to the federal government than to the Spaniards. Indictments for treasonable practices were preferred to the grand jury of Kentucky against colonel Burr and general Adair, one of his associates, but both bills were rejected for want of evidence.* The subsequent proceedings against Mr. Burr fall not within the limits of our present volume, but afford a striking example either of the inadequacy of American courts of law for the attainment of justice, or of a spirit of inveterate hostility in his political adversaries, which reflects little credit on the good sense or moderation of our Trans-Atlantic brethren.

The complaints of the United States against Great Britain related to our practice of impressing British seamen found on board of their merchant vessels upon the high seas; to our violation of their neutral rights by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though

engaged in a lawful commerce; and to our infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their coasts.

The first they contended was a practice derogatory to the honour of their flag, and inconsistent with their rights as an independent nation; and with better reason they argued, that it led to great outrages and abuses, and that while it lasted, there could be no sincere or cordial friendship between Great Britain and the United States. It continually happened, that native Americans were impressed by our sea officers on pretence of their being Englishmen, and forced to serve in the English navy; and such was the similarity of language and external appearance between individuals of the two nations, that with the fairest intentions, these mistakes could not always be avoided. But a practice, that led necessarily to such an intolerable abuse, however it might be justified in the abstract on the principles of public law, could not be endured by any independent state, unless from inability to resist the injury. It was the duty of the United States to protect their lawful trade from interruption and outrage, and to vindicate their citizens from compulsory service in the battles of a foreign power. They were ready to acquiesce in any measures that could be devised, to prevent deserters from the British navy from finding refuge in the American territory, or shelter on board of American ships, but they could no longer permit the liberty of their citizens to depend on the interested or capricious sentence of a British officer.

* Dec. 5th.

To this it was answered on the part of Great Britain, that no power but her own could release her subjects from their duty of allegiance, and that provided she infringed not the jurisdiction of other independent states, she had a right to enforce their services wherever she found them. But no state had such jurisdiction over its merchant vessels upon the high seas, as to exclude a belligerent from the right of searching them for contraband of war, or for the persons or property of enemies; and if in the exercise of that right, the belligerent should discover on board of a neutral vessel its subjects who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, upon what ground could the neutral refuse to give them up? If the subjects of an enemy are not protected from a belligerent by the neutrality of the vessel in which they are found, on what pretence can it be alledged, that the subjects of the belligerent, which institutes the search, are entitled to protection? It is impossible to maintain, that the belligerent may seize what belongs to its enemy, without violating neutral rights, and yet not reclaim what is its own. No reason can be given why a neutral vessel has not a right to protect the enemy of a belligerent, that will not equally shew, that it has not a right to protect one of his subjects. But, if the right to impress be clearly in favour of the belligerent, it is one too important to Great Britain in her present situation, too essential to her safety in the war in which she is engaged, to be abandoned or relinquished for an instant, unless some unexceptionable plan can be devised, of attaining the same end,

by means less violent and less liable to abuse. The difficulty of distinguishing between an Englishman and an American is no argument against the right of impressing, though it is a good reason for being cautious and reserved in the exercise of it. If an American happens to be impressed as an Englishman, he ought to be released as soon as his national character is ascertained, and should receive ample compensation for the injury done to him; and if any outrage or unnecessary violence has marked the conduct of the belligerent officer who conducted the search, or if there is reason to believe that his mistake has been wilful, an exemplary punishment should teach him in future, when he enforces the rights of his country, not to violate those of neutrals.

But clear and indisputable as was the principle that America was bound to offer an adequate substitute for the present practice of impressing seamen, before she could justly expect from Great Britain to desist from it, the public mind was so inflamed in the United States, by stories of thousands of Americans forced to serve in the British navy, of American ships upon the high seas deprived of their hands by British cruizers, and compelled to put into the nearest port for want of seamen to pursue their voyage, and of other outrages still more extraordinary and unpardonable, that looking only to the abuses of the right, their popular leaders went into the extreme of denying its existence. A bill upon this principle was brought into congress, but fortunately for the credit and interest of the country

try it was rejected by the senate, as from its repugnance to every principle of honesty and humanity, it must have brought indelible disgrace on the American name, and from the violence which it authorized, it must inevitably have led to immediate hostilities with Great Britain. When it was at length determined by the American government to send a special mission to England, for the adjustment of differences between the two nations, our practice of impressing on the high seas was stated as the first in importance of their grievances, and their plenipotentiaries were instructed to urge the abandonment of a practice so disgraceful and injurious to their country as the point most essential to its peace, honour and tranquillity.

With respect to the second ground of complaint, we had conceded to the Americans, in the late war, permission to trade with the colonies of the enemy, for articles intended for their domestic consumption; and in case no market was found in the United States for articles imported with that intention, we had permitted them to re-export these articles to any port, in any part of the world, not invested by our blockading squadrons. But we had constantly refused them permission to trade directly between the colonies of the enemy and the mother country, and we professed to tolerate the indirect communication above mentioned, on the supposition, that the goods so transmitted had been intended originally for American consumption, and would not have been re-exported, but for want of a market in America. "It is now distinctly understood," says his

majesty's advocate-general in a report officially communicated by lord Hawkesbury to the American government, and transmitted to all our vice-admiralty courts abroad, as a rule for their future guidance and direction, * "that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother country of such colony. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal, either by his majesty's government or by his tribunals. What is a direct trade or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. But the high court of admiralty has expressly decided, that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country, breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be reshipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country." The decision of the high court of admiralty, to which sir John Nicholl alludes in this report, was probably the judgment pronounced by sir William Scott in the case of the *Polly*, † in delivering which that learned judge expressed himself in the following manner. "An American has undoubtedly a right to import the produce of the Spanish colonies for his own use; and after it is imported *bona fide* into his own country, he would be at liberty to carry them on to the general commerce of

* Dated March 16th, 1801, and officially communicated by Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Rufus King, on the 11th of April following.

† July 5th, 1800.

Europe. It is not my business to say, what is universally the test of a *bona fide* importation. It is argued, that it would not be sufficient, that the duties should be paid, and that the cargo should be landed. If these criteria are not to be resorted to, I should be at a loss to know what should be the test; and I am strongly disposed to hold, that it would be sufficient, that the goods should be landed and the duties paid.* From this guarded opinion of sir William Scott, with the commentary furnished by lord Hawkesbury, it came to be universally understood in America, that the mere act of landing the goods, and "paying the duties in the neutral country, was sufficient to break the continuity of the voyage; and legalize the trade" in the eyes of our court of admiralty. And it must be confessed, that this conclusion was fully warranted by the words of lord Hawkesbury's communication, which the American government was bound to consider as an official expression of the deliberate determination of our government on this important question. The opinion of sir William Scott, it is true was somewhat different, for that learned judge held, not that landing the goods and paying the duties rendered the importation a *bona fide* importation, but that these criteria were the best evidence of a *bona fide* importation. But however important the consequences to which this distinction afterwards led, as no allusion was made to it in lord Hawkesbury's official paper, nor any effect given to it by our prize courts, the American government

was not entitled to bring it into discussion, or demand to what extent it was meant to be carried. Soon after this correspondence the peace of Amiens put an end for a short time to all questions of this nature. When hostilities recommenced between France and England, the merchants of America, recollecting the footing on which this trade had been placed at the conclusion of the former war, embarked in it without apprehension as a commerce perfectly lawful; and carried it on to an immense extent, and without interruption till summer 1805, when a new ground of decision was adopted by our admiralty courts, which, suddenly and without the smallest warning, exposed the whole of their trade to seizure and condemnation. It was now decided, that the proof of payment of duties in America was no evidence of a *bona fide* importation into that country; † because payment of duties in America does not mean that the duties have been actually paid in money, but that they have been secured by bonds; and from the peculiar system of revenue laws established in the United States, the merchant, who re-exports goods previously imported, gets a profit by his transactions with the custom-house, instead of suffering any loss or deduction from his gains. The importer, where the duties are ascertained, gives bonds for the amount; but if, next day, he should enter the goods for exportation again, he is entitled to debentures from the custom-house, payable on the same days with the bonds, and made out for the same sums, with

* Robinson's Reports, vol. 2, p. 368.

† This point was first decided in the case of the *Essex*, May 1805; and after an elaborate discussion, the same decision was pronounced in the case of the *William*, March 1806.

a deduction of only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which is retained for the government. The bonds lie unissued in the custody of the revenue officers; while the debentures are an assignable and transferable security, capable of being recovered by a summary process; and should the importer fail, enjoying a priority before all private demands. The result of the whole operation, therefore, is, that the government lends to the private credit of the merchant the character of a public security, for his bonds deposited at the custom-house, and receives $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the amount of these bonds in return for the accommodation which it affords. But excellently as this system is adapted to the present situation of America, it destroys entirely as evidence of a *bona fide* importation, the proof of the duties having been paid or secured in the United States according to law; for the law of the United States does not require, that the duties should be paid in the first instance, and though secured by bonds, these bonds, with the trifling deduction of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are retired, not by payments in money, but by producing the corresponding debentures, which in the mean time have been negotiated and converted into money. Our courts, therefore, acted in perfect consistency with the principle of their former decisions, when, these facts being made known to them, they refused any longer to admit the payment of duties in America as a proof of a *bona fide* importation. But, on the other hand, the merchants of America, who without looking to the legal grounds of our former decisions, had trusted to

lord Hawkesbury's communication, informing their government, that "landing the goods and paying the duties legalized the trade," and had in consequence embarked their capital in a commerce, which they were taught from such high authority to consider as a legal and permitted trade, when they saw their vessels captured by our cruizers without any previous warning, and brought into our ports for adjudication, naturally complained of the violence and inconsistency of our conduct, and accused us loudly of robbery and injustice. Meetings took place in all the principal commercial cities of America; declarations and resolutions were voted; and petitions and remonstrances addressed to the president and legislature. Congress, as was natural, caught the flame, with which it was surrounded, and after several injudicious, and inflammatory resolutions, passed a non-importation act against the manufactures of Great Britain,* to take effect on the 15th of next November. In the mean time the commissioners sent to negotiate with Great Britain, were instructed to obtain from her government some clear and precise rule for regulating their trade with the colonies of the enemy, not liable to be changed by orders of council or instructions to cruizers, and not exposed to the uncertainty of determinations respecting the intention of parties.

The third ground of complaint on the part of the Americans was of infinitely less importance than the others, and their demand to have their maritime jurisdiction defined and respected, was so just and reasonable, that no objection could be made to it. An unfortunate

accident, in which an American seaman happened to be killed, within sight of New York, * by a shot from the British armed vessel, the *Leander*, had drawn attention to this subject and rendered some regulation indispensable; but no difficulty could occur in settling a point, which was already settled by the law of nations. The affair of the *Leander* having taken place during the elections at New York, great use was made of it by the federal party, to excite odium against the president, and bring discredit upon his administration, on pretence that foreigners were encouraged to commit such outrages, by their knowledge of the weakness and timidity of his government. To counteract these designs Mr. Jefferson issued a violent proclamation, accusing of murder the captain of the *Leander*, and prohibiting that and some other British vessels from entering the harbours, or remaining within the jurisdictional limits of the United States. † The captain of the *Leander* was afterwards tried in England for the death of the American seaman and acquitted.

As the conferences, which were held in London for the adjustment of these differences, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney on the part of the United States, and by lord Holland and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain, though brought to a conclusion before the close of the present year, terminated in a treaty, from which the president of the United States thought proper to withhold his ratification, it will be unnecessary for us to enter minutely into the results of the negotiation. It appears,

however, from the papers since published and laid before parliament, that the commissioners on both sides were animated by a sincere desire to establish a firm and lasting friendship between the two countries, on terms the most advantageous to both. And, considering the state of public opinion in America, and the instructions which they appear to have received from their government, the American commissioners, in particular, evinced in the strongest manner their disposition to conciliation, when after many fruitless conferences held in the hope of devising some adequate substitute for the practice of impressing on the high seas, they consented, contrary as it appears to their instructions, to proceed in the other articles of the treaty, without any further satisfaction upon this head, than an official paper from lord Holland and lord Auckland, ‡ pledging the government of Great Britain, “to issue instructions for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen, and of the greatest care to preserve citizens of the United States from any molestation or injury, and to afford immediate redress upon any representation of injury sustained by them,” and engaging besides, at any future period, “to entertain the discussion of any plan that should be devised to secure the interests of both states without any injury to rights to which they are respectively attached.”

In the other questions between the two countries the negotiators were more fortunate in bringing their labours to a successful issue.

* April 25th.

† May 3d.

‡ Nov. 8th.

On the subject of the circuitous trade permitted to the United States between the colonies of the enemy and other parts of the world an article was framed; * which satisfied the American commissioners, by substituting a clear and precise rule for the regulation of that commerce, in place of the uncertain and changeable system under which it had hitherto been conducted. The principle of this article was taken from lord Hawkesbury's communication to Mr. Rufus King, defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage; but besides requiring, as in that communication, that the goods should be landed and the duties paid in the neutral country, this article expressly stipulated, that on re-exportation there should remain after the draw back a duty to be paid of one per cent. ad valorem on all articles of the growth, produce and manufacture of Europe,

and on all articles of colonial produce a duty of not less than two per cent. ad valorem. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed by another article † against the alledged encroachments and violations of his majesty's cruizers, and on account of the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, an extension of maritime jurisdiction to the distance of five miles from shore was mutually conceded by both parties in the American seas, on certain conditions and with certain limitations expressed in the treaty. On the other articles of the treaty, for the reason already given, we think it unnecessary to dilate; and have therefore only to add, that the commercial stipulations contained in it, appear to have been framed on the fairest and most liberal principles of reciprocal advantage and utility to the two countries.

* Article 11th.

† Article 12th.

CHAP. XIII.

East India Affairs—Death of Marquis Cornwallis—succeeded by Sir G. Barlow—Peace with Scindia and Holkar—Massacre at Vellore—Honours to the Memory of Marquis Cornwallis—Recall of Sir G. Barlow—Appointment of Lord Minto to be his Successor—Last Illness and Death of Mr. Fox—Remarks on some Parts of his Character—Changes in the Administration occasioned by his Death—Dissolution of Parliament—General Election—Affairs of Ireland.

THE appointment of marquis Cornwallis to be governor general of Bengal, had given universal satisfaction in England, and was calculated to produce the most beneficial consequences in India. Much was expected from his judgment and experience, and more from his integrity and moderation. In his former administration of our Indian empire, he had added to the glory of our arms and increased the security of our power, without alarming the jealousy of the native princes, or provoking them to combine in alliances for our destruction. With his military and political successes he had united the higher glory of consulting the happiness and promoting the welfare of the people committed to his care, by the wisdom and benevolence of his political institutions, and by the equity and mildness of his government. He was now deputed to India in different and more critical circumstances. After a long

and unaccountable acquiescence in a system diametrically the reverse of his, the government of India had recourse to him to repair the mischiefs of inordinate ambition, and boundless prodigality; to consolidate conquests pursued in defiance of solemn and repeated declarations of the legislature; to introduce order and regularity into finances exhausted and dilapidated by every species of waste and profusion; to restore peace to nations harassed and worn out by a succession of destructive and sanguinary wars; and to inspire confidence in those, who had been taught by a sad experience, to view every act of the British government in India, as part of a scheme to destroy their liberties and independence, under the insulting mask of friendship, protection and alliance.

Such were the objects, for which at so advanced a period of life, and with a constitution broken by infirmities

firmities, this excellent and respectable nobleman was induced to undertake a voyage to India, with little prospect of ever revisiting again his native country. When he arrived at Calcutta,* he found the finances of the company in a most deplorable condition, and, without some great reduction of expenditure, quite unable to meet the contingencies of the war. Vast sums, he discovered, were lavished on irregular troops, "Who, if dismissed, would be less formidable to us in the field, than by remaining as they were, a distressing drain on our finances; while the regular troops were little short of five months, and many of the public departments, on which the movements of the army depended, were still more in arrear."† Favourable terms of peace had been granted to the Rajah of Bhurtpore,‡ after the loss of 4000 men in fruitless attempts to reduce him to unconditional submission. But Holkar, though repeatedly defeated, was still in arms; and Scindia, dissatisfied with our conduct and jealous of our designs, had imprisoned our resident, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to recommence hostilities against us. In this perilous situation of affairs no time was to be lost. The immediate wants of the army were supplied by detaining the treasure destined for China, and borrowing a sum of money from the government of Madras. Having provided for this exigency, the new governor-general proceeded without delay,

accompanied by a small escort, to take the command of the army, and had reached Gazypour in Benares when his death§ deprived his country, at this critical juncture, of his services. He had previously, however, communicated, in conversation, his views of government to sir George Barlow, second in the council, and by letter, to lord Lake, commander in chief of the forces, and had also opened a correspondence with Scindia. We have, therefore, reason to believe, that, though prevented by death from accomplishing the great work, for which he had quitted England, his journey was not in vain; but that it contributed materially to restore in India that system of justice, moderation, and forbearance, which he had so earnestly at heart, and was so eminently qualified to practise.

Sir George Barlow, though he had been formerly the ready instrument of other men's ambition, and had even incurred on that account the censure of his superiors||, being now fully instructed in their wishes, applied himself in good earnest to the restoration of peace, and succeeded in that work with a facility, which shewed plainly to what causes the long continuance of the war was to be attributed. Peace was signed with Scindia on the 22d of November, and with Holkar on the 24th of December, and complete tranquillity thus restored to India, within five months after the arrival of marquis Cornwallis at Calcutta. By the treaty with Scin-

* July 28th, 1805.

† Letter of marquis Cornwallis to the court of directors, dated on 9th August 1805, quoted in the house of commons in the debate on Mr. Johnstone's motion for papers, March 10th, 1806.

‡ April 9th, 1805.

§ Oct. 5th.

|| Dispatch of the court of directors, April 3, 1805

dia*, the fort of Gualior and territories of Gohud were restored to that chief, and the river Chumbul declared to be the boundary on the north between his states and the dominions of the company. Considerable pensions were also settled upon him and upon his wife and daughter for their respective lives; and the company engaged not to enter into any treaties with his tributaries, nor to interfere in any shape in his internal arrangements, with them or with the family of Holkar. By the treaty with Holkar†, that chief was acknowledged as the friend of the company, and permitted to return with his forces to Hindostan, by a route prescribed to him. His possessions to the North of the Boundee hills, then occupied by the British forces, were ceded to the company, but part of them were afterwards restored to him. He also renounced his claim to the district of Koonch in the province of Bundelcund, but the company engaged to settle it, in jagghire, upon his daughter, provided his conduct at the end of two years continued to merit their approbation. The company on their side engaged to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family, situated to the south of the river Chumbul, and agreed to restore all their conquests from that family in the Dekhan, except the fort of Chandore and some other districts, which, however, they engaged to give back at the end of eighteen months, provided the conduct of Holkar were in the mean time satisfactory. Holkar also, like Scindia, became bound to entertain no Europeans in his service,

without the consent of the British government; and both chiefs engaged never to admit into their councils or service, Serjee Rao Ghautka, that person having been proclaimed an enemy to the British government.

After the conclusion of peace with Holkar, nothing occurred during the present year, to disturb the tranquillity of the British empire in the east, except the alarming spirit of mutiny and revolt, which broke out among the native troops in the pay of the company; in different parts of the peninsula of India. The first and most fatal evidence of this spirit of disaffection appeared in the massacre at Vellore, the circumstances of which were as follows. On the 10th of July, about two o'clock in the morning, the European barracks at Vellore, containing four complete companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of Sepoys in the Company's service, who poured in a heavy fire of musketry, at every door and window, upon the soldiers: at the same time the European sentries, the soldiers at the main guard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death; the officers' houses were ransacked, and every person found in them murdered. Upon the arrival of the 19th light dragoons, under colonel Gillespie, the Sepoys were immediately attacked; 600 cut down upon the spot, and 200 taken from their hiding places and shot. There perished, of the four European companies, about 164, besides officers; and many British officers of the native troops were murdered by the insurgents. Sub-

* State papers, p. 702.

† State papers, 706.

sequent to this explosion there was a mutiny at Nundydroog ; and, in one day, 450 Mahometan Sepoys were disarmed and turned out of the fort, on the ground of an intended massacre. It appears also from the information of the commanding officer at Trichinopoly, that a spirit of disaffection manifested itself about the same period at Bangalore, and seemed to gain ground in every direction.

As the sons of the late Tippoo Sultan and other Mahometans of high rank, who had been attached to the fortunes of that prince, resided in the palace of Vellore when the mutiny broke out, they were suspected of being concerned in it ; and if it be true, that soon after the firing commenced, the standard of Tippoo was hoisted on the palace ; and that some of the native officers, engaged in the mutiny, confessed, after the affair was over, that had they succeeded in getting possession of the fort, they expected to have been assisted from the Mysore country, their share in it is manifest. But the demonstrations of a similar spirit, which broke out in other parts of the peninsula about the same time, or soon after the massacre of Vellore, shew plainly, that there were predisposing causes of a more general nature for this alarming commotion. One of these is said to have been an attempt of the military men at Madras, to change the shape of the Sepoy turban into something resembling the helmet of European light infantry, and to prevent the native troops from wearing, on their foreheads, the marks characteristic of their various casts. But the

cause, to which the government of Madras appears to have been disposed chiefly to attribute this alarming spirit of disaffection among the native troops, was a report industriously spread, and credulously believed among them, that it was “ the wish of the British government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity.”* That such a wicked and absurd project was never entertained by our Indian government, we trust it is unnecessary to assure our readers. So far from imposing our religion by force upon our Indian subjects, our government has, in general, wisely abstained from giving any countenance or support to those fanatical associations, which from this, or other countries of Europe, have essayed, with small success, to introduce their religious opinions into India. It must be confessed, however, that of late the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils, and though it has not yet ventured to solicit more than indulgence and assistance in spreading its flames over India, such is the jealousy of the natives both Mussulmen and Gentoos, and the subject of religion, that it requires little spirit of prophecy to foresee, that unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land. But the attention of the public has been drawn to this subject, and we trust, that the massacre of Vellore, as it was the first, will be the last fruit of this meddling and mistaken piety.

When intelligence of the death of marquis Cornwallis reached

* Proclamation of the Madras government, Dec. 3rd. 1806.

England,*those who knew the critical situation of our India empire, were alarmed at the consequences of the chief command devolving on sir George Barlow, who as second in the supreme council of Bengal, succeeded on that event to the office of governor general.† The ministers, however, who were themselves going out of place in a few days, did not think they were justified in these circumstances, to propose any permanent arrangement for India; but before retiring from office, they could not deny themselves the gratification of being the movers of an address to his majesty, for the erection of a public monument, in St. Paul's Cathedral, to the memory of lord Cornwallis.‡ It is worthy of remark, that in pronouncing a panegyric on that noble lord, the topic chiefly insisted on both by the mover§ and seconder|| of the address, as bringing into view the most useful and meritorious of his public services in India, was his settlement of the land revenues of Bengal on a permanent footing, by which a fixed and certain property in the soil was given to the zemindars, to be held by them and their poste-

rity for ever on unalterable conditions, secure from the exactions, and independent of the favour or caprice of their rulers. For it is not a little singular, that while the execution of this measure was represented as the most brilliant act of lord Cornwallis's administration, for which orations were pronounced in his praise, and monuments voted to his memory, the original author and proposer of the plan, though the ablest and most upright statesman ever employed in the management of our eastern empire, was not only suffered by the company to pass unrequited for his share in that transaction, but was defrauded by the silence of these encomiasts, of the praise he so justly deserved, for having been the first to discern and proclaim the advantages of a system, "the good effects of which would amply justify any encomium that could be passed upon them."¶ That our readers may not accuse us of dealing in rash assertions we have subjoined in a note some extracts from a work of Mr. Francis**, which will satisfy them, that it is to the benevolence and wisdom of that gentleman, that our Indian subjects are indebted for the first sugges-

* Jan. 29th. † 24 Geo. 3. sess. 2. cap. 52 § 24.

‡ Feb. 3rd. || Lord Castlereagh.

§ Mr. Grant chairman of the East India Company.

¶ Mr. Grant's speech on the 3d of February 1806—Cobbett's debates, vol. 6. p. 122.

** Extracts from a plan for a settlement of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, by Philip Francis, submitted to the court of directors, and dated from Calcutta on the 22d of January 1776—published in 1782.

"§ 53. When the gross sum to be levied from the country is determined, as well for the revenue as for all charges incident to it, each zemindary should be assessed its proportion, and let that sum be declared the quitrent of these particular lands in perpetuity."

"§ 55. The quitrent of each zemindary being fixed, the zemindar must be informed, that the due discharge of his rent is the tenure by which he holds his lands, with every possible assurance that no farther demands will be made upon him."

tion of a system of internal policy on which such high and deserved commendation was on this occasion bestowed.

When the new ministers came into office, the first object that called their attention, was the necessity of making some immediate provision for the supreme government of India, and as the circumstances of that country would not bear delay, they determined till some permanent arrangement should be devised on recommending to the court of directors the continuance of sir G. Barlow in his present situation, with the necessary powers for bringing to a conclusion the treaties with the native princes, which he was then negotiating. With this recommendation the court of directors readily and cheerfully complied.

Whatever consequences were afterwards attempted to be drawn from this nomination, all the parties concerned in the transaction, understood when it took place, that the appointment was merely a temporary one, and liable to be changed.* Yet when some time afterwards,† the wishes of his majesty's government were conveyed to the court of directors, in the usual manner, through the board of controul, that sir George Barlow might be recalled, and lord Lauderdale sent to India, in his place, the directors shewed the greatest repugnance both to the recal of the one and to the nomination of the other, and after much discussion and correspondence, the question being put by their chairman on the recal of sir G. Barlow, it was carried in the negative by a great

majority.‡ To what causes we should attribute this, the first opposition ever made by a court of directors to the recommendation of a governor general by his majesty's ministers, we are at a loss to determine. The honourable court may have considered lord Lauderdale as a personal and political friend of Mr. Fox, and embraced this opportunity of shewing, that the events of 1784 were not yet effaced from their memory. They may have thought that the commencement of a new and as many persons supposed, a disjointed administration, was a favourable opportunity for advancing pretensions, which under the management of lords Melville and Castlereagh, they had never ventured to bring forward. They may have been influenced by persons hostilely disposed towards the new administration, and desirous to impede and embarrass it by so unexpected an opposition. But, whatever were their motives, his majesty's ministers, who had not recommended the recal of sir G. Barlow without just grounds, in their opinion, for that recommendation, felt themselves compelled, when they found the directors as obstinate as they were refractory, to advise his majesty to exercise the power vested in him by law§, of recalling sir G. Barlow by a warrant under his sign manual. This exertion of authority was violently impugned in the house of lords by lord Melville,|| who contended, that, though the words of Mr. Pitt's India bill authorized ministers in what they had done, the spirit and meaning of the act were con-

* Lord Melville's speech, July 8th. Cobbett's debates, vol. 6. p. 953.

† May 12th.

‡ May 20th.

§ 24 Geo. 3. sess. 2. cap. 25. § 22.

|| July 8th.

trary to it; and forgetful, it should seem, of the argument so recently held by his lawyers at the bar of Westminster hall, he maintained generally, that in construing acts of parliament, the words of the law, however clear and explicit, were to be disregarded and set aside, when inconsistent with what was known to have been the intention of the parties who proposed the law, as collected from the proceedings of parliament and other collateral evidence. He concluded by reproaching bitterly the ministers for the indecent avidity with which they grasped at the patronage of India. To this attack lord Grenville replied, that "for his own part, he always wished that those who were accused should be tried by the law itself, and not by any fanciful interpretations and constructions, that could be put upon it by other people. The noble lord must admit, that the law gave a power of recal, and he could hardly deny that where there was a right there was also a duty. The noble lord must also recollect, that from the passing of the act in 1784, to the year 1801, there had not been a single governor general appointed either to Bengal or Madras, that had not been recommended by himself to the directors; and from 1801 to the present time the same system of recommendation had been continued. If the house would call to their recollection all that had passed during those 22 years, they might be surprised, that the charge of grasping at Indian patronage had come from that noble lord."* The motion of lord Melville, which was for copies of the correspon-

dence between the board of control and the court of directors, relative to the recal of sir G. Barlow, was then negatived; and lord Lauderdale having declined† to urge farther his pretensions to the office of governor general, the directors gave way to the next recommendation of government, and appointed lord Minto to that high situation. Thus ended, through the moderation of lord Lauderdale and the forbearance of ministers, a contest, which, we trust, will eventually lead to a clear settlement of the question, whether the real and effective nomination to the chief government of India is to reside in the crown of England, or in the directors of the East-India company.

The rapid decline of Mr. Fox's health, which was now too apparent to be longer disguised, had great effect, it is said, in determining lord Lauderdale to withdraw his pretensions to the government of India. He probably foresaw a most pertinacious opposition to his appointment on the part of the directors, and it was natural that he should be unwilling, in the then critical and dangerous state of his friend, to harass and disturb his mind with a contest for any personal interest of his own. It was, indeed, but too true, as he justly anticipated, that the life of that great and excellent statesman was drawing fast to a close. Mr. Fox had received from nature an uncommon vigour of constitution, and notwithstanding the irregularities of his youth, he had enjoyed uninterrupted health till about two years before his death, when the seeds of the disorder, to which he fell afterwards a

* Colbett's Debates, Vol. VII. p. 958.
Vol. XLVIII. S—Z

† About June, 1801.

victim,

victim, were probably formed. Having in the summer of 1804 made too free use of the waters of Cheltenham, he was soon after seized with a pain of his right side, which from its consequences was probably occasioned by an affection of the liver; and though he soon got apparently well from that attack, he never enjoyed again his former health, but was subject to frequent invasions of a disorder of his bowels. In the beginning of 1806 he attended the funeral of lord Nelson, and being then exposed for many hours to the cold, he was seized with a return of his complaint, and was never entirely free from it afterwards for any length of time. In this state of health he was called to take a principal part in the direction of his majesty's councils, and besides his office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, he was prevailed upon to undertake the fatiguing duty of daily attendance in the house of commons, as leader in that assembly on the part of government. The labour and anxiety of these avocations probably accelerated the progress of his disease, and certainly prevented him from having recourse in time to the measures necessary for his recovery. At length, about the middle of June, he became so seriously indisposed, that he was forced to discontinue his attendance in parliament. Symptoms of both general and local dropsy declared themselves, and so rapid was the progress of his complaint, that after the middle of July, though informed of every step taken by his colleagues in the negotiations with France, he could seldom be consulted by them on that or any other public measures, till they had been carried into effect. It was at length thought ne-

cessary by his physicians to have recourse to the usual operation for his relief, which was accordingly performed for the first time on the 7th of August and repeated again on the 31st. After both operations he fell into a state of languor and depression, but his medical attendants never absolutely despaired of his case till Monday the 7th of September, when he sunk into an alarming state of lowness, in which he languished till the evening of Saturday the 13th, when he expired. He retained to the last his senses and understanding, and till a very short time before his death he continued to have confident hopes of his recovery. The cause of his death was ascertained to have been a schirrous affection of the liver.

Thus died within a few months after his illustrious rival, one of the most eminent statesmen and distinguished assertors of public freedom, who has appeared in England. The most prominent feature of this great man's character was an ardent love of liberty, and generous detestation of cruelty, hypocrisy and oppression. Never was his voice raised in defence of violence or injustice; nor his aid refused to any one, who implored his assistance against oppression or persecution. His most violent adversaries, when deserted and betrayed by those in whom they had placed their confidence, found in him a zealous champion and strenuous advocate for their rights. His bitterest enemy, whose malignant hostility had pursued him throughout life, when sinking under persecution and abandoned by every one else, met unexpectedly in him with an active, indefatigable and successful defender. But if his heart was generous and forgiving, his under-

standing was of the highest order. To the other qualities of a great statesman and political leader he added the rare endowment of a truly philosophical genius, which impelled him, in every subject that occupied his mind, to investigate its principles and trace them in their consequences and effects. It was this turn of mind, which gave their peculiar value to his speeches in parliament. The quickness and clearness of his apprehension; the fullness and accuracy of his memory; the comprehensiveness of his views and reasonings; the acuteness and soundness of his logic; the sprightliness and pleasantry of his wit; the warmth and sincerity of his feelings; the simplicity, force and variety of his language; eminently qualified him for public debate: but it was to the general principles, unfolded and illustrated in his speeches, that they owed their distinguishing merit of being the best sources of constitutional knowledge, and profoundest lessons of political and practical wisdom.

As a private man, Mr. Fox's affections were warm, his temper kind, his manners simple, and his disposition easy, open and unsuspecting. His views, as a statesman, were, in general, pacific; but no man ever shewed less apprehension of the horrors of war, where national honour was concerned; and till the antient system of European confederacy was dissolved, no man showed more attachment to the wise and provident policy of maintaining a balance of power upon the continent. In the early part of his political career, it may be questioned, whether, in his system of foreign politics, too much weight was not given to Prussia; and in the latter part of his life,

it may be doubted, whether he had not formed a higher opinion of the power and resources of Russia, than subsequent events have justified. But in the general accuracy of his knowledge and justness of his views of foreign politics, he was unrivalled among the statesmen of his day, and has left no one behind him in any degree his equal. His opinions on subjects of domestic politics are too well known to be alluded to here at any length. His principles with regard to the English constitution were those of the Whig Aristocracy, moderated and tempered by strong popular sympathies, and an invincible confidence in the good sense and good intentions of the people of England. When the duke of Brunswick's infamous manifesto ushered in the coalition of kings against France, it was impossible with the character and sentiments of Mr. Fox, that he should not be incensed by such arrogant and insulting menaces, and fixed upon the side of those, who were contending for their political rights and independence. The separation that followed, from some of the oldest and dearest of his political and personal friends, affected him nearly, and had almost induced him to abandon public life, and retire into the country. But regard for other friends, who had taken a deeper interest than himself in these transactions, and a sense of the duty he owed to the public, at that critical moment, prevented him from executing his purpose. The course of subsequent events necessarily connected him more intimately, than at any former period of his life, with the more democratic or popular branch of the whig party; and the alarming state

state of the country, threatened on the one hand with Mr. Hume's euthanasia to its constitution, and in danger, on the other, of being a prey to popular excesses, which might lead to the only state of things, that could make any one doubt whether the despotism of monarchy was not the greatest of all evils, inclined him more favourably to parliamentary reform, than he had ever been, while the whig party was only beaten but not dispersed. The doctrine he had held after the death-blow received by the popular branch of the constitution in 1784, had formerly been, that the power of the house of commons ought to be first restored, and its constitution considered afterwards. He now thought it better to invert the order, and to say parliament should first be reformed, and then restored to its just influence. From that period to his death, Mr. Fox enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the more democratic or popular whigs, who first under lord Chatham and afterwards under lord Lansdowne, had formed a distinct party during the preceding part of the present reign. By what steps he succeeded in reuniting them afterwards with the more aristocratic whigs, who had gone over to the court, during the alarm produced by the French revolution, and from whom they had so long been separated, is too recent and too well known to be here repeated. It is to be regretted, that the union of these parties, so necessary for the preservation of public freedom, and so essential to the common object of both, was so long delayed, and that when made, it was not more firmly consolidated before the loss of him, by whose

tried integrity and conciliatory character it had been chiefly, if not entirely, effected.

At the period of Mr. Fox's death, the strength and popularity of the administration were much inferior to what they had been at the time of its accession to power. The country had expected from the talents and reputation of its members, either the restoration of peace, or more successful prosecution of the war, and in both expectations it had been disappointed. It had looked to important reforms in public expenditure, and to a rigid enquiry into past malversations and abuses. It was not satisfied with the exertions of ministers in regard to the first; and with respect to the second, its hopes had been grievously damped by the acquittal of lord Melville, which was very generally construed into a proof, either of weakness that was unable, or of connivance that was unwilling to punish him. The coldness with which the prosecution of lord Wellesley was viewed by one part of the government, and the indecent warmth, with which his defence was undertaken by another part, had disgusted and offended a numerous and respectable part of the community, to whom that nobleman was particularly obnoxious. The increase of the income tax was universally felt, and the suppression of exemptions, however profitable to the exchequer, had added severely to its pressure on the poor and industrious. The additional allowance to the princes of the blood had made a great impression on the public mind, not on account of the magnitude of the sum, but because the proposal originated with those, whose professions of economy were still

still fresh in its recollection. The reform of the army was the justest claim to popularity, which the administration had yet to offer, but the art of their political opponents had contrived to represent its author as an enemy and contemner of the volunteers, and to excite against him in the minds of that numerous and respectable body of men, feelings of unmerited resentment and indignation. By similar arts, the American intercourse bill, a measure which had no other fault but that of doing nothing, was represented to the shipping interest, as infallibly calculated for their destruction. In addition to these causes of unpopularity, the feeble and injudicious management of the patronage of government, by which the friends of administration had been disgusted, and its enemies encouraged without being conciliated, had weakened the usual influence of government, strengthened the jealousies and suspicions among its partisans, and excited the hopes and increased the boldness of its opponents. From the union of these causes there was a general spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction spread over the nation, at the moment when the death of Mr. Fox seemed to loosen the bonds, that held together the different members of the administration.

So sensible was the opposition of the declining power and popularity of the ministry, that during Mr. Fox's illness, some of its leaders are understood to have made private overtures to the court, for taking back the reins of government, which they had suffered to drop from their hands some months before. How these overtures, if actually made, were received, we are

unable to communicate to our readers. That they were followed by no immediate effects, does not surprise us. It was still uncertain, whether Mr. Fox might not recover; and in case of his death, it is not improbable, that hopes were entertained, of being able to form without a struggle, a new administration, in which his friends would be left out. The account of his death was received at court with coldness and indifference, and such inquiries into the particulars of that event as curiosity dictated, were studiously addressed to those, who from the recentness of their connection with him, were the least likely to receive from them gratification, or consider them as marks of an interest in his fate. No haste was expressed to fill up the vacancy occasioned by his death. It was rather desired, that due consideration should precede the formation of the new ministerial arrangements, which that event rendered necessary. But if expectations were harboured, that lord Grenville, on whom the suggestion of the new arrangements naturally devolved, would take this opportunity of separating from Mr. Fox's friends, they were completely disappointed. That nobleman seems, on the contrary, to have taken pains to shew, that his attachment to his new associates had been strengthened, instead of being impaired by their connection, and that even an event like this, which left him the choice of his future partners in the government, was insufficient to detach him from them. He recommended lord Howick to succeed Mr. Fox in the foreign office; Mr. Grenville to be first lord of the admiralty in the place of lord Howick; Mr. Tierney

to be president of the board of controul in the place of Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a cabinet place, on the appointment of lord Minto to the government of Bengal; lord Sidmouth to succeed to the presidency of the council, from which lord Fitzwilliam, on account of bad health, was desirous to withdraw; and lord Holland to succeed lord Sidmouth as lord privy seal. In these appointments, it is worthy of remark, that lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox, was the only new member brought into the cabinet. When these new arrangements were submitted to his majesty, he was graciously pleased to acquiesce in them.

The only measure of the new ministry, that falls under our notice in the course of the present year, is the dissolution of parliament, on which we confess that we cannot bestow our commendation. Even the advocates of this whig administration, we apprehend, must admit, that in this measure they sacrificed to temporary expediency the permanent interests of the constitution. The crown has unquestionably the right of dissolving parliament. But from the composition of that assembly, the exercise of this right tends infallibly to increase the influence of ministers in the house of commons; and, therefore, were it ever to become the usual practice of our government, for those in office to dissolve parliaments, when not constituted to their liking, those assemblies, influenced by the terrors of a premature dissolution, which is always inconvenient and expensive to their members, would lose all spirit of liberty or resistance, and become

the tame and servile instruments of court. If septennial parliaments are found to be of too long duration, it would be better at once to revive the triennial act, than palliate the evil by a remedy, which, every time it is repeated, adds to the influence of the crown over the representatives of the people. We are not ignorant that particular situations and emergencies call for this exertion of the prerogative; but we know of no sufficient reason to justify the advice to exercise it on the present occasion. There was no difference of opinion between the two houses of parliament. Peace, it is true, had not been obtained; but the causes, that had led to a rupture of the negotiation, were unknown to the public, when parliament was dissolved; and judging from past experience, there could be no apprehension of too strong a disposition to peace in the existing house of commons, or of any reluctance in its members to concur in the most expensive measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The returns to the new parliament were such as greatly to add to the weight and influence of the friends of administration in the house of commons. The whig party, which had been driven out of the representation of Yorkshire in 1784, recovered one of the seats for that great and independent county. In Norfolk, after a hard fought contest, both members returned were Whigs. One of the seats for Liverpool was carried by the abolitionists against the traffickers in human flesh. But on the other hand a friend of administration was turned out of the representation of Southwark, and another

other lost the city of Norwich. Westminster was the scene of a most violent contest between a friend of government and a discontented whig; and one of the seats for Middlesex was lost to the popular party, by a wanton and personal attack of sir Francis Burdett on the memory of Mr. Fox.

Ireland enjoyed tranquillity during the greater part of the present year, under the mild and conciliatory government of the duke of Bedford. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the system of conciliation, pursued by that amiable and excellent nobleman, was not carried farther than prudence justified, or popular discontent could bear. Since the catholics could not be gratified with the restoration of their privileges, they ought to have been soothed by the public

and marked disgrace of their enemies, and relieved from future apprehension by purging, without delay, the magistracy of their torturers and persecutors. Towards the close of the year, disturbances broke out in the north-west of Ireland, occasioned by a banditti, who went about in the night time under the name of Threshers, committing every sort of crime and outrage. Strong applications were made to the Castle, to have these disturbances put down by the insurrection law, the usual remedy in Ireland on such occasions; but the duke of Bedford refused to have recourse, without necessity, to so violent a remedy, and by proper use of the ordinary and regular authority of government, he succeeded in repressing and putting a stop to these excesses.



CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. **D**URING the action off Trafalgar, a woman was stationed below, handing up powder in the enemy's ship *L'Achille*, which was burnt in the engagement. She escaped in the following extraordinary manner.

"After the ship was dismasted and had struck, she came upon deck. About this time the ship took fire; her rigging lying across her, it soon became impossible to extinguish the flames, and all the people, who were able to swim, began to quit her. The woman then went down to the lower deck, while the fire was raging above, and staid there until the guns began to fall through the main deck; she then got out of the gun-room port on the back of the rudder, and undressed, but would not trust herself to the water, till the melted lead from the tallieril ran down, and burnt her head, shoulders, legs, and several parts of the body. Then, committing herself to Providence, she jumped into the sea, and was about half an hour, as near as she could guess, without any thing to support her: she then, fortunately, got hold of a piece of cork, which she

found floating: Soon after, a man, who was swimming near, brought her a small piece of plank, which she got under her breast—this was the only support she had; and, after being an hour and a half in the water, was taken up by one of the *Belleisle's* boats, the officer of which, with that humanity and attention to the weaker sex, which, we hope, will ever characterize a British seaman, immediately pulled off his coat, and some other part of his cloaths, to cover her. She was soon after put on board the *Pickle* schooner, from whence she was sent on board the *Revenge* the next morning. She found on board the *Pickle* her husband, who had also escaped, and who was brought to the *Revenge* with her. They were both landed at Algeiras, on the ship's arrival at Gibraltar, after she had been fitted out by the officers in a dress as suitable to her sex as the conversion of dressing gowns, &c. would admit of. She was young, handsome, and very intelligent. She was a native of French Flanders—her name *Jannette*."

The four vergers of St. Paul's cathedral, who have the exclusive property of the body of the church, are said to make more than a thou-

sand pounds by the daily admissions to see the preparations for the funeral of Lord Nelson; the door-money is taken as at a puppet-show, and amounted for several days to more than 40*l.* each day!!

This morning a meeting took place near Nottingham, between ensign Butler, of the 36th regiment, and ensign Brown, who was on the recruiting service in that town. The parties fired together by signal; when, unfortunately, ensign Brown was shot through the heart, and instantly expired, without uttering a word. Ensign Butler immediately disappeared.

A nautical clock was lately stolen from the observatory of col. Beaufoy, at Hackney Wick, which was a very extraordinary piece of mechanism. It has four hands, the first of which points at the number of yards a ship sails; the second shows the hundreds of yards, from 100 to 2,000; the third specifies the number of miles, from one to ten; and the fourth the tens of miles, from 10 to 100. This curious machine is put in motion by a log line, and the whole is considered as a great discovery in navigation.

During the funeral procession of Lord Nelson up the river, a lady of the name of Bayne (related to the late captain William Bayne, who lost his life in the West Indies, under Lord Rodney) was so affected at the scene, that she fell into hysterics, and died a few minutes after.

4th. The house of Mrs. Head, near Aylesbury, was broke open, and she and her son murdered. The son was found in a pond near the house, with his head nearly severed from his body, and the mother in the house, dreadfully mangled.

FATAL DUEL.—About a year ago,

a duel was to have taken place at Liverpool, between major Brookes and colonel Bolton, in consequence of a quarrel; but the affair being known, they were bound to keep the peace for one year. After this, the animosity between them increased daily, and each reproached the other with having informed the officers of justice of their intention to fight. The time for which they were bound to keep the peace elapsed on Friday week, when a challenge passed, and an immediate meeting was determined upon.—They met, and at the first fire major B. was killed on the spot. The colonel has absconded.

5th. FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON. The Great Hall at Greenwich hospital was this day (Sunday,) thrown open for the admission of the public to see the coffin which contains the body of our naval hero, when the confusion and impetuosity of the crowd, who had long been waiting for admission, was such as perhaps was never equalled.—It is calculated that upwards of 20,000 persons were unable to gain admission. On the second and third days the crowd was equally great; but some troops of horse guards having arrived to assist the volunteers, the ingress and egress were effected with more regularity, though not without many persons sustaining severe injury.

The arrangements of the solemnity were as follows:—In the funeral saloon, high above the corpse, a canopy of black velvet was suspended, richly festooned with gold, and the festoons ornamented with the *chelenk*, or plume of triumph, presented to his lordship by the grand seignior. It was also decorated with his coronet, and a view of the stern of the San Josef, the Spanish admiral's

admiral's ship, already quartered in his arms. On the back-field, beneath the canopy, was emblazoned an escutcheon of his arms; the helmet, surmounted by a naval crown, and enriched with the trident and palm branch in saltier—motto, "*Palmam qui meruit ferat.*" Also his shield, ornamented with silver stars, with the motto,—"*Tria juncta in uno;*" and surmounting the whole upon a gold field, embraced by a golden wreath, was inscribed in sable characters, the word "*Trafalgar,*" commemorative of the proudest of his great achievements.—The Rev. Mr. Scott, the chaplain of the Victory, and who, in consequence of his lordship's last injunctions, attended his remains from the moment of his death, sat as chief mourner in an elbow chair at the head of the coffin.—At the foot of the coffin stood a pedestal, covered with black velvet, richly fringed with alternate black and yellow, and supporting a helmet surmounted by a naval crown, ornamented with the chelengk or triumphal plume, with models richly gilt, and his lordship's shield, gauntlet, and sword.—Ten mourners were placed, three on each side of the chief, and one at each corner of the coffin, all in deep mourning, with black scarfs, their hair full powdered, in bags.—Ten banners, elevated on staves, and emblazoned with various quarterings of his lordship's arms and heraldic dignities, each bearing its appropriate motto, were suspended towards the coffin, five on each side.—A railing, in form of a crescent, covered with black, enclosed the funeral saloon from the Great Hall, by the *elipsis* of which, from right to left, the spectators approached and receded.—Both the hall and saloon were entirely sur-

rounded at the tops by rows of silver sconces, each with two wax lights, and between each two an escutcheon of his lordship's armorial dignities.

The aquatic part of the procession took place on Wednesday the 8th. The entrance of the several city companies into their barges, and the embarkation of the different parties at Greenwich, occupied a considerable time. At ten o'clock, the company not having arrived to fill the barges, the River Fencibles were obliged to proceed towards Greenwich; the barges then, without attending to any particular order, rowed down the river singly, as soon as they had taken in their company. About twelve o'clock, all the persons who were to assist in the ceremony, were assembled at the Governor's house. The body was then carried from the saloon through the Great Hall, and placed on board the state barge—the coffin was covered with a velvet pall adorned with escutcheons.—There were four barges connected with the funeral, which were covered with black cloth; the company in these were all in mourning cloaks over their uniforms: all the companies' barges followed.—The procession moved much faster than was apprehended, the barges being rowed by picked men, and the whole arrived at Whitehall soon after three o'clock. The corpse was afterwards removed to the admiralty, amidst a double line of troops.—Minute guns were fired the whole time of the procession by water, and the flags of all vessels in the river were lowered on the masts.

Before break of day on Thursday, (9th) the most extensive military preparations were made for the burial

of this illustrious warrior: At ten o'clock upwards of 160 carriages, of which 60 were mourning coaches, had assembled in Hyde Park.—In St. James's Park were drawn up all the regiments of cavalry and infantry, quartered within 100 miles of London, who had served in the campaigns in Egypt, after the victory at the Nile; and a detachment of flying artillery, with 12 field pieces, and their ammunition, tumbrils, &c.—The following is the order of the procession from the admiralty to St. Paul's, which was headed by the duke of York, his aides-de-camp and staff:

A detachment of the 10th light dragoons.—Four companies of the 42d Highlanders.—The band of the Old Buffs playing Rule Britannia, drums muffled.—The 92d regiment, in sections, their colours honourably shattered in the campaign of Egypt, which word was inscribed upon them, borne in the centre, and hung with crape.—The remaining companies of the 42d, preceded by their national pipes, playing the dead march in Saul.—The 21st and 31st regiments, with their bands playing as before.—Remainder of the 10th light dragoons; trumpets sounding, at intervals, a solemn dirge.—Eleventh dragoons.—Scots Greys, preceded by six trumpeters sounding the dead march.—Detachment of flying artillery, with twelve field pieces and tumbrils.—Six marshalsmen, on foot, to clear the way.—Messenger of the college of arms, in a mourning coach, with a badge of the college on his left shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsnet.—Six conductors, in mourning cloaks, with black staves,

headed with viscounts' coronets.—Forty-eight pensioners from Greenwich hospital, two and two, in mourning cloaks, with badges of the crests of the deceased on their shoulders, and black staves in their hands.—Twelve marines and forty-eight seamen of his majesty's ship the Victory, two and two, in their ordinary dress, with black neck-handkerchiefs and stockings, and crape in their hats.—Watermen of the deceased, in black coats, with their badges.—Drums and fifes.—Drum major.—Trumpets.—Serjeant trumpeter.—Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach,) in close mourning, with his tabard over his cloak, black silk scarf, hat-band and gloves.—The standard borne in front of a mourning coach, in which was a captain of the royal navy, supported by two lieutenants, in their full uniform coats, with black cloth waistcoats, breeches, and black stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.—Trumpets.—Blue Mantle pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach,) habited as Rouge Croix.—The guidon borne in front of a mourning coach, in which was a captain of the royal navy, supported by two lieutenants, dressed as those who bore and supported the standard.—Servants of the deceased, in mourning, in a mourning coach.—Officers of his majesty's wardrobe in mourning coaches.—Gentlemen.—Esquires.—Deputation from the common council of London.*—Physicians of the deceased in a mourning coach.—Divines, in clerical habits.—Chaplains of the deceased, in clerical habits, and secretary of the deceased, in a mourning coach.—Trumpets.

* This committee, to whom it was referred to arrange the ceremonial part to be

Trumpets.—Rouge Dragon, pur-
suisant of arms (alone, in a mourn-
ing coach,) habited as Blue Mantle.
—The banner of the deceased, as a
knight of the Bath, borne in front of
a mourning coach, in which were
a captain of the royal navy, sup-
ported by two lieutenants, dressed
as those who bore and supported
the guidon.—Officers who attended
the body while it lay in state at
Greenwich, in mourning coaches.—
Knights bachelors.—Masters in
chancery and serjeants at law.—So-
licitor general.—Attorney general.
—Prime serjeant.—Judge of the ad-
miralty.—Knightmarshal.—Knights
of the Bath.—Baronets.—A gentle-
man usher (in a mourning coach)
carrying a carpet and black velvet
cushion, whereon the trophies were
to be deposited in the church.—
Comptroller, treasurer, and steward
of the household of the deceased (in
a mourning coach) in mourning
cloaks, bearing white staves.—Next
followed the carriages of the dif-
ferent degrees of nobility; and great
law officers, who attended to show
their respect to the memory of the
deceased, beginning with the younger
sons of barons, and ending with
dukes.—Duke of Cumberland, in a
coach and six.—Duke of Kent, in a
coach and six.—Duke of Clarence,
in a coach and six.—His royal high-
ness the prince of Wales, in a coach
and six; preceded by a coach and
six, in which were his royal high-
ness's aides-de-camp.—Five trum-
peters sounding a solemn dirge.—

A herald (alone in a mourning
coach) habited as the other officers
of arms.—The great banner, borne
in front of a mourning coach, in
which were a captain and two lieutenants, as with the other banners.
—Gauntlet and spurs, helm and
crest, target and sword, surtout,
each borne in front of a mourning
coach and four, in which were
heralds, habited as before.—A
mourning coach, in which the cor-
net of the deceased, on a black vel-
vet cushion, was borne by Claren-
cieux king of arms, habited as be-
fore, and attended by two gentle-
men ushers.—The six lieutenants of
the Victory, habited as before,
bearing the bannerolls, in two mourn-
ing coaches.—The six admirals; viz.
Caldwell, Hamilton, Nugent, Bligh,
sir R. Curtis, and sir C. M. Pole,
in like habits, who were to bear the
canopy, in two mourning coaches.
—Four admirals; viz. Whiteshod,
Savage, Taylor, and Harvey, in like
habits, to support the pall, in a
mourning coach.

The coffin, stripped of its velvet
pall, and placed on a funeral car,
supported upon a platform, covered
with black cloth, and festooned
with velvet richly fringed, and de-
corated with escutcheons on each
side, between which were inscribed
the words, "*Tripidad*" and "*Buccen-
taur*."—The car modelled at the
ends, in imitation of the hull of the
Victory. Its head, towards the
horses, was ornamented with a figure
of Fame. The stern, carved and

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painted

be observed by the corporation at large, at the funeral of lord Nelson, consisted of
the following twelve gentlemen:

Samuel Birch, Esq.

John Nichols, Esq.

J. Dixon, Esq.

T. Marriott, Esq.

Dan. Pinder, Esq.

Sol. Wadd, Esq.

J. Boak, Esq.

John Orde, Esq.

Sir W. Rawlins, Knt.

T. Goodbehere, Esq.

J. Taddy, Esq.

E. Colbatch, Esq.

painted in the naval style, with the word "*Victory*" in yellow raised letters on the lanthorn over the poop. The coffin, placed on the quarter-deck, with its head towards the stern, with an English Jack pendant over the poop, and lowered half staff. There was an awning over the whole, consisting of an elegant canopy, supported by four pillars, in the form of palm-trees, and partly covered with black velvet. The corners and sides were decorated with black ostrich feathers, and festooned with black velvet, richly fringed; immediately above which, in the front, was inscribed, in gold, the word "*Nite*," at one end: on one side the following motto—" *Hoste devicto requievit*," behind, the word "*Trafalgar*;" and, on the other side, the motto—" *Palmarum qui meruit ferat*." The carriage was drawn by six led horses, in elegant furniture.—Then followed,

Garner principal king of arms (in a mourning coach,) habited as the other officers of arms, with his sceptre, attended by two gentlemen ushers.—The chief mourner, sir Peter Parker, in a long mourning cloak, with his two supporters, being admirals lords Hood and Radstock, and his train-bearer, the Hon. captain Blackwood, all in mourning cloaks, over their full uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, crape round their arms and hats.—Six assistant mourners, being admirals (in two mourning coaches,) in mourning cloaks as before.—Norroy king of arms (in a mourning coach,) habited as the other officers of arms.—The banner of emblems, in front of a mourning coach, in which were a captain and two lieutenants of the royal navy, as with the other ban-

ners.—Relations of the deceased, in mourning coaches.—Officers of the navy and army, according to their respective ranks, the seniors nearest the body.—The whole in 50 mourning coaches.—The private chariot of the deceased lord—empty—the blinds drawn up—the coachman and footman in deep mourning, with bouquets of cypress.—The whole moved on in solemn pace through the Strand to Temple Bar gate, where the lord mayor of London, with the corporation, waited to receive the procession. On the arrival of the military preceding the whole, his lordship advanced, and spoke a few words to the duke of York. As the procession advanced within the city, the carriages of the common council, as had been previously adjusted, fell in before the physicians of the deceased; the aldermen and sheriffs before the masters in chancery; and the lord mayor between the prince of Wales and the heralds at arms.

In this order the procession entered the cathedral, which was filled at an early hour with spectators of the first distinction: the highland regiments, who preceded it, entered the church, and ranged themselves on the outer side of the passage.—A party of sailors closed the procession, bearing the three flags of lord Nelson's ship, "*The Victory*."—From the lateness of the arrival of the corpse, most of the service was performed by torchlight.—The order of interment was as follows:

The body, having been taken from the funeral car, was borne into the church and choir by eight seamen of the *Victory*, according to the following order:—THE BODY, covered as before.—The pall supported by admirals,

admirals, three admirals on each side supporting the canopy.—Three lieutenants on each side bearing bannerolls.—The chief mourner, and his two supporters, were seated on chairs at the head of the body, and the six assistant mourners, and four supporters of the pall, on stools on each side. The relations of the deceased were also near them in the choir.—The officers of the navy and army, who followed in the procession, remained in the body of the church.—The carpet and cushion (on which the trophies are afterwards to be deposited) were laid by the gentleman usher who carried them, on a table placed near the grave, and behind the place which was occupied by the chief mourner.—The coronet and cushion, borne by Clarenceux king of arms, was on the body, and the canopy borne over it.—At the conclusion of the service in the choir, a procession was made from thence to the grave, with the banners and bannerolls as before; the officers of arms proceeding with the trophies; the body borne and attended as before; the chief mourn-

er and his supporters, who placed themselves at the head of the grave; and the assistant mourners, and the relations of the deceased, near them. The service at the interment being over, Garter proclaimed the style; and the comptroller, treasurer, and steward of the deceased, breaking their staves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave. The interment being thus ended, the standard, banners, bannerolls, and trophies were deposited on the table behind the chief mourner; and the procession, arranged by the officers of arms, returned.

A grand funeral canopy of state was borne over the coffin by six admirals, of black velvet, supported by six small pillars, covered with the same material, and crowned by six plumes of black ostrich feathers; the vallens were fringed with black, and decorated with devices of festoons and symbols of his lordship's victories, and his arms, crest, and coronet, in gold. This canopy was removed from over the body a little before it was lowered, that the splendour of the ornaments of the coffin*

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might

* The following inscription is on the coffin:

DEPOSITUM.

The Most Noble Lord HORATIO NELSON,
Viscount and Baron NELSON of the NILE,
and of

Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk.
Baron NELSON of the Nile, and of Hilborough in the said County.

Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath;
Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of the Fleet;

and

Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean.
also,

Duke of BRONTE, in Sicily;

Knight Grand Cross of the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand, and of Merit,
Member of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent;

and

Knight Grand Commander of the Order of St. Joachim.

Born September 29, 1758.

After a series of transcendant and heroic Services, this gallant Admiral fell gloriously, in the moment of a brilliant and decisive Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805.

might be rendered more visible to the spectators. There was an excellent contrivance for letting down the body into the grave. A bier rose from the oblong aperture under the dome, for the purpose of supporting the coffin. This bier was raised by invisible machinery, the apparatus being totally concealed below the pavement of the church.—The procession departed in nearly the same order in which it arrived.

When the duke of Clarence ascended the steps of St. Paul's, he suddenly stopped, and took hold of the colours that were borne by the Victory's men, and after conversing with one of the gallant tars, he burst into tears.—On the entrance of the tattered flags within the communion rails, the prince of Wales, after conversing with the duke of Clarence, sent and requested they might be brought as near the grave as possible, and on observing them, although at some distance, the tears fell from his royal highness.

8th. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, the mansion-house occupied by Lord Lowther, at Cottingham, near Grantham, was discovered to be on fire, occasioned by some defect in the flues under the apartment in which his lordship, the viscountess, and the hon. Miss Lowther, usually slept; all of which were destroyed before the flames could be subdued: the rest of the house was fortunately preserved.

9th. As a young girl, named Carey, was returning from the market of Drogheda, to her father's house at Tulleyesker, with bread, tea and sugar, she was waylaid by some villains, near Mr. Davis's lime-kilns, on the north road, who dragged her into a field, and after debauching her, abused her in so shocking a

manner as to leave her for dead.—Early the following morning, as Mr. Davis's man was coming to town to chapel, he heard the moans of a person in distress, and went into the field, where he found her lying in a furrow, and nearly covered with water. Having procured immediate assistance, he brought her to his house; but she was so much exhausted that she could not give any account of the villains. She was afterwards removed to the house of a relative near town, and died the next day. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, who found a verdict of wilful murder against some person or persons unknown. She was not robbed of the articles she was carrying.

Cambridge.—The rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, vice-president of the college of Fort William, in Bengal, has proposed a prize of 500*l.* to bachelors of law, masters of arts, and persons of superior degree of the university of Oxford, for the best work in English prose, embracing the following subjects, which has been accepted:—I. The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominions.—II. The duty, means, and consequences of translating the scriptures into the oriental tongues, and of promoting christian knowledge in Asia.—III. A brief historic view of the progress of the gospel in different nations, since its first promulgation; illustrated by maps, shewing the luminous tracts throughout the world; with chronological notices of its duration, in particular places. The regions of Mahommedanism to be marked with red, and those of Paganism with a dark colour.

Among the many extraordinary inter-

interpositions of Providence, the following circumstance stands almost unparalleled:—During the height of the storm on Thursday se'nnight, a stack of chimnies belonging to Mr. Bignel, of Shepherd's Bush, without the slightest notice to afford preparation for escape, fell through the roof of the house into his bedroom, with a most tremendous crash, breaking a beam which lay lengthways over the bed, through which it was forced, and at last rested against the floor: the other part destroying at the same instant a child's bed, placed immediately opposite. The ends of the wall fortunately remained fixed. At the first alarm, Mr. Bignel directed his aid to the protection of his youngest child (only three months old) lying by his side, and succeeded at length in escaping from the ruins, with his wife much bruised, and the infant unhurt; and afterwards he extricated the child in the other bed from its perilous situation, who had remained asleep during the whole of this terrific scene. When it is added, that the brick-work, wood, lath, and mortar that fell weighed nearly two tons, it will give an imperfect idea of this miraculous escape.

10th. In the hurricane of wind, lightning, and hail, a most melancholy accident happened to the launch of the *Hibernia*, of 110 guns; which had been sent on shore, at Plymouth, for stores: returning to the ship in Cawsand Bay, in the evening, it then blowing a violent gale of wind, notwithstanding every exertion was made by the crew, she was obliged to bear away, it is supposed to put back to Plymouth, or to endeavour to weather the Menstone, and got into Winbury river. However, be it what it may, she

capsized near the land, and all hands, upwards of thirty-six, were swamped in this dreadful weather. The lieutenant and several men reached the shore, and were saved; but the midshipman and 18 poor fellows were drowned, and their remains washed on shore near Winbury.—The coroner's inquest sat on their bodies, and a verdict—"Found drowned," was returned by the jury.

11th. A man was executed at Dublin for cow stealing. At the commencement of the fatal ceremony, the rope broke, and the unfortunate wretch fell upon the railing before the entrance of the prison.—He was brought up to the place of execution, dreadfully bruised and cut, and the awful sentence of the law was completed without any further obstruction.

13th. At the Clerkenwell sessions, J. L. Barrow, G. Wintle, S. Davis, J. Marryat, and Sarah Grover, in usurious connexion, were convicted of conspiring to prevent a bankrupt, named Hathaway, from obtaining his certificate, because he would not connive with them to let them put in their claim for money lent him at an exorbitant interest, and which they wished him to swear was a transaction for goods. On the 17th sentence was passed on them as follows: Marryat, Barrow, Wintle, and Davis, to be imprisoned two years, and pilloried, within the first month of their imprisonment, in Finsbury-square. Sarah Grover to be imprisoned six months.

15th. A dreadful accident happened to Thomas Whittington, esq. of Hamswell House, near Bath, by the machinery of his threshing-mill catching his hand, which tore off his arm, and fractured the opposite collar bone. He is since dead.

The

The society of arts have been engaged in investigating the genius of a child, only nine years of age, who has the extraordinary talent of staining glass in a manner that surpasses belief, and is equal to the productions of the first masters. His mother was fifty years of age at the time of his birth, and he at present supports her, together with his sister, by the exertion of his premature abilities.

Dr. Ashbury, of the Methodist church in America, in a late publication, speaking of the increase of that religious sect within thirty-five years, announces, that in the United States, 120,000 persons were in their fellowship, and that 1,000,000 attended their ministry; so as to include a seventh part of the population of the United States. It has in America 400 travelling preachers, and 2000 local preachers.

Queen Elizabeth, who died at Greenwich, was brought thence to Whitehall, by water, in a grand procession. It was on this occasion, as Camden informs us, that the following quaint lines were written:—

The queen was brought by water to
Whitehall;
At every stroke the oars did tears let
fall;
More clung about the barge; fish under
water
Wept out their eyes of pearl, and swam
blind after.
I think the bargemen might with easier
thighs,
Have row'd her thither in her people's
eyes;
For howsoe'er, thus much my thoughts
have scann'd,
She had come by water, had she come
by land.

An inquisition was taken on the body of R. Edwards, who cut his throat at his lodgings, in Queen-

street, Grosvenor-square. It appeared, by the evidence of Mrs. J. Beard, at whose house the deceased lodged, that he was taken ill of a fever on Sunday last, and on Monday he appeared in a state of high delirium. About ten o'clock he requested the witness to procure him some porter, which was done, and on her return he was sitting upright in the bed, having cut his throat during her absence. The witness did not perceive what had happened at the moment of her return, for he had covered himself over with the bed-cloaths, and threw himself on his back. He, however, groaned bitterly, and on the witness moving the covering of the bed, she discovered him weltering in his blood. She perceived a razor by the bed-side. Mr. Davies, an apothecary in Duke-street, was sent for, and also a surgeon. Mr. Davis stated, that the deceased had procured some medicines of him in the morning of Sunday, personally, and he supposed him to be deranged. The surgeon confirmed the opinion of Mr. Davis; for although the deceased appeared sensible some time after the wound had been bound up, on being interrogated, he seemed ignorant of what had happened.—Verdict—Insanity.

16th. An inquisition was taken at the Triumphal Car, Piccadilly, on the body of Miss Elizabeth Butler, who expired in Bond-street on the preceding evening. The deceased resided at Somer's Town. She had been at the house of a friend in Hamilton-street, Piccadilly. On her return she was observed by a gentleman leaning against a post, and vomiting, at the corner of Burlington-gardens. Mr. Tibbs, a chymist in Bond-street, was applied to for assistance, and on examining the deceased

deceased she was quite dead, and it was discovered she had broken a blood-vessel.—Verdict—Died by the visitation of God.

A few days ago, as the daughter of Mr. Johnson, of Appleby, near Brigg, six years old, was stirring the fire, the flames caught her dress; she ran into the street for assistance, but expired before it could be procured.

A pay-master of militia, has been adjudged by a general court-martial, to be discharged from the service for infamous behaviour, unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, in charging, at sundry periods, for greater quantities of meat than were actually received for the use of the regiment, whereby government was fraudulently over-rated with considerable sums, which, by the court, he has been awarded to make good.

19th. An unfortunate occurrence happened at Cuxhaven, on the last arrival of the Prince of Wales packet, with the mails for the continent. Baron Henry Gustavus Wrangle, a remarkable fine young man, lieutenant in the 1st regiment of Swedish guards, and of a distinguished family, was on board the above-mentioned vessel: his baggage was landed at the German hotel, when some difference arose respecting the expence of delivery. The sailors, who undertook this business, insisted on the return of the property if their demand was not satisfied. Words ensued, and at last the insolence of the claimants becoming insupportable, the young nobleman seized a knife from the dinner table, and directed it at the heart of one of them, who had advanced in a menacing attitude. The blow was not fatal; but, until the result should be

known, the baron was placed under a guard, at the governor's house.

As Gabriel Tattersal, better known by the name of Doctor, one of the company of Old Bathers, at Brighton, was hauging across one of the groyns to dip water, he was overpowered by a strong gale of wind from the west, and forced into the sea, where, though an excellent swimmer, he soon sunk, and was drowned, in the presence of many spectators on the beach, some of whom soon put off in a boat to his assistance, and in about half an hour recovered the body. On its being brought to shore, every means recommended by the Humane Society were tried to restore animation, but in vain, as the vital spark had totally left him. The fatality of the accident is attributed to his great coat having been blown over his head, as he was falling, which so entangled him that he was unable to exert his skill in swimming.—Verdict—Accidental death. The deceased was a descendant of the renowned Capt. Nicholas Tattersal, who, in the year 1651, favoured the escape of King Charles II. from these shores, by taking him privately on board his coal brig in the night-time, and safely landing him at Fescamp, in Normandy.

21st. Rober Patterson, an attorney, who was convicted at the Old-Bailey sessions in December last, of defrauding Mr. Rolfe of 130l. under pretence of getting him a place in the Ordnance, stood in the pillory, pursuant to sentence, in front of Newgate. This offender was assisted in his villainy by Thomas Newsham, a clergyman, who has since been transported.

22d. A melancholy accident occurred

red at Fern House, Wilts, the seat of Thomas Grove, esq. The muslin dress of Miss Mary Ann Grove, an amiable young lady, thirteen years of age, fourth daughter of Mr. Grove, by some accident caught fire, when there was no one in the apartment with her but a younger sister, who was incapable of assisting her. Terrified by her alarming situation, Miss Grove ran out of the house; but unfortunately no one was at that instant on the spot; and when she again entered, flew to an apartment in which Mr. Henry Bankes of Salisbury happened to be on business; she was entirely enveloped in flames, and though Mr. Bankes used every possible exertion, with the assistance of two servants, to extinguish them, and was much burnt in those laudable efforts, they were unavailing, till the young lady's clothes were nearly consumed. Surgical assistance was immediately procured, but she survived the accident only till the morning of the 24th, when death relieved her from her sufferings.

26th. SINGULAR BET.—Lately a bet of 5s. was decided in the Castle-yard, York, between Thomas Hodgson, and Samuel Whitehead, both debtors: it was, which of them was to appear as the most *singular* and *original* character. The former was decorated with a ten guinea bank note on his waistcoat breast, a number of five guinea notes down the same, and on both sides of his coat-breast, with guinea notes on his shoulders and arms of his coat; round his hat-band were a great number of five guinea notes, and near the top of the hat-crown was fixed a purse of gold, which went round the same; on his back a paper with the words, "*John Bull*."—

Whitehead appeared in a woman's dress on one side, with a silk stocking, a neat slipper, and that side of his face painted. The other side of his face and body resembled a negro with a man's dress, with a new boot and spur. The wager was given in favour of Hodgson, whose bills amounted to 375 guineas, independent of the gold. We are extremely sorry the whole of the money cannot be converted (as it certainly ought) to the use of his lawful creditors.—Fye, fye *honesty!* but probably thou wilt be remembered in the next *insolvency act*.

The storm was very violent at Liverpool on Friday se'nnight. It came on at N. about one *p. m.* preceded by the heaviest thunder, and the most vivid lightning ever seen. For upwards of one hour the whole of the northern hemisphere was in a complete blaze of the most forked, angry, and blue flashes of electrical matter that can well be conceived, attended with a strong sulphurous smell that was extremely offensive. The storm continued with nearly unabated violence for 36 hours, and closed with an electric discharge, similar to that of a cannon. A fishing-boat, with six fishermen in it, belonging to North Meols was lost. One of the crew of the Sarah, Lightfoot, was struck on the back of the head by the electric fluid, which passed between his clothes and his body, and suffocated him instantly; no other damage was done to the ship or crew. Several vessels were forced from their anchors and driven on shore, and it is greatly feared much shipwreck has happened on the western coasts of the kingdom.

27th. On opening the vault belonging to the family of J. Norris, esq. in the church of St. Peter's Mancroft,

Mancroft, Norwich, a live bat was found therein, of a greyish colour, where it had probably laid in a torpid state, a solitary companion for the dead, more than 32 years, the distance of time since the vault was before opened.

COTTON.—In January, 1806, the stock of cotton, in Great Britain, exceeded that of the same period in 1805, from 20 to 30,000 bags. Our informant adds, that the import will not be less from Orleans this year, than from 50 to 60,000 bales, and the increase from Carolina and Georgia, at least one third more than in 1805.

The following is taken from the New York Evening Post, of December 13 :—"On Friday last the well known Leib, one of the representatives of Pennsylvania, and the leader of the Duane party, and Joseph H. Nicholson, one of the representatives of Maryland, met in the congress lobby, about one o'clock, when Leib immediately called Nicholson a liar, and there-upon commenced one of the best fought battles recorded in the annals of congressional pugilism. The fight continued until the 64th round, when Leib had received such blows as deterred him from again facing his man. He protracted the fight, falling after making a feeble hit. In the round which ended the fight, those who backed him advised him to resign, which he did, after a combat of one hour and seventeen minutes. The combatants were both very much beaten."—*An admirable picture of American legislators.*

29th. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the earth from the roof of a coal-pit, at Horsforth, near Leeds, about twenty yards deep, fell in ; two men and a boy were at

work in the pit ; the boy was killed by the earth falling upon him ; the men lived some time after, and could plainly be heard by the people who flocked from every part to dig them out. One of them survived till four o'clock the next morning, at least he was never after heard. He had previously said that both his fellow sufferers were dead. No labour was spared to get them out ; but as the people increased their exertions, the earth fell in more and more, and at last completely buried the poor colliers in her bowels.

RAIN GAUGE.—It appears that the quantity of rain which fell during this month, was 3 inches 27-100ths. That of the corresponding month, in 1805, 2 inches 44-100ths ; in 1804, 4 inches 18-100ths ; and in 1803, 2 inches 29-100ths. The quantity of rain in the preceding month, exceeds that of any other during the last two years, excepting the month of November, 1804, when it measured 5 inches 44-100ths.

The freedom of the city of London, and a sword of the value of 100 guineas, have been voted by the common council, to captain Thomas Masterman Hardy, captain of the Victory, (the late lord Nelson's flag-ship). The lord-mayor delivered into the court his majesty's warrant, respecting his lordship's rank in the procession at lord Nelson's funeral. The court voted their unanimous thanks to the lord-mayor for his conduct on the occasion.

A court of directors, held at the East India House, came to an agreement to wear mourning for one month, in compliment to the memory of the deceased marquis Cornwallis.

DIED.—*Déc.* 29th. Sir Beversham Filmer, bart. of East Sutton Place, near

near Maidstone, in his eighty-seventh year.

Jan. 4th. At Bath; the rev. Charles Barton.

At Runwell, in the Ise of Wight, sir William Oglander, bart.

5th. At his mansion at Benham, in Berkshire, his serene highness the margrave of Anspach, Bareuth, &c. A violent cold seized him while hunting on New Year's Day, which, after three days illness terminated his life, in the 69th year of his age. In 1791 he married Lady Craven, whose refined taste and judgment in the fine arts, joined to his engaging manners and behaviour, made their residences at Benham, and Brandenburg House, Hammer-smith, the resorts of all the taste, genius, and wit, both foreign and domestic; and great as his hospitality was, his hand and heart were so open to charity, that the language of the Scripture might be applied to him, being a father to the fatherless. He was buried in the village church of Speen, near Newbury, in a vault belonging originally to the family of the Cravens. The funeral was attended by the hon. Keppel Craven, who had lived with the margrave from his infancy; earl Craven; the hon. Berkeley Craven; his excellency baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister; and his two chamberlains, lieutenant-colonel Berkeley, and Mr. Hamilton. The pall richly adorned with escutcheons of his arms, was borne by the friends who were with him at the time of his decease; Mr. Swartskoff, Mr. Carr, Mr. Canning of Speen, doctors Winterbottom and Sainsbury, of Newbury, Mr. Rivers, Mr. Simons, and Mr. Nixon. Several gentlemen from Newbury, and the volunteers of that town, attended with the ser-

vants of the household, and a numerous body of poor people, who had continually been supported by his bounty, came to pay their last tribute of respect to their benefactor.

At Nower-house, Ross-shire, general sir Hector Monro, K. B. and colonel of the 42d, or Royal Highland regiment.

FEBRUARY.

3rd. In consequence of some repairs which the sewers were undergoing in the Strand, close to St. Clements's church, a hackney-coachman, unacquainted with the interruption, drove upon the railing by which the opening was surrounded, and one of the horses was precipitated a depth of several feet, whilst the other lay over the mouth of it, apparently dead. The coachman was thrown from his box, and severely bruised. After much labour the horse was extricated, apparently not much hurt.

4th. The Lord Chancellor addressed the court of chancery to the following effect:

“Before I take leave of this court, I wish to address a few words to you, gentlemen, expressive of the feelings I entertain for the respectful attention I have, on all occasions, experienced from you. I have doubted whether the more dignified manner of parting would not be simply to make my bow to you and retire; but, observing that I have been represented yesterday, and the day before, to have addressed you on the subject, I shall not resist the impulse I feel to say a few words.

“I quit the office I hold without one painful reflection. Called to it by the authority of those whom it was my duty to obey, I have executed,

cutted it, not well, but to the extent of my humble abilities, and the time which I have been able to devote to it; and I enjoy the grateful feeling, that there is no suitor of this court who can say I have not executed it conscientiously. There is yet, however, one painful emotion, by which I am assailed—it is the taking leave of you. In retiring into private life, I am upheld by the hope that I shall carry with me the continued esteem of a profession, for which I feel an attachment that will descend with me to the grave.

“For the great attention, respect, and kindness, I have always received from you, accept, gentlemen, my sincerest thanks, accompanied by my best wishes for your long continued health and happiness, and uninterrupted prosperity.”

Mr. Pigott, the new attorney-general, evidently affected, made a brief answer to the chancellor, in the name of the whole bar.

5th. This morning was executed in the Old Bailey, Leonard White, for cutting and wounding William Randall, a watchman, in the execution of his duty, in Little Ormond-street, Bedford-row.

In the court of king's bench, an application was made on behalf of colonel Thornton, for leave to file a criminal information against Mr. Flint, for challenging him to fight a duel, and horse-whipping him on the race-ground at York, last summer, &c. The quarrel arose out of a bet of 1500 guineas, which Mr. Flint claims to have won of colonel Thornton, by the race he rode against Mrs. Thornton, whose bets were adopted by her husband. Whereas colonel Thornton maintains, that of the bet alluded to, 1000l.

was a mere nominal thing, intended to attract company to the race, and that nothing more than 500 guineas were seriously intended by the parties. After a full hearing of the whole case, lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that the case before the court was one in which their lordships ought not to interpose with its extraordinary power. On the contrary, he conceived that it would be degrading its process to interfere in favour of such parties in such a cause. Colonel Thornton had chosen to appeal to the Jockey Club, and should have abided by their decision. He had, however, not found them exactly fitting his notion of justice; and, therefore, for every thing that had happened since, he must have recourse to the ordinary mode of obtaining redress, namely, by preferring a bill of indictment at the sessions of the county. The other judges being of the same opinion, the rule was discharged.

6th. As five boys were coming on shore at North Shields, from the Ship Pomona, the boat unfortunately got upon a ship's hawser, and upset. Four of them got hold of the rope, but the fifth, who was a Scots lad, (to whom they had given a passage from Mona Island, where he had been shipwrecked, and suffered many hardships) went to the bottom, and before assistance could be rendered the others, one of them, a boy belonging to London, let go his hold, and was likewise drowned. One of the bodies was found two days after.

PLOUGHING MATCH.—The Cockburnspath agricultural society had their first annual ploughing match on the 20th ult. in a clover-lea field be.

belonging to Mr. Wood, tenant in Path-head. Twenty-one ploughs appeared on the field. The day was favourable. The ploughmen finished their respective tasks with great expedition, and in a masterly style.—The work was, on the whole, so well executed, that the judges had the utmost difficulty to determine the prizes. The society gave each of the competitors a comfortable refreshment, and half-a-crown to drink. The good effects of this ploughing match are very conspicuous, as the greatest emulation now subsists amongst the ploughmen in the neighbourhood.

Upon the motion of Mr. deputy Birch, at a court of common council, after much discussion, and several divisions, it was at length carried by 77 against 71, for a monument to be erected in the Guildhall of the city of London, to the memory of Mr. Pitt.

8th. The court of king's bench, after the judicial business was over, being cleared of all but the counsel, the thanks of the bar to lord Erskine were moved by Mr. Daryll, (senior of the outer barristers) and seconded by D. P. Coke, esq. M. P. The following are copies of the resolutions:—

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be presented to the right honourable lord T. Erskine, now lord high chancellor; and that Edward Dayrell, and Daniel Parker Coke, esqrs. being the senior barristers of this court, do present the same:—

“That we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of presenting our sincere congratulations to the right honourable Thomas lord Erskine, on his appointment to the office of lord high chancellor of Great Bri-

tain, and of expressing the deep impression made upon us by the uniform kindness and attention which we have at all times experienced from him, during his long and extensive practice amongst us; and we further beg leave to assure his lordship, that in retiring from us he is accompanied by our best wishes for his health and happiness.”

The following is the reply of lord chancellor Erskine to the above address.

“Gentlemen,

“I cannot express what I felt upon receiving your address, and what I must ever feel upon the recollection of it.

“I came originally into the profession under great disadvantages—bred in military life, a total stranger to the whole bar, and not entitled to expect any favourable reception from similar habits or private friendships, my sudden advancement into great business, before I could rank, in study or in learning, with others, who were my seniors also, was calculated to have produced, *in common minds*, nothing but prejudice and disgust. How, then, can I look back without gratitude upon the unparalleled liberality and kindness which, for seven-and-twenty years, I uniformly experienced among you, and which I feel a pride, as well as a duty, in acknowledging, alone enabled me to surmount many painful difficulties, and converted what would otherwise have been a condition of oppressive labour, into an uninterrupted enjoyment of ease and satisfaction.

“I am happy that your partiality has given me the occasion of putting upon record this just tribute to the character and honour of the English bar.

‘My

"My only merit has been, that I was not insensible to so much goodness; the perpetual and irresistible impulses of a mind deeply affected by innumerable obligations, could not but produce that behaviour which you have so kindly and so publicly rewarded.—I shall for ever remain, gentlemen, your affectionate and faithful humble servant,

"ERSKINE."

"*Lincoln's Inn Fields,*
Feb. 9, 1806."

8th. This morning the committee appointed to try the merits of the Middlesex election assembled, the right honourable I. Corry in the chair. No opposition was made by sir Francis Burdett to the petition of Mr. Mainwaring; and two of the votes of the former being disqualified, the latter has since been returned duly elected. The above was a matter that had been previously understood by both parties for some time past.

9th. "Mr. Ryan, at whose house, in Marlborough street, Dublin, the meetings of the Roman Catholic committee were held, wrote to Mr. Fox, congratulating him on his accession to political power, and hoped that he would not forget his friends the Irish Catholics, who had always supported him. Mr. Fox answered the letter rather in a general manner; thanked the gentleman for his congratulations; said, that, either in or out of office, he would not forget the Irish Catholics, and that Mr. Ryan might make what use he should think proper of his letter.

In the Irish court of chancery lord Redesdale took an opportunity to allude to the change of ministers, and thank the barristers for the attention they bestowed during his chancellorship.

VOL. XLVIII.

13th. A deputation from the university of Dublin waited upon this royal highness the duke of Cumberland, at St. James's Palace, with the grant of the office of chancellor of the university of Dublin.

Came on the election of a member of parliament for Westminster. After the usual proclamation, Mr. Fox appeared upon the hustings, supported by Mr. Byng. The latter gentleman addressed the electors, and congratulated them on the change that had taken place in his majesty's councils: he observed that Mr. Fox, in accepting a place of great public trust, was not actuated by personal or interested motives. In the present momentous crisis, his object was to serve, and, if possible, to save his country. He was not a man who would deceive or desert them; and it was only by the firm support of the people, that his friend and his colleagues could hope to make this nation safe and happy at home, and glorious and respectable abroad. He then proposed the election of Mr. Fox, which motion was seconded by Mr. Wishart. Mr. Fox afterwards addressed the electors, and explained the meaning of the law which rendered a new election necessary for a man who had accepted a place in his majesty's councils. He declared that he could have but little inducement to accept such a situation, at a period when there was much more reason to fear disappointment than to expect success. "We can discern (said Mr. Fox) little consolation for the past, and but small hopes for the future. There is, undoubtedly, one splendid exception to the general gloomy state which we have to look to, I mean the very high reputation so justly earned by the British navy.

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Let us hope that the immortal day of Trafalgar, though so dearly purchased by the death of the great and heroic character who commanded on that occasion, will more than compensate for all that Britain has suffered in every other quarter. Under these circumstances it is that we have come into office. We have acted upon public grounds; uninfluenced by any motives of ambition or personal interest. We have undertaken an arduous duty in a perilous crisis, and without much prospect of succeeding as we could wish. But whatever may be the difficulties we have to encounter, your support will enable us to meet them with confidence, and to overcome them with effect. With regard to general politics, I feel that it would not be suitable, at my time of life, nor to the long connexion that has subsisted between us, to make professions. I am now what I always have been—a friend to liberty, an enemy to corruption, and a firm and decided supporter of that just weight which the people ought to have in the scale of the constitution.”—After tumults of applause and acclamation, the high bailiff declared Mr. Fox duly elected. Mr. Fox then got into the chair prepared for him, which was crimson damask, richly gilt, and covered with laurels, and was chaired round Covent-Garden. The usual practice of pulling down the hustings commenced, the instant Mr. Fox entered the chair. They began to demolish them from the foundation, when the roof came down with a crash, and buried near twenty under its ruins; some of them were much hurt, but none dangerously.

As James Coleman, bricklayer,

of Swardeston, Norfolk, was ringing a bell in Swardeston church, when half up, the crown and cannons broke from the bell, and it came down through both floors, breaking the door that covered the well-hole in the lower floor, and killed him instantly on the spot.

A FEMALE CONJUROR. — Jean Maxwell was lately tried before the steward depute of Kirkcudbright, and a jury, for swindling Jeanie Davidson, a simple girl, who consulted her upon a *love* story, out of several sums of money, and other articles. She pretended she was educated at Oxford, and was acquainted with the occult sciences, and that the devil would appear to her in the shape of a sow or a bull, and money must be given to lay him. Upon these pretences, she nearly turned the poor girl's head (who was before that time *far gone* in love) and extorted her money. The jury found her guilty, and the steward depute sentenced the prisoner to be imprisoned for twelve months, in the jail of the Burgh, and to stand in the pillory for an hour once every three months during that period.

14th. A man named John Gouthorpe exposed his wife for sale in the market, at Hull, about one o'clock, but owing to the crowd which such an extraordinary occurrence had gathered together, he was obliged to defer the sale, and take her away. About four o'clock, however, he again brought her out, and she was sold for 20 guineas, and delivered in a halter to a person named Houseman, who had lodged with them four or five years.

There is a person, one Lambert, now living at Leicester, who is supposed

posed to be the heaviest man known in the kingdom. He weighs upwards of 46 stone, and is only 45 years of age.

A singular cheat was practised by a person at the Near Bank in Leeds. A hen laid eggs, on which were legible characters, announcing the coming of Christ. Great numbers of credulous people were attracted to the spot, and many of them, no doubt, departed with the idea that *the world would soon be at an end*. Some gentlemen, hearing of the matter, took great pains to discover the trick; and, it has been actually ascertained, that, after the characters had been badly scrawled on a common egg, it was cruelly forced again into the hen's body, and that she of course parted with it in the above-mentioned state.

15th. Last week two men were killed by an explosion of inflammable air in a coal-pit at Boyles-Hall colliery, near Audley, in Staffordshire; this is the second accident of a similar kind in a very few months, in the same pit; by the former, eight were the unfortunate sufferers.

16th. A male infant, (newly born) was found in Bellam-Dyke, next Uffington Ford, with a cord tied round its neck, and another round its body, to which a stone was attached, evidently, with an intention of sinking the same—The coroner's inquest sat on the body on Tuesday, and brought in a verdict of *wilful murder against some person or persons unknown*.

18th. A boy, son of Mr. Cuthbert, fisher, Newton, Ayr, was drowned in the dam at the head of that town. He was not missed till the miller observed that the water did not flow through the grate to his mill-wheel, and on examination, found the body of the child.

19th. The ponderous iron bridge that had been just erected over the new cut at Bristol, near the Bath road, fell down, with a tremendous crash and was shivered and separated into thousands of pieces. Two men were killed upon the spot, and others severely injured.

William Bontein, late purser of the Trusty, (for forging the signatures of the captain, &c. for the purpose of defrauding the Victualing Board of ship stores) stood in the pillory, opposite Somerset-house.

Holywell, in Flintshire, has been the scene of several distressing accidents.—A boy had his thumb carried off by the explosion of a gun he was firing.—On the same day, a woman fell into St. Winifred's well, and, in spite of every exertion, was drowned. A young man was drawn in amongst the cog-wheels in a corn-mill, had one hand split, one foot torn through the heel, and the other leg so crushed as to require immediate amputation.—A boy riding on a cart, drove against a turnpike-gate and broke his leg.—A boy and girl's clothes took fire, in consequence of which they languished but a few hours, and expired.—A poor woman, who had been in a state of derangement for some time, went into an out-building, and, by the use of a small cord, put an end to her existence.

An attempt was made about four o'clock, to carry off several dead bodies from the church-yard of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, by three or four depraved wretches, who, it is supposed, had got over the brick wall next Princes-Street, Soho. In consequence of an alarm being given at the watch-house, the constable of the night, the watch-house-keeper, and as many assis-

tants as could be procured on so sudden an emergency, repaired to the church-yard, and secured one of the men in his attempt to escape over the wall next Princes-street.

On examining the church-yard, it appeared that no less than five graves had been broken up, and the bodies of two persons were discovered lying on the ground, wholly without covering. The coffins, in which the bodies had been deposited, were put in by the depredators about two feet beneath the level of the ground. But we have the satisfaction of informing the public, that the villains did not succeed in their design, it being ascertained that not a single body had been carried off, and those left above ground were buried in the same coffins, in the presence of their friends.

The man who was apprehended states his name to be William Hillier, lodging at No. 5, King-street, Borough; that he is a married man, and has one child, and that he is a cabinet-maker by trade; but not giving a satisfactory account of himself to the rev. Joseph Jefferson, the magistrate before whom he was examined, he was committed to the house of correction as a disorderly person; and some suspicions attaching to the grave-digger, he was immediately dismissed.

The sacks which had been brought for the purpose, as it is supposed, of carrying away the bodies, were left behind, the men not choosing to take them in their hurry to avoid detection.

At Wakefield cattle market, there were about 196. beasts, and 3700 sheep. Fat beasts sold well, and at increased prices. The sale of sheep was dull, and the prices were on the decline.

The following are the dimensions of the Makerstoun Ox, slaughtered at Kelso:

	Ft.	In.	Pt.
Girth before	9	9	6
Ditto behind	9	6	4
Length, from the point of the shoulder to the end of the buttock	6	10	0
Ditto, from head to rump	10	2	0
Standard height	6	3	0
Across the hucks	2	10	0

At Morpeth there was a full market of cattle, which met with dull sale: many not sold. The show of sheep was not great, and there being a great demand, they met with ready sale. Beef from 6s. to 7s. Mutton 6s. 6d. to 8s. per stone, sinking offals.

At Bridgnorth fair fat beasts, to sink the offal, sold from 6d. to 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound; fat sheep from 7d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to sink the offal, few of the latter being brought to market on account of the large quantity of turnips on hand, which have of late run much in the top; cheese from 5s. to 6s. per cwt. of 120lbs. salt butter from 10s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. per gawn of 12lbs.

Lately was shot, in the parish of Holford, on the Quantock-hills, about 14 miles from Taunton, by Henry Sweeting, esq. a brown eagle, of the male kind, he measured 7 feet 4 inches from the extremity of his wings, and three feet from head to tail; he was discovered whilst hovering over Mr. Sweeting's spaniel, and lived about ten hours after he was shot.

Mr. Thomas Griggs, sen. butcher, of Cowbit, near Spalding, killed a hog-pig, (which he purchased the 4th of June preceding for one guinea) which weighed as follows, viz. fat and offal, 9 stone, carcase, 40 stone.

20th. RIGHT

20th. RIGHT HON. W. PITT'S LYING IN STATE.—At nine o'clock, a crowd began to assemble in New and Old Palace Yards, to see this distinguished statesman lying in state in the painted chamber. The crowd completely filled the avenues; and at ten o'clock the doors of the lobby of the house of commons were thrown open.

On passing the raised lobby of the house of commons, the spectators entered the long gallery, which was hung with black, lighted up by seventy-one wax-lights in tin sconces, and attended by Bow-street officers. The spectators then proceeded to the painted chamber, the passage to and from which was in a horse-shoe form, and at the upper end of which was placed the coffin, on bearers, completely covered with a pall.

On the right of the latter was placed ten silver candlesticks, on pedestals, covered with black cloth and large wax tapers, interspersed with four elegant flags, with the various insignia of the several offices of the deceased, and his arms. At the foot of the coffin was placed the king's banner, with an admiral's streamer and jack rolled, with his shield and sword, and his arms embossed, on a raised platform; over which we observed his helmet and other insignia, surmounted by the anchor, supporting a crane, (the Chatham crest;) on the left of the coffin was placed the same number of wax lights and banners as on the right, with Mr. Thomas as principal. At the head of the coffin also, ten gentlemen of the wardrobe, attendants, in deep mourning cloaks and scarfs, with twelve other gentlemen porters, variously dispersed.

The whole of the painted chamber

was also hung in black, the upper part of which displayed a deep silver border, about a foot deep, which greatly added to the sublimity of the scene.

All around the chamber were tin sconces; we noticed 132 wax lights; between each light was a banner, with the Chatham arms, elegantly painted.

At the head of the coffin, under the canopy, was placed the escutcheons and banners of the Chatham arms. The canopy was surmounted by plumes of black and white ostrich feathers, with a deep painted border, representing a viscount's coronet, and the Chatham crest, in drapery and wreaths. From thence the spectators retired through the new door of the house of lords into Old Palace Yard.

At four o'clock, the magnificent and mournful spectacle was closed, without any accident whatever; a fact which reflects the greatest praise on the police, as the crowd was at last very numerous. Some of the light-fingered tribe made their appearance, but they were easily dispersed.

The ceremony of lying in state continued till Friday evening, the 21st instant.

22d. This being the day appointed for the public interment of Mr. Pitt, at an early hour New Palace Yard, Union-street, King-street, and the Sanctuary, were covered with gravel. At ten o'clock a party of the 3d regiment of guards arrived, and were stationed inside of the railing, from Westminster-Hall gate to the west door of Westminster Abbey—A number of the life guards were stationed at all the leading streets, to regulate the carriages

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on their way to the parliament house. The tickets directed all those who were to walk in the procession to be set down with the greatest order at the doors of the house of commons and lords.

On their entrance, the heralds and proper officers from the college of arms were stationed to conduct them to their proper places in the procession. Sir Isaac Heard arrived before twelve o'clock; and having inspected the arrangements made by his officers, the procession began to move. At half past twelve it came out of Westminster-Hall, which was announced by the drums and fifes playing the 104th psalm in a very solemn manner, and trumpets and kettle drums playing a dirge. The procession moved in the following order:—

The lord chamberlain's officers.
The standard carried by general Lennox, supported by Mr. Steele and Mr. Long.

The guidon carried by brigadier general Hope, supported by Mr. Rider and another gentleman.

The deceased and earl Chatham's domestics.

About one hundred members of the house of commons.

Twenty clergyman in their canonicals.

Six trumpets.

The banner and crest of Mr. Pitt, supported by Mr. Wilberforce and another gentleman.

Fourteen officers who attended the deceased when lying in state.

Eighteen knights and bachelors.

Baron Sutton in his full robes.

The lord mayor of London.

The speaker of the house of commons.

Ten bishops.

Thirty-two peers, followed by their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Cumberland and Cambridge.

Helm and crest, sword and target, surcoat, borne by Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester, heralds.

THE BODY.

Chief mourner earl Chatham, the brother of the deceased, supported by earls Westmoreland and Camden.

Sir Isaac Heard, Garter king at arms, carried the staff of office.

The banner of emblems, Carried by Mr. Percival, the late attorney-general, and supported by Mr. Canning and Mr. Rose.

About 50 relations and friends of the deceased.

The Cinque Port volunteers, with crape on their hats and left arms.

The first of the procession entered Westminster Abbey at one o'clock, but it was above half an hour after, before the body entered. Dr. Vincent, the dean, the prebends, minor canons, and gentlemen of the choir were ready to receive them; and on the entrance of the corpse, they began to sing Dr. Croft's funeral service, which they continued to do till the body was placed in the centre of the choir, when the regular burial service was read by one of the minor canons. The anthem, burial service, &c. was the same as that sung at the funeral of lord Nelson, at St. Paul's.

The burial service was read by the dean.

Till twelve o'clock there were but few more persons in the neighbourhood than when common business is proceeding. Palace Yard and the streets adjoining the Sanctuary were by

by no means crowded when the procession was moving. Several scaffolds and temporary seats were erected; some of them had a few persons, and others none.

Among the distinguished personages, besides the royal dukes, were the dukes of Montrose and Rutland—marquisses of Buckingham, Thomond, and Abercorn—earls Spencer, Temple, Romney, Winchester, and Camden—lords Sidmouth, Borringdon, Paget, McDonald, Pomfret, Kelly, Rivers, Bulkeley, Hood, Hawkesbury, Elliot, Grantham, Castlereagh, Auckland, and Carrington—archbishop of Canterbury—bishops of Bath and Wells, Norwich, Bristol, London, Lincoln, Ely, Exeter, and Chester.

After pronouncing his titles over his grave, the herald declared, *non sibi sed patriæ vixit*.

An ingenious mechanic, of Northampton, has invented and made a cannon, on an entire new construction, which will prime, load, and fire itself ten times in the short space of one minute.

MANAGEMENT OF PIGS.—The following experiment, which was lately made by a gentleman of Norfolk, is of the highest importance to all those concerned in breeding pigs. Six pigs, of the genuine Norfolk breed, and of very nearly equal weight, were put to keeping at the same time, and treated the same, as to food and litter, for the space of seven weeks. Three of them were left to shift for themselves as to cleanliness; the other three were kept as clean as possible, by a man employed for the purpose, with a curry-comb and brush. The last consumed in seven weeks fewer pease by five bushels than the other

three, yet they weighed more when killed, by two stone and four pounds, upon an average, or six stone twelve pounds upon the whole.

MIDDLESEX SESSIONS. — Scipion Charles Victor August Legarde Marquis De Chambonas, was convicted of defrauding Mon. Bertrand De Molleville, of different sums of money, under pretence of establishing certain business.

The prosecutor was the author of the history of the French Revolution, and the defendant was a French emigrant, and one of the noblesse. Our limits will not permit us to enter into particulars. The defendant was sentenced to six months imprisonment in Newgate.

23d. A few days ago the wife of Mr. Carter, cow-keeper, close to Oxford-street turnpike, went to feed an old blind hackney-coach horse, when he turned his head round, and seized the poor woman with his teeth by one of her breasts, and so held her for a second or two; she was got away, but has been dangerously ill ever since; the place immediately swelled as large as a peck loaf, which, in a few days after, was reduced by leeches, and it will yet be some time before she can attend to her business. This same horse has before tried several times to kick her, and squeeze her against the sides of the stall, and she has narrowly escaped.

24th. COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—The following very important case, which has been long depending, came on to-day.—*The King v. General Thomas Picton*.—This was a prosecution instituted against the defendant, late governor of the island of Trinidad, for putting Louisa Calderon to the question, or torture. After the plead-

ings in the indictment had been read by the junior counsel in the usual form,

Mr. Garrow thus related the circumstances of the case :

“ The island of Trinidad surrendered to that illustrious character, sir Ralph Abercrombie, whose name will ever incite gratitude and admiration, in the year 1797 ; and he entered into a stipulation, by which he conceded to the inhabitants the continuance of their laws, and appointed a new governor, until his majesty’s pleasure should be known, or, in other words, until the king of England, in his paternal character, should extend to this new acquisition to his empire all the sacred privileges of the laws of England. I have the authority of the defendant himself for stating, that the system of jurisprudence adopted under the Spanish monarch, for his colonial establishments, was benignant, and adapted to the protection of the subject, previous to the surrender of this island to the British arms.

“ In December, 1801, when this crime was perpetrated, Louisa Calderon was of the tender age of ten or eleven years. At that early period, she had been induced to live with a person of the name of Pedro Ruiz, as his mistress, and although it appears to us very singular, that she should sustain such a situation at that time of life, yet it is a fact, that, in this climate, women often become mothers at twelve years old, and are in a state of concubinage, if, from their condition, they cannot form a more honourable connection. While she lived with Ruiz, she was engaged in an intrigue with Carlos Gonzalez, the pretended friend of the former, who robbed him of a quantity of dollars. Gon-

zalez was apprehended, and she also, as some suspicions fell upon her in consequence of the affair. She was taken before the justice, as we, in our language, should denominate him, and in his presence she denied having any concern in the business. The magistrate felt that his powers were at an end, and whether the object of her denial were to protect herself or her friend, is not material to the question before you. The extent of his authority being thus limited, this officer of justice resorted to general Picton ; and I have to produce, in the hand-writing of the defendant, this bloody sentence : — *Inflict the torture upon Louisa Calderon.*—You will believe there was no delay in proceeding to its execution. The girl was informed, in the gaol, that if she did not confess, she would be subjected to the torture ; that under this process she might probably lose her limbs or her life, but the calamity would be on her own head, for, if she would confess, she would not be required to endure it. While her mind was in the state of agitation this notice produced, her fears were aggravated by the introduction of two or three negresses into her prison, who were to suffer under the same experiment, for witchcraft, and as a means of extorting confession. In this situation of alarm and horror, the young woman persisted in her innocence, the punishment was inflicted, improperly called picketing, which is a military punishment, perfectly distinct. This is not picketing, but the torture. It is true, that the soldier, exposed to this, does stand with his foot on a picket, or sharp piece of wood, but, in mercy to him, a means of repposing is afforded on the *rotundus major*, or interior of the

the arm. This practice, I hope, will not in future be called *picketing*, but *pictoning*, that it may be recognized by the dreadful appellation which belongs to it. Her position may be easily described. The great toe was lodged upon a sharp piece of wood, while the opposite wrist was suspended in a pully, and the other hand and foot were lashed together, so that it was impossible she could afford herself any relief from the anguish she suffered. In this state of agony, she confessed that Carlos Gonzalez had stolen the property, and was continued in this dreadful situation, under the inspection of a magistrate, during the space of fifty-three or fifty-four minutes by a watch, which was provided, from some supposed notion, that the torture could not be inflicted for more than an hour at a time, and that the pleasure of seeing the victim might not occasion it to be continued longer than the personal security of the officer rendered prudent. The first punishment not being sufficient, the horrid ceremony was again repeated."

[The learned counsel here produced a drawing in water colours, in which the situation of the sufferer, and the magistrate, executioner, and secretary was described. He then proceeded :]

"It appears to me, that the case, on the part of the prosecution, will be complete when these facts are established in evidence ; but I am to be told, that though the highest authority in this country could not practise this on the humblest individual, yet, by the laws of Spain, it can be perpetrated in the island of Trinidad. I should venture to assert, that if it were written in characters impossible to be misunderstood,

that if it were the acknowledged law of Trinidad, it could be no justification of a British governor. Nothing could vindicate such a person but the law of imperious necessity, to which we must all submit. It was his duty to impress upon the minds of the people of that colony, the great advantages they would derive from the benign influence of British jurisprudence ; and that in consequence of being received within the pale of this government, torture would be for ever banished from the island. It is, therefore, not sufficient for him to establish this sort of apology ; it is required of him to shew, that he complied with the institutions under the circumstances of irresistible necessity. This governor ought to have been aware, that the torture is not known in England ; and that it never will be, never can be, tolerated in this country.

"The trial by rack is utterly unknown to the law of England, though once, when the dukes of Exeter and Suffolk, and other ministers of Henry VI. had laid a design to introduce the civil law into this kingdom, as the rule of government, for a beginning thereof, they erected a rack for torture, which was called in derision the duke of Exeter's daughter, and still remains in the Tower of London, where it was occasionally used as an engine of state, not of law, more than once in the reign of queen Elizabeth. But when, upon the assassination of Villers duke of Buckingham by Felton, it was proposed in the privy council to put the assassin to the rack, in order to discover his accomplices, the judges, being consulted, declared unanimously, to their own honour, and the honour of the English law, that no such proceeding

ceeding was allowable by the laws of England." Rushw. Coll. i. 638.

"Such are the observations of the elegant and learned author of the commentaries on the law of England on this subject; and as the strongest method of shewing the horror of the practice, he gives this question in the form of an arithmetical problem.

"The strength of the muscles, and the sensibility of the nerves being given, it is required to know what degree of pain would be necessary to make any particular individual confess his guilt.

"But what are we to say to this man, who, so far from having found torture in practice under the former governors, has attached to himself all the infamy of having invented this instrument of cruelty? Like that called the duke of Exeter's daughter, it never existed until the defendant cursed the island with its production. I have incontestible evidence to shew this ingenuity of tyranny in a British governor, and the moment I produce the sanguinary order, the man is left absolutely without defence. The date of the transaction is removed at some distance. It was directed that a commission should conduct the affairs of the government, and among the persons appointed to this important situation, was colonel Fullarton. In the exercise of his duties in that situation, he obtained knowledge of these facts, and with this information, he thought it incumbent on him to bring this defendant before you, and with the defendant, I shall produce the victim of this enormity, whom, from the accident of my being conducted into a room by mistake, I have myself seen. She will be presented before you, and you will learn she at this

moment bears upon her the marks of the barbarity of the defendant. In due time you will hear what my excellent and amiable friend near me has to offer in behalf of his client; I state the case at present with full confidence in your verdict; I ask nothing from your passions; nothing but justice do I require, and I have no doubt at the conclusion of this trial that you will be found to have faithfully exercised your important duty."

Witnesses for the Prosecution.

Louisa Calderon, attended by a Spanish interpreter, was then sworn, and examined by Mr. Adam.

Were you at Trinidad in 1798?—Yes.

Were you acquainted with Pedro Ruiz?—Yes.

Did you live in his house?—Yes.

Were you there when the defendant was governor of the island?—Yes.

Do you remember a robbery committed in the house of Pedro Ruiz?—I do.

Were you suspected of committing that robbery?—I was, and also Carlos (Gonzalez.)

Do you remember his being apprehended?—Yes.

Were you, and your mother, also taken up?—Yes, the same night.

Before whom were you carried?—Before governor Picton.

Did he order you to be committed to prison?—Yes.

Under what guard were you conveyed thither?—By three soldiers.

To what apartment of the prison were you consigned?—To the woman's side.

Before you were sent there, what did the defendant tell you?—That if I did not confess, the hangman was to put his hand upon me.

Do you know a person of the name of Beggorrat?—Yes.

Is he an Alcalde (magistrate)?—Yes; he came to me in prison, and examined me frequently as to the robbery.

Was there an Escrivano (notary) of the name of Francisco de Castro, who also attended?—Yes.

After some examinations, were you carried into a room where there was a picket erected in the gaol?—Yes.

[The witness was here desired to give a description of this instrument of torture, and of the manner in which it was applied to her person, which she did nearly in the way in which it was explained in the opening of the learned counsel. When the drawing above-mentioned was handed to her, representing, in a striking manner, her situation, surrounded by her judges and executioners, she gave a shudder expressive of horror, which nothing but the most painful recollection of her situation could have excited; on which Mr. Garrow expressed his concern, that his lordship was not in a position to witness this accidental, but conclusive evidence of the fact.]

Lord Ellenborough objected to the exhibition of this drawing to the jury, until Mr. Dallas, on the part of his client, permitted it to be shewn to them. The examination then proceeded.

How long did you remain tied up in this situation?—Three quarters of an hour.

Were you upon the spike all that time?—Yes.

Were you at any time drawn up by the rope connected with the pulley?—Yes.

Had you seen any persons in the

same unhappy condition before?—Yes, two others.

What was the effect of this torture?—I was in great agony, and, after it, my wrist and foot were very much swelled.

Were you asked to make confession of the robbery, before you were tied up?—Yes; Beggorrat enquired if I would declare who took the money.

Were you sworn before the torture was applied?—No; but the holy cross was held up before me.

Did you confess?—Yes; after I was suspended, I said Carlos took the money.

[Several questions were then proposed as to the time the punishment was inflicted, which appeared to be about Christmas, and by subsequent interrogatories, it appeared she was taken into the gaoler's room, where she saw Carlos, to learn if she had herself taken the money.]

Where did you go after you left the gaoler's room?—To the same apartment where I had been suspended. I was kept there all night.

Were you put in irons?—Yes, in *grillos* (fetters for the legs.)

Describe what these *grillos* are.—They are formed of an iron bar, fastened to the ground, to which are attached two rings to receive the legs.

[A drawing of this instrument was then produced, which the witness said was an exact representation of the *grillos*.]

Were you put upon the picket next day?—Yes, upon the same instrument, and in the same manner; it was in the morning.

How long were you kept upon it?—Twenty-two minutes. There was a watch to shew the time; Alvarez

Beggorrat,

Begorrat, Francisco de Castro, and Rafael, an alguazil (constable) were present.

With which arm were you tied up the second day?—With each, one after the other, and I was so suspended, that I could just touch the spike by extending my toe.—(My feet were without shoes or stockings, she said, in reply to a question by Lord Ellenborough). She then described, that she was seized with a fainting fit, and that she knew nothing of the time or circumstances of her recovery.

Were you again put in irons?—Yes, in the *grillos*, the same evening.

How long were you in this state?—All the time I was in prison, during eight months.

Are there any marks of the injury you received now apparent on your person?—On my wrists there are, but none on my feet.

[The witness now exposed the seam or callus, formed on her wrists in consequence of the torture.]

To some questions, on the cross-examination by Mr. Dallas, she said that she did not know how long she had been released before she was brought over; that she came with colonel Fullarton, and that she had been maintained by Mr. White, of the treasury.

Don Rafael Shando, also assisted by the interpreter, said, that he was an alguazil in the island of Trinidad, in the year 1801; that he returned from the interior of the country on the 22d of December, and saw Louisa Calderon in gaol; that they were then giving her a glass of water, after bringing her down from the torture. She was supporting herself on a table; it was about se-

ven o'clock in the evening. Begorrat desired witness to bring Carlos up, and told her that she must repeat to Carlos what she had said to him. After this interview, at which nothing transpired, she was instantly put in the *grillos*, and in the same room in which she had suffered the torture. The apartment was like a garret, with sloping sides, and the *grillos* were so placed, that, by the lowness of the room, she could by no means raise herself up during the eight months of her confinement. On the 23d of December she was again put to the torture, between eleven and twelve in the morning, and she remained in this situation twenty-two minutes by the watch.

[The witness here examined the drawing, and described the position much in the way it had been before represented, and then added,]

She fainted twice in his arms.—Begorrat sent vinegar to the executioner, to administer to her in this situation. There was no advocate appointed to attend on her behalf, and no surgeon to assist her. No one but a negro belonging to Bullo the gaoler, to pull the rope. As soon as she was taken down, she was put into the *grillos*. The witness had seen her sister bring her victuals, but never noticed the admission of her sister or her friend into the gaol. The witness had been four or five years in the post of alguazil. He never knew the torture inflicted in the island until the arrival of the defendant. There had been before no instrument for the purpose. The first he saw was in the barracks, among the soldiers. Before Louisa Calderon, the instrument had been introduced into the gaol perhaps about six months. The first person he saw tortured in Trinidad

nidad was by direction of the defendant, who said to the gaoler, "Go and fetch the black man to the picket guard, and put him to the torture." After the eight months confinement, both Carlos and Louisa were discharged.

On his cross-examination, by Mr. Laws, he said that Carlos was discharged at the time the judge ordered him to bring the money; that he went from the island, he did not know by whose orders, and that he took his passage for Margarita.

Don Juan Montes said, that he was acquainted with the hand-writing of the defendant, and proved the document containing the order of the torture expressed in these terms:

"Aplicase la question a Louisa Calderon.

(Signed) "THOMAS PICTON."

After some observations from Mr. Dallas, which were answered by Mr. Garrow, the lord chief justice ruled, that the application of the *alcalde Beggarrat*, which led to the issue of this order, should be read.

Mr. Lowten then read the representation of this officer, advising that slight torture should be applied, stating that his own authority was incompetent to do it, without the orders of the governor, and giving the result of the proceedings, in the course of the examinations Louisa Calderon had undergone. The instrument was countersigned by Francisco de Castro.

Mr. Garrow.—"Then follow, my lord, the service of the order, and the acts of torment."

Lord Ellenborough.—"Does it appear, that the defendant was acquainted with the subsequent proceeding?"

Mr. Garrow.—"I do not want it."

Mr. Harrison now proceeded with the testimony of Don Juan Montes, who said he had known the island of Trinidad since 1793; that the torture was never introduced, until after the conquest of the island, and was then practised by order of the defendant; it was first used with the military in 1799, and two years afterwards in the gaol.

Mr. Garrow said, that he had more witnesses to produce, if necessary, of the first respectability; but from regard to the time of the court, he should here close the case on the part of the crown, unless it should be required by the counsel for the defendant, that it should be proved that general Picton was governor of the island.

Mr. Dallas, for the defendant, rested his defence upon the following statements:—

1st. By the law of Spain, in the present instance, torture was directed; and being bound to administer that law, he was justified in its application.

2dly. The order for the torture, if not unlawfully, was not maliciously issued.

3dly. If it were unlawful, yet if the order were erroneously or mistakenly issued, it is a complete answer to a criminal charge.

The learned counsel entered at considerable length into these positions, during which he compared the law of Spain, as it prevailed in Trinidad, with the law of England as it subsisted in some of our own islands; and he contended, that the conduct of general Picton was gentleness and humanity, compared to what might be practised with impunity under the authority of the British government.

After a long interlocutory discussion,

sion, several items of the examination taken on the island, for the purpose of this cause, were read by the clerk of the court. The next testimony adduced was that of Mr. Gloucester, the attorney-general of his majesty in the island, who deposed to the authenticity of several books on the laws of the island, among which were the *Erizondo*, the *Curia Philippica*, the *Bobadilla*, the *Colom*, and the *Recopilacion de Leyes*.

Various passages in these books were then referred to, and translated, for the purpose of shewing that torture was not only permitted in certain cases, but in the particular instance before the jury.

On the part of the prosecution, don Pedro de Vargas was then called to contradict these authorities. He said that he had studied the law of the West India Islands under the dominion of Spain seven years, and that he had practised it two years. In the course of his enquiries and experience, he had never known any book of authority cited to justify the application of torture; it was true, an ancient edict, as early as the year 1260, mentioning torture, had been referred to by some learned persons in colonial law, but this authority had long been considered obsolete and nugatory, so that nothing now remained either to support the principle or the practice. After the cross-examination of this witness,

Lord Ellenborough.—“The single question for your consideration is, whether, by the Spanish laws observed in Trinidad, the defendant was justified in inflicting torture upon the prosecutrix? I would advise you by all means to divest yourselves of every thing that may in-

flame your minds, so that you may give impartial attention to the present case. The inquiry for you to make is, what was the subsisting law by which Trinidad, at the time it was taken by sir Ralph Abercrombie, was governed? The various authorities upon the subject of the distribution of justice in Spanish courts do not mention the infliction of torture, and therefore the right of applying it, if it can be applied at all, must depend upon authorities before us, or upon the jurisdiction of the judge. We are not made acquainted at what time Trinidad was annexed to the Spanish colonial possessions, or what code of laws were then instituted. Depositions of witnesses have been read, who have known the island for 32 years, and one of them was born there, and swears torture was never administered. Mr. Nugent also says, he knew Trinidad for twenty years, and never saw the torture inflicted, or had ever seen the instruments, and therefore it is absolutely without any proof to support it. Mr. Gloucester speaks to books of authority, which he stated to be in use when he was in the island; but the existence and reference to them can certainly not extend beyond the period when he himself was acquainted with them.” His lordship having made some farther observations, respecting the different authorities produced, concluded as follows:—
“The question, then, resolves itself to this, viz. whether in the absence of usage for 32 years, you will infer that the law of Old Spain so necessarily involved that of Trinidad, as to induce you to believe; that as the practice of torture is allowed by the one, it is also by the other. If you are of opinion that it does,

does, you will be so good as to say so, that it may be inserted in the special verdict, if not, you will find the defendant generally guilty."

The jury immediately returned, that they were of opinion that no such law did exist which would authorise the defendant in inflicting the torture, in consequence of which general Picton was found *guilty* of every charge.

Lord Ellenborough.—"Mr. Dallas, you will have the advantage of all objections on a motion for a new trial."

Mr. Dallas.—"Yes, my lord, there are many points in the evidence of which I may avail myself."

27th. Mr. PITT's WILL was this day proved by W. D. Adams, and W. Huskisson, esquires, and is as follows, in three separate schedules:

"I owe sir Walter Farquhar one thousand guineas, from October, 1805, as a professional debt.

"W. PITT."

"12,000*l.* with interest, from October, 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele, Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Camden, Mr. Joseph Smith, and I earnestly request their acceptance of it. I wish, if means can be found for it, of paying double the wages to all my servants who were with me at my decease.

"W. PITT."

"I wish my brother, with the bishop of Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to settle my affairs. I owe more than I can leave behind me.

"W. PITT."

The following uncommon instances of fecundity have this season occurred in the flock of John Wythe, esq. of Eye: Feb. 18, a Norfolk ewe yeaned three lambs.—20, another three.—21, another five.—23, another, four.—Same day,

another, three.—25, another, three.—27, another, four.—Thus seven ewes yeaned 25 lambs, all alive.

MARCH.

2nd. A melancholy accident happened on the road between Exeter and Exmouth, at that part where the roads from Clyst and Newcourt, join that between Topsham and Topsham bridge. As lieutenant-colonel Bagwell, of the 6th dragoon guards, was riding on a party of pleasure, with some officers of his acquaintance, his horse suddenly took fright, and after galloping off with great fury, threw his rider with such force, that it fractured his skull most dreadfully, and killed him on the spot. Medical assistance was procured in a few minutes, but it was too late to be of service. The body was removed to Topsham, where the coroner held an inquest, which returned a verdict of *accidental death*. The lieutenant-colonel was in the prime of life, and universally beloved and esteemed by the whole regiment, as well as by all who knew him. He is the son of John Bagwell, esq. member of parliament for the county of Tipperary, and brother to the representative in parliament for the borough of Clonmell in Ireland.

3rd. Capt. Whitehead, of the revenue cutter, *Eagle*, carried a smuggling vessel into Shields, which had run about twenty boat loads previously on shore, yet a considerable quantity of spirits is left on board. She is a new lugger, only seven weeks off the stocks, from Flushing, rigged in the Dutch manner, manned with French, Flemings, Dutch, Prussians, and, it is said, some English; but the chief part

of

of the crew escaped in their boat. A considerable seizure of smuggled goods took place at Preston, near North Shields, a few days since.

The reverend Rowland Hill has travelled through Kent; he preached on Sunday week to 700 of the children who attend the Sunday schools; and on Wednesday morning following *vaccinated* as many as applied to him before nine o'clock, at Chatham.

4th. An accident of a serious nature happened last week, at Mrs. Ash's, of Linton, Kent.—The family had been somewhat alarmed by the appearance of persons lurking about the house for some nights, and there having been several robberies in the neighbourhood lately, they thought they would be prepared; accordingly, a brace of pistols was removed from a place where they had laid several years, and were supposed not to be loaded. The maid-servant accordingly snapped one of them, which did not flash, and afterwards snapped it several times; Miss Ash took the same pistol from the servant, and pointing it close to her sister, snapped it—when, to their utter astonishment, it went off, and the ball penetrated her chest, close to the collar-bone. The ball was not immediately extracted, but favourable hopes were entertained of her recovery. Yet, it must be considered particularly fortunate that the pistol did not go off in the servant's hand; for once, while she snapped it, she held it close to the man servant's head.

An extraordinary change of fortune happened to a poor old woman, who resides at Rothsay, in Scotland. J. Mitchel, esq. who died at St. Vincent's, proved to be her only brother, of whom she had not heard

for many years, and left her property to the amount of 50,000*l*.

The following melancholy circumstance happened lately in the north of Scotland:—A gentleman and his wife went to bed in perfect health, and were found quite dead in the morning, being suffocated by a fire of peats in the room in which they slept. There had been no fire in the room for some time, and it is supposed the chimney had been stopped up. Sleeping with fires in bed-chambers is a dangerous practice.

6th. The following very singular circumstance took place at Hove, on Saturday last:—As Mr. Wichels, senior, a gentleman much and deservedly esteemed, and who was formerly a resident of Brighton, was entertaining a few select friends at his hospitable marine villa at Hove, a hare, *sans ceremonie*, paid them a visit, and instantly crouched down against one of the legs of the banquetting table. Poor puss was soon made a captive, which task was scarcely performed, when Mr. Bridger's pack of harriers, in full cry, surrounded the house. The hare, it seems, had afforded the pack an excellent chace; from the severity of which she had suddenly withdrawn as above described, and was now, in better *health* than *spirits*, presented to Mr. Bridger, who accompanied his dogs, and by whose order the timid animal was ultimately permitted, without farther interruption, to range at large.

A woman of the name of Eliz. Brown, after travelling 13 miles, was delivered of a child at the Globe Inn, in Carlisle, though she had not arrived an hour before. And on Monday se'nnight, Jane Irving, about eleven at night, walked to the
2 workhouse,

workhouse without assistance, and was there, in less than an hour, delivered of a fine boy, immediately after which, notwithstanding every persuasion, she walked to her lodgings in English-street, a quarter of a mile distant. This is her 6th birth.

In consequence of a butcher of Stretford, near Manchester, having disappeared from the period of the late flood, a report prevailed that an apparition had been frequently seen at midnight, near Cross Bridge, between Stretford and Cross-street, where there is generally a standing pool of water; a town-meeting was convened, which came to a resolution of having the place pumped dry. The business was accordingly undertaken, and, after several day's labour, completed on Thursday, when the body of the butcher was found. He was generally supposed to have been robbed and murdered; but on examining the body, money and other valuables were found in his pockets; a circumstance which evidently proves his death to have been accidental. The most ridiculous and unaccountable reports have been circulated on this subject. The cattle are said to have refused to drink the water, and horses, passing that way, to have shook and trembled under their riders. The ghost, it was said, was seen in the form of a dog, and at other times in that of a man, uttering dreadful yells of distress.

7th. A large fossil skeleton, of an animal similar to a crocodile, was lately found at Daddridge, Gloucester, in a solid stratum of lime-stone, twenty feet thick, and imbedded fifteen feet below the surface. The skeleton is ten feet and a half in length, and all parts are perfect.

The jaws are in high preservation, and the teeth even covered with their enamel; one of them, on being broken, appeared so much like the fracture of petrified wood, that an idea has been started, that many fossils, hitherto supposed to be of vegetable, are of animal origin.

This day, about one, a fire broke out at the house of an organ-builder, in Southampton-court, Tottenham-court Road, which was occasioned by leaving a fire in the workshop when the men went to dinner. The engines did not arrive till some time after the fire began, but by five the flames were extinguished.

8th. A fire broke out about ten this night, at the house of Mr. Field, corn-chandler, in Shoreditch, and communicated to a neighbouring house, occupied by a dyer. About twelve the flames were got under.

9th. The thunder storm of this night burst on the kitchen chimney of Walter Grey, esq. at Sonthgate, and did considerable damage to it.

10th. The frost in the neighbourhood of Kelso, in Scotland, was particularly severe. A hurricane, accompanied by a considerable fall of snow and hail, occurred on this day, and destroyed the famous elm tree, which had existed for ages, on the banks of the Teviot, and was known by the name of the *Trysting Tree*.—On the succeeding Thursday, Fahrenheit's thermometer in that town was as low as nine degrees.

CURE FOR DEAFNESS.—Mr. Sitnikoff, a merchant at Moscow, was deprived for half a year of the faculty of hearing, and submitted to various applications without success. At last he filled his mouth with the smoke of tobacco, closed it firmly as well as his nostrils, and thus compelled the smoke to find a passage through

through his ears. The next day he felt a crash in each ear, and ever since his hearing has been perfectly restored.

On Thursday se'nnight a blind man undertook, for a small wager, to run against the mail coach, between Halifax and Bradford, a distance of near eight miles: he arrived at Bradford twelve minutes before the coach, having been allowed to set off five minutes before it. On his arrival at Bradford, a bystander would have it that he could see. In order to convince him that he was totally blind, he gave leave for his eyes to be covered with a plaister, and said he would run the other man back again to Halifax, but he refused the blind man's challenge.

13th. The fall of snow was so heavy in Kent, that the Dover coach was yesterday greatly retarded in its progress to town. On its arrival at Barham Downs a complete stop took place, the snow being there of the amazing depth of ten feet. The mail was taken out of the coach, and forwarded by a messenger, on horseback, to town, where it did not arrive till two o'clock. A great number of men were collected on Barham Downs, who cut a passage through the snow for the coach, and enabled it to continue its journey. It did not arrive in London till six at night.

14th. A poney, the property of Mr. J. Moore, of Mildenhall, in Suffolk, for a trilling wager, galloped from the above place to Bury, and back again, (a distance of 25 miles,) in 1 hour and 29 minutes. He was allowed two hours, but performed it 31 minutes within the time. The weight of the poney is only 25 stone,

its height under 13 hands, and the rider weighed 11 stone.

16th. The parish church of St. Peter, at St. Alban's, which had been a long time under repair, for the re-building the centre tower, and contracting the chancel, was opened with two appropriate sermons, by the vicar, Mr. Roberts; that in the morning from Eph. iv. 4. that in the evening from Matthew xxviii. 20.

19th. This morning between one and two, a large mass of the venerable remains of the ancient wall of Rochester castle gave way with a dreadful crash, and falling on a shed occupied by Mr. Butcher, coach-maker, entirely destroyed the same, and damaged several chaises, &c. which were standing under, and near it. The mass which fell was thirty feet high, and above twenty in width, and it is supposed to have been occasioned by the moisture sapping the foundation of it.

20th. Joseph Gardam, an old man, aged 70 years, was, by a strong gust of wind, blown into a tub of boiling glew, at Hull, by which he was so severely scalded that he died.

A brawn (a cross of the Berkshire and Hampshire breed) was killed a few days since by Mr. Jones, of Brymbo, near Wrexham, which weighed, after cleaning, 760 pounds, and the fat on the back was five inches thick. The sire of this animal was killed about two years ago, which weighed 21 score.

21st. A person who worked at the brewery in East Smithfield, late the king's brewhouse, having come into the possession of some property, a friend called on him to congratulate him, and they adjourned to a public-

public-house in the neighbourhood. Shortly after, Lee, a night constable, came in with his truncheon in his hand. The deceased jocosely asked him, whether he ever struck any body with that stick? He with good humour replied, he did sometimes; and raising it, as if to flou-
rish it over his own head, it unfortunately alighted on the other's head, where, injuring a vital part, almost instant death was the consequence.

The same day, at Charing Cross, as the mother of an infant, about nine months old, was handing it out of a stage-coach to another person, it dropped between them, the horses at the instant moving, the near hind wheel went over the child's head, and killed it on the spot.

A second Roman pavement has lately been discovered in the metropolis, of which a coloured print will be published.

22d. A duel was fought on Galleywood Common, near Chelmsford, Essex, between lieutenant Turrens, and Mr. Fisher, surgeon, both of the 6th regiment of foot, in barracks there. The parties, with their seconds, arrived on the spot appointed for the encounter; at day-break, when the preliminaries having been settled, they took a short distance, and turning round, fired at the same instant. The lieutenant received his antagonist's ball in the groin, and immediately fell; on which Mr. Fisher went up and took him by the hand, expressing much regret at the lamentable consequence that had ensued; as, from the nature of the wound, he was apprehensive it would prove mortal. Assistance having been procured, the wounded gentleman was removed to a windmill, at a short distance, and as soon

as possible conveyed from thence to his apartments in the barracks, where every attention was rendered that his unfortunate situation could require. The ball having lodged on the side opposite to which it entered, was extracted by Dr. Welch, at four o'clock the same afternoon, but he expired between nine and ten o'clock on Sunday morning. An inquisition was taken before J. O. Parker, junior, esq. coroner, on view of the body, on Monday, and verdict returned of *wilful murder* against Mr. Fisher and the two seconds, one of whom is under arrest: Mr. Fisher and the other have absconded.

A WOMAN TO LET!—There is a custom, which most likely is peculiar to a small district in the western part of Cumberland. A few days ago, a gentleman from the neighbourhood of Whitehaven, calling upon a person at his house in Ulpha, was informed that he was not within; he was gone to church; there was "*a woman to let!*" On enquiry as to the meaning of this singular expression, it was thus explained:—When any *single woman*, belonging to the parish, had the misfortune to prove *with child*, a meeting of the parishioners is called, for the purpose of providing her a maintenance in some family, at so much per week, from that time to a limited time after delivery; and this meeting, (to give it the greater sanction) is uniformly holden in the church, where the *lowest bidder* has the *bargain!* And on such occasions, previous notice is given, that on such a day there will be "*a woman to let!*"

Dick Jarrett, called the miser, at Rye, lately died possessed of property to the amount of nine or ten thousand

thousand pounds; he was never married, but lived by himself, performing all the business of the house, &c. and his dress corresponded with his disposition. Not long since, he complained of the hardness of the times. Formerly it cost him to live on, only 5 of 6*l.* per annum, but his last year's expenditure was 13*l.* He would lend his money out where he could get good security. Under a brick, since taken up in the premises where he resided, have been found near 300 guineas. This eccentric character had beer by him, which had been brewed forty years ago, and some had been kept ever since his christening (but by whom first provided, for the purpose, we cannot say,) to be drank at his funeral, above seventy years old. How he has disposed of his money we have not heard.

CORONER'S INQUEST.—An inquest was held on the body of Elizabeth Trout, a young woman of Little Sheffield, Yorkshire, who, in a fit of despair, drowned herself in a pond on Sunday week. The deliberate manner in which she put an end to her existence is somewhat extraordinary; the pond being frozen over, she broke a hole in the ice, just to admit her head, which she put into the water, and her body remained quite dry.

23d. Letters from the society for the suppression of vice to the ladies who patronize the Sunday concerts under the direction of Salomon, after an apology for their interference with what was done in the private houses of persons of the exalted rank of those ladies, expatiate against the impious conduct of the ladies who patronize the playing of music in their own houses on the Lord's Day. They complain of the

exorbitant salaries paid to the Italians for their entertainments, and rail severely at the rude conduct of the servants about the doors of persons of distinction.

The French *Charlatan* of a certain venerable duke was most awkwardly treated a few evenings since by some ladies of pleasure, in the neighbourhood of St. James's, for keeping too large a poundage out of his master's bounty. Two of them tore the skirts off his coat, pretending to contend for the possession of his person, while a third had nearly poisoned him by emptying the contents of his own phials upon his head. In this plight he was turned into the street, and compelled to seek refuge in a hackney coach that was previously waiting for him.

25th. BOW STREET.—An information against — Russell came on, to recover the penalty of 200*l.* under an act of parliament, for keeping a house where an unlawful game of chance was played, formerly known by the name of the *Little Go*, but now distinguished, to avoid the penalty, by the name of *Ivory*.

Mr. Const appeared as counsel on the part of the defendant, and pleaded not guilty to the charge.

Mr. H——, the informant, stated to the sitting magistrates the mode of practising this system of robbery. The game was a species of lottery; several tickets, made of ivory, with numbers upon them, were put into a box by the master of the table, and the poor persons fixed on the numbers they were to insure. It was usual for the common people to fix on low numbers, always under 100, not to overburthen their minds with a complication of figures; this was well known by the persons who kept

kept the game, and they took care never to put any, or at least very few, numbers under 100, into the box; of course, it was seldom or never that any of the poor wretches gained a prize. Against the present defendant, he said, he did not intend to produce any evidence, as he was not the object that he wished the arm of justice to be raised against. — There was a man of the name of H—— whom he wished to fasten himself on; this man was the main spring by which the defendant and many others were set in motion. They acted as his servants, and he received the greater part of the profits. By these means, this Mr. H—— had squeezed from the pockets of the lower order of the people in the city of Westminster, in the course of a very short time, no less a sum than 50,000*l*. At present, he had evidence against him which must convict him; and, by having the present defendant acquitted, he meant to bring him forward as a witness, to supply a link in the chain, which he thought was wanting.

As there was no evidence produced, the present defendant was acquitted.

Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the celebrated translator of Epictetus, died this month at the advanced age of 89 years. She very early in life discovered the superior cultivation which her mind had received from the superintendence of her worthy father; and her only brother, Henry, received his classical education from her before he went to Canterbury school; from which he was admitted of Corpus Christi College, Cam-

bridge. Mrs. C. has published all the works of Epictetus which are now extant. The learning and ability which the authoress has displayed in the execution of this task are well known, and have received that applause which is so justly their due; the work may with justice be pronounced to do honour to her sex and to her country. Besides this production which forms the chief of her literary labours, she has published a volume of poems, which are celebrated in the works of lord Lyttelton, who had perused them in manuscript, and at whose particular request they were offered to the world. As compositions, their merit and beauty cannot be too highly applauded. Sublime simplicity of sentiment, melodious sweetness of expression, and morality the most amiable, grace them in every page.

APRIL.

1st. While two constables were conducting a man to Hereford, from near Fawnhope, he suddenly plunged from the road into the river, near Mordiford, and, after wishing his conductors *a good night*, was drowned! Much blame is said to attach to the people who had the care of this unfortunate man, as they did not make the smallest effort to save him.

At Lancaster assizes, Edward Barlow, aged 69, (who has been the executioner for the county for

twenty years, during which time he has officiated upon 84 criminals,) was tried for horse stealing.—*Guilty, death.*

Last week T. Barns and J. Sinott were executed near Winchester. At the place of execution, Sinott contrived to slip back the string by which his hands were pinioned, and when the rope and cap were fixed, he took both off, and resisted their being replaced, and the javelin-men were called to hold him, before the rope and cap could be again adjusted. Barns waited his fate with the greatest resignation.—Sinott was a seaman, and was convicted of cruelly cutting and maiming John Bell, a seaman.

5th. Richard Patch, was tried in Surry, at Horsemonger-lane, for the murder of Isaac Blight.

Mr. Garrow said, he should proceed to state the relative situation of the prisoner and the deceased, and the nature of the premises where the transaction took place. From the account he should give of the premises, it would result that it was absolutely impossible that the deceased could have met his death from any other hand:—he should then detail other circumstances, whence the same result must necessarily follow. Mr. Garrow proceeded to state, that Mr. Blight was a ship-breaker—that he had a sister of the prisoner for his servant, in the spring of 1803—that the prisoner visited his sister; expressed himself distressed, and entered into Mr. Blight's service for mere victuals and drink; afterwards he had a salary. Mr. G. then detailed the circumstance of Mr. Blight's having been in embarrassed

circumstances, and of having made some nominal transfer to the prisoner in 1803. Last August, Mr. Blight went to Margate; the prisoner conducted his business, and was to receive one-third of the profits, for which he was to pay 1250l.—250l. he did pay, and for the remainder, he gave a draft for 1000l. on one Goom. On the 16th September, he said that Goom could not take the draft up. A fresh one was given, which was to be due September 20th. On the 19th September, Mr. Blight went to Margate; the prisoner was left at Deptford, and in the evening sent the servant, Kitchener, for oysters. While she was absent, a gun was fired through the shutters; which gun, Mr. Garrow said, he meant to say was not fired by an enemy, but by the prisoner, with a view to the fatal catastrophe. From the nature of the premises, no person could escape from the gate nor by water. On the next day, the prisoner wrote to Blight, giving him an account of the transaction, and concluded by saying, that he should be glad to see him. Blight arrived in town on the 23d September; the prisoner did not say that the 1000l. draft was not taken up, but led the deceased to believe the money was safe; he then went to London, with a strict charge from Mr. Blight to bring the money with him. On his return they spent the evening together, and (for the first time) in the back-parlour, where the deceased was shot. At eight o'clock the prisoner quitted the deceased, went to Kitchener, and asked for the key of the counting-house, stating himself to be ill. He went through the

the counting-house to the privy, and shut the door hard—Kitchener instantly (as she says) saw the flash of the pistol, and Blight came into the kitchen wounded. She rushed out, and shut the street-door. The difficulty here was, that she should have heard the privy door shut, and the pistol flash at the parlour door, at the same moment. The prisoner came in immediately to Blight. Mr. Garrow then proceeded to state, that when the surgeon, Mr. Ashley Cooper, was called in, he asked the deceased whom he suspected? The answer was, Mr. Patch tells me he has reason to suspect one Webster. But Mr. Garrow said, he would prove that he was not the murderer, by showing where he was at the time; he named another person of the name of Clarke, because he had had a quarrel with Blight; but this man also would be proved to have been elsewhere. Mr. Garrow next proceeded to dwell upon the motives that could have induced the prisoner to commit the murder. He wished to possess part of the business, but without payment of the consideration-money. In all his representations about the draft for 1000*l*. there was not one word of truth. What was his conduct subsequent to the fatal event? He told Mrs. Blight the 1000*l*. was paid, and got the papers relative to the business from Mrs. Blight; he talked to the witness Kitchener as to what she should say. He was in the uniform practice of wearing boots; but he should prove, that when Blight was murdered, he had shoes and stockings—the stockings were afterwards found in the sleeping-room, plastered with mud, such as was on the wharf. The pistol he could not pro-

duce, but the ramrod was found in the privy.

The first witness called was Mr. Richard Frost, a publican, who kept the Dog and Duck. The first part of his testimony (for he was called in a second time,) related merely to the fact of the death of Mr. Blight. He stated, that on the morning of the 23d September last, he was sent for by the prisoner, in consequence of the deceased having been killed by a pistol shot: he went, and found him leaning on his hands, and wounded.

Mr. Ashley Cooper said, he was called in to the assistance of Mr. Blight. Upon examining him, he found he had received a wound near the navel, and another in the groin. He observed that they were gun shot wounds; and, as the body of the deceased was considerably inflated, he pronounced them mortal: he observed the bowels coming through the wounds. The next morning Patch came to him, said the deceased was in extreme pain, and wished to know whether any thing could be done for him. The witness told him he feared there could not. This was about seven in the morning. He rose and went to him, and found him in a very swollen state. He promised to return in the afternoon with a physician. He went to town, and came back with Doctor Babbington; but Mr. Blight had been dead about three quarters of an hour. He had not the smallest doubt that the wounds were the occasion of his death.

Richard Frost was again called up to speak to the firing of the gun. He stated, that on Thursday, the 19th, there was the report of the firing of a gun at Mr. Blight's house;

he went out to ascertain the cause, but he did not perceive any person coming from the premises; and he was in a situation in which, had the person who fired it attempted to make his escape, he must have observed him:—it was about eight o'clock in the evening, and it was dark; but he was near enough to have seen any one run away, or climb the wall.

Miss Ann Davis and Miss Martha Davis, sisters, who happened to be walking by the premises in a different direction from the last witness, stated, that they also saw the flash, and heard the report of a gun, and must have seen any person attempting to escape; but all was quiet, and they concluded that the gun was fired by some one on the premises.

After this head of evidence, to establish that the gun fired on the Thursday preceding the death of Mr. Blight was not by any stranger, but by the prisoner, witnesses were then called to relate the circumstances which occurred on the 23d.

Mr. Michael Wright stated, that he was going past Mr. Blight's house a little after eight, when he heard the report of a pistol in the house; and having become acquainted, by rumour, of the former attempt, he was induced to go up to the house with a view to offer his assistance—he knocked for some time, and was not admitted; but insisting on having the door opened, Mr. Patch made his appearance, and began informing him what a dreadful accident had happened. The witness was impatient at hearing this story: he thought that some means should be rather adopted to pursue the murderer, and recommended Patch to commission him to apply to Bow-

street; as an enquiry taking place instantly after the assassination, would most probably be attended with success. Patch seemed reluctant, and thought that no good effect could result from it. The witness was rather indignant at his assistance not being accepted, and therefore went away.

Hester Kitchener's evidence applied to the two days. She stated, that on the 19th she had been ordered by the prisoner to shut up the shutters of the house earlier than usual. Her master and mistress were then at Margate. At eight o'clock, the prisoner sent her out for some oysters; and, as she returned, she heard the report of a gun; but through the court-yard, the only passage to the house, she did not see any one. When she saw Patch, he cried, "Oh, Hester, I have been shot at!"—She rejoined, "Lord forbid!"—They then looked for the ball, which she found. The witness continued to state that her master returned to town on the Monday morning; that in the evening he and the prisoner drank tea together in the back parlour, and afterwards had some grog. Her master was fatigued, heavy, and sleepy with his journey and the liquor. Patch came down in a hurry to her in the kitchen, and, complaining of a pain in his bowels, wanted a light to go into the yard. She gave it to him, as also the key of the counting-house, through which it was necessary he should pass. She heard him enter the back place and slam the door after him, and immediately she heard the report of the pistol.—Her master ran down into the kitchen, exclaiming, "O Hester, I am a dead man!" and supported himself upon the dresser. She ran up to shut

shut the door; and as she was half way down the passage, on her return, she heard Patch knocking violently for admittance. He asked what was the matter; she told him; on which he went down and offered his assistance. He asked the deceased if he knew of any one who could owe him a grudge? Mr. Blight answered, no, as he was not at enmity with any man in the world.

Mr. Christopher Morgan was passing by when the fatal shot was fired; he went to the house, and saw Mr. Blight lying in a wounded state, and recommended Mr. Patch, in the first instance, to search the premises all over. Patch told him, and his friend Mr. Berry, who was with Mr. M. to go and search an old ship that was off the wharf, as he had reason to think that the perpetrator might have escaped there; for he heard a noise in that direction on the night when the gun was previously fired. They went, but found that the ship was lying at the distance of 16 feet from the wharf; that it was low water; that from the top of the wharf to the mud was ten feet, that the soil was soft mud, and that any one who might attempt that way must have been up to his middle; besides, the mud did not bear the appearance of any one having passed through it; he was therefore perfectly convinced that no one escaped over the wharf towards the water.—Mr. Berry corroborated this evidence.

Six other persons, who happened to be in different directions leading from Mr. Blight's house to the public roads, most distinctly proved, that when the shot was fired, which killed Mr. Blight, every thing was quiet on the outside of the premises;

that there was no appearance of any person attempting to escape; and if there had, that there was no possibility of his eluding observation.

The next series of evidence went to infer, that the prisoner was carrying on a system of delusion and fraud against the deceased, in respect to certain pecuniary transactions between them. It was proved by Mrs. Blight, the deceased's widow, that her husband, who had fallen into some embarrassments, had, in order to mask his property, made a nominal assignment of it to Patch: but the assignment was not to be carried into effect, unless the trustees of his creditors should, as he apprehended, become importunate. This confidential assignment Patch wished to convert into an absolute sale for consideration given on his part; but Mrs. Blight declared, that he had never paid her husband any money, excepting 250*l.* part of 1,250*l.* the consideration for a share of his business.

The next strong branch of evidence referred to the stockings which the prisoner had on the night that Mr. Blight lost his life. It was proved, that he generally wore boots; but the witnesses memory enabled them to say, that he had shoes and white stockings on, the evening of the 23d.—Mr. Stafford, of the police-office, stated, that, on examining the bed-room of Mr. Patch, they were folded up like a clean pair; but that on opening them, the soles appeared dirty, as if a person had walked in them without shoes: the inference from this was, that the prisoner had taken off his shoes in order that he might walk out of the necessary without being heard by the maid.

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The last important fact was the discovery of the ramrod of a pistol in the privy, and the proof, that that place had not recently been visited by any person suffering under a bowel complaint. This, and a vast variety of circumstantial evidence, which our limits will not admit of our detailing, concluded the case on the part of the crown.

The prisoner, being called upon for his defence, delivered in a long and elaborate address, supposed to have been written by his counsel, which he requested might be read by the officer of the court: it began by thanking the learned judge for moving his trial from a place where prejudice might have operated against him; complained much of that prejudice having been excited against him by premature reports in the public journals; and then entered into a general train of argument, inferring, that in a case of life and death, juries ought not to convict upon circumstantial evidence; the more especially, where they appeared, as in the present case, *so dubious*. He stated, that whatever might be the result of their judgment upon the evidence, was almost a matter of indifference to him on his own account; for he was borne down and subdued by the unjust prejudices of the public, by the long imprisonment he had endured, and by the enormous expences to which he had been subjected; but he had those relations who made life dear to him: he had children who looked up to him for support, and who would not only be dishonoured, but ruined, by his death. The only evidence which he adduced was that of three persons, who spoke to his general character.

The lord chief baron summed up

the evidence in the most perspicuous manner, occupying nearly two hours in commenting upon every part of it.

The jury retired for about a quarter of an hour, and on their return, pronounced a verdict of *Guilty*.

His lordship then proceeded to pronounce the awful sentence of the law:—he observed, that the prisoner had begun his career of guilt in a system of fraud towards his friend; he had continued it in ingratitude, and had terminated it in blood. He then directed that he should be executed on Monday, (afterwards changed to Tuesday,) and that his body should be delivered for dissection.

Patch heard the sentence with a degree of sullen composure bordering upon apathy, as if he had previously made up his mind to the event. He had the appearance of a decent yeoman, and was about 38 years of age.

6th. SHROPSHIRE BACON!—Mr. Smith, of Upton Magna, killed a pig last week, of which, when slaughtered, the two sides weighed 678lbs. the two leaves 75lbs. head 65lbs. making in the whole, with the midgen, which weighed 50lbs. 868lbs. This astonishing animal was out of one of the finest sows in that part of the kingdom. When alive she measured 9 feet 8 inches long, and 1 yard 6 inches high.

One day last week, as a waggon belonging to Mr. Turner, at the White Lion inn at Wragby, was passing over Langworth bridge, loaded with two chaldron of coals, the south side of the bridge gave way, and the waggon and horses were precipitated into the river. The shaft horse was drowned.

On Wednesday evening an alarm-
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ing fire broke out in one of the stables belonging to the Talbot inn, Malton, by which seven or eight horses were burnt to death. The fire was fortunately got under before any other particular damage was done.

A melancholy accident happened at a cottage adjoining the city walls in St. Stephen's, Norwich, on Saturday last, by the occupier mistaking a paper of gun-powder for black lead, which she used in cleaning a stove, when it suddenly exploded, and herself with three children were so dreadfully burnt as to endanger their lives. They were all conveyed to the county hospital.

Last week, a horse was killed in the New Inn Entry, Dundee, by a large hogshead of sugar, while carting, occasioned by the horse and cart standing facing the foot of the entry (instead of across,) which having a declivity, the hogshead, when put in, rolled over the cart and the body of the horse, the head of which was instantly crushed.

A melancholy catastrophe happened at the mouth of the harbour of Padstow.—T. Rawlins, esq. of that port, having a ship in readiness to set sail on that day, gave an invitation to the captain, Mr. T. Filkins, Mr. Hitchins, and some other gentlemen, to dine with him; when, after dinner, Mr. F. with five others, determined on accompanying the captain on board; after which, the evening coming on, they resolved to return, and having a small boat provided, the company got into it, with the exception of one young man, who remonstrated against proceeding on shore without a larger boat. However, the rest of the company laughed at him, and, at last, prevailed on him to get in.—

No sooner had they put off from the ship, than a heavy surf completely swamped them, and every soul disappeared before assistance could be rendered, with the exception of Mr. F. who was rendered breathless by being dreadfully jammed between the boat and the ship; and although taken up soon after, every exertion to save his life proved unavailing.

8th. EXECUTION OF PATCH.—

From all the circumstances of the case, a confession of his guilt would have given great satisfaction to the public mind; and accordingly, the attempt to obtain one was zealously pursued after his conviction. The rev. Mr. Mann, rector of Bermondsey, and chaplain to the prison, together with three dissenting ministers, attended him in his cell. In their interviews with him, he evinced the strongest proofs of a penitent sinner; but invariably declined to give any answer to the urgent entreaties of the clergymen, to acknowledge the crime for which he was to die. The only answer that could be drawn from him to these entreaties was, "I have confessed my sins before God, and I believe in the lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of my soul; but as to the crime with which I am charged, I do not feel any inclination to gratify the curiosity of men." The rev. Mr. Mann frequently urged, as an example for his imitation, the conduct of Herring, found guilty of coining, and sentenced, with his wife, to suffer at the same time; who, he said, had confessed his guilt, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence: but all his exhortations were to no purpose. At one time, on Monday, Patch manifested considerable alarm in his communications with

with Mr. Mann: and when that gentleman informed him that his friends were waiting to take their last farewell of him, he exclaimed—"Is it really to be so? is no mercy to be expected for an innocent man?" Mr. Mann remained with him until a late hour on Monday evening. The three dissenting ministers remained with him all night; during the whole of which, he appeared extremely penitent and devout. In the course of the night, he took a few glasses of wine; and about two o'clock, having become much exhausted, he laid down upon his bed. The dissenting ministers remained by his side until four o'clock; when he rose and drank two cups of tea, with which he appeared somewhat refreshed.

About half-past six o'clock on Tuesday morning, the rev. Mr. Mann, and the curate of the rev. Rowland Hill, came to the prison; and after a short interview with Patch, they, and Herring and his wife, who were to be executed for coining, were conducted to the chapel. Patch and Herring went with the rev. Mr. Mann to the altar, and resumed their devotions; the woman, being a Roman Catholic, went to the left side of the chapel, with a priest, the rev. Mr. Griffiths.

At eight o'clock, Patch and Herring received the sacrament. At thirteen minutes past eight, Herring came out of the chapel into the prison, where Jack Ketch, of Newgate, was in waiting to knock off his irons. On his return to the chapel, Patch came out, at seventeen minutes past eight, for the same purpose. He was dressed in a good suit of mourning, and appeared in excellent health.—His complexion was florid as usual, and he stood

firm, and with very great composure, while the hangman was tying his arms. After this process, he returned with a firm step to the chapel, and resumed his devotions.

At five minutes before nine o'clock the high sheriff, the under sheriff, their officers and attendants, with their wands, came to the door of the chapel, and demanded the bodies of the unfortunate sufferers: and immediately after, they began to move in the usual order, followed by Mr. Ives, the keeper of the prison. First, came Herring and his wife, and next Patch, with Jack Ketch on his right, carrying in his right hand a cutlass. When they got to the open yard, Herring and his wife were placed in a sledge, and drawn to the entrance of the staircase leading to the apparatus for the execution. Herring and his wife ascended the stairs with as much firmness as could be expected. Patch displayed his usual intrepidity.

While Jack Ketch was in the act of fastening the ropes, the rev. Mr. Mann attended Patch, and, for the last time, attempted to draw from him a confession, but with no better success. The sheriff then went to him, and entreated him to confess; but he steadily refused. At this time the cap was drawn down upon his face, and every thing was prepared to launch him into eternity. Apparently displeased at being pressed so much upon the subject, he now threw himself considerably back with impatience. From the violent motion of his body, some of the spectators supposed that he meant to break his neck, as Abershaw did on Kennington common: others apprehended that he was fainting away. Neither of these, however, appeared to be the case; and

and it was evidently the result of a wish to avoid all further entreaty. Mr. Ives, observing Patch throw himself back, ran to him, and exclaimed, "My good friend, what are you about?" Mr. Patch took him by the hand, and conversed with him for about a minute and a half; and, when he was loosing him, he parted his hand apparently with much reluctance. A great anxiety was, at this moment, expressed by the bye-standers, to know whether Mr. Patch had confessed his guilt to Mr. Ives, in this conversation. Mr. Ives answered, with great politeness, to all inquirers, that he could not at present divulge what Mr. Patch had communicated to him, and he persevered in this determination, notwithstanding the pressing solicitation of one of the magistrates. He said, however, "*I believe him to be the man,*" meaning the man who murdered Mr. Blight.

At five minutes past nine o'clock the sentence of the law was enforced by the falling of the drop. The sufferers were suspended in the following order—At the east end of the drop hung Patch—on his left hand the woman, and on her right her husband.

Patch was about 38 or 39 years of age—Herring about 60, and his wife, a very lusty woman, although she appeared beyond 40, was only 35.

Patch was an athletic broad shouldered man, about 5 feet 7 inches high, and strong made in proportion; his florid looks never forsook him, but these arose from his constitutional formation; his lips, however, were pale enough to indicate sufficiently the state of his mind.

Thus perished, by the hands of the

common executioner, Richard Patch, the perpetrator of a crime at which humanity shudders.—If the least shadow of a doubt could remain as to his guilt, we might perhaps temper our observations on the subject; but we do not hesitate to say, that never did a criminal more deservedly suffer the last punishment of the law, and never were less emotions of pity excited in the surrounding multitude.

Had a full confession of his guilt been wrung from him by the extraordinary and praiseworthy exertions made for that purpose, his apparent contrition would have entitled him to some commiseration; but meeting his fate as he did, he was guilty of an act of injustice to the innocent persons whom he himself had slandered.

In the surrounding multitude, only one sentiment, that of abhorrence at his guilt, seemed to prevail; and we hope that the awful fate of this wretched man will operate as an incitement to all classes of society to persevere in a course of virtuous and honest industry.

After the bodies had hung an hour, they were taken down, and the body of Patch conveyed to the hospital for dissection, pursuant to his sentence. The bodies of the other two sufferers were delivered to their friends.

The concourse of people present was incalculable.

MONUMENTS.—A legacy left for adorning St. James's-square. The following is an extract from the will and testament of the donor, dated the 6th of July, 1724:

"I will and bequeath a sufficient sum of money to purchase and erect, in St. James's-square, an equestrian statue

statue in brass to the glorious memory of my master, king William the Third.

(Signed)

SAMUEL TRAVERS."

In the subsequent year (1725) an act of parliament was passed for adorning the said square. The bequest appears to have been totally forgotten, until the money was found in the list of unclaimed dividends. The matter has been seriously taken in hand since this discovery, and the noble square will receive its ornament from the hands of Mr. Bacon.

The following is the return just made to the house of commons, of the importation of Spanish wool into Great Britain, in the course of the last ten years, viz.

Yrs.	lbs.	Yrs.	lbs.
1796,	3,439,242	1801,	6,538,674
1797,	4,609,759	1802,	6,510,869
1798,	2,609,268	1803,	4,773,522
1799,	5,027,836	1804,	7,340,886
1800,	8,395,528	1805,	7,160,537

13th. MARLBOROUGH-STREET.—

A nest of swindlers, consisting of four persons in one family, viz. the father, mother, son, and daughter, has been found out, and the father, who acted as valet to the daughter, who called herself a Mrs. Wakefield, has been taken into custody by Levett. Since the apprehension of the father, whose name is M'Eavy, *alias* M'Kay, &c. &c. the brother, Henry M'Eavy, has been secured by Craig, one of the constables of St. Anne's. Mrs. Wakefield is now in the king's bench, and her mother, who acted as her house-keeper, is since in custody. The father and son underwent a long examination at Marlborough-street, and such was the anxiety of tradespeople to view them, and others to prefer

charges, that the avenues of the office were filled at an early hour. The depredations committed on the public by this family, exceed any thing of the kind we have heard of in a similar way. There were about forty persons ready to prefer charges against the prisoners and their colleagues. Amongst the tradespeople who gave their depositions were,

Mr. Clark, milliner in the Strand, who had supplied Mrs. Wakefield with goods to the amount of between 60l. and 70l. by the representation of her servants, who stated her husband to be a man of independent fortune.

Robert Sewell, coal-merchant, in Portman Mews, had been defrauded in a similar manner, by the representation of Mrs. W's. character, by her father and brother.

Matthew Fratil, a victualler, in Oxford-street, was precisely in the same situation.

Mr. Swan, a fishmonger, in Portman-street, had engaged to supply Mrs. Wakefield with fish, and on delivering his bill, at the expiration of a month, according to agreement, the lady had fled with her domestics.

A jeweller, at No. 145, Piccadilly, had let out apartments to Mrs. Wakefield, at 15 guineas per month. She represented herself as the wife of a gentleman of fortune in Essex, and her family consisted of two maid-servants, a valet, and a footman; the two last of which were the prisoners. They were attired in livery, and the jeweller was informed by them, that Mr. Wakefield kept his horses, curricie, &c, but he would not bring them to London, as he preferred a country life. These, and numberless other impositions, have been practised by Mrs.

W. and

W. and her father, and brother: she was fortunate enough to obtain from the jeweller's shop jewellery to the amount of about 26*l.* the day after she had entered her apartments, which she desired immediately to pay for. A bill was delivered, when she recollected she had not sufficient money to spare until the arrival of her husband in a day or two, and she paid 10*l.* in part. The next day she looked out a gold watch, value 20 guineas, and appendages, and other jewellery, to go to the ball of a lady of distinction. Many artifices were resorted to, which would be too voluminous for detail, to cover the frauds; but the jeweller at length suspecting his customer, and finding that Mr. Wakefield did not appear, sought means to recover the debt, which was nearly 100*l.* and put an execution into the house. Mrs. Wakefield was arrested at this moment, and on searching her apartments, the property had been removed. She, convulsed with laughter, was surprised that the jeweller should be such a fool as to expect to recover the property, and she informed her mother, her housekeeper, that had it not been for her meanness in attempting to save a few shillings, she should have left the apartments before she was arrested. Mr. Wakefield was a student at law, and separated from Mrs. W. By extraordinary artifices, she procured him to marry her under a false name, which renders the marriage void. It was stated by one of the witnesses, that in one instance a tradesman in Mortimer-street was referred to by the prisoner, and he represented her to be the wife of a man of 5000*l.* per annum. He would have been glad to have let his first floor to her, had

it been unoccupied. Mr. Layton, a milliner, in Berkeley-square, had supplied Mrs. W. with goods to the amount of 40*l.* He gave her credit from her appearance and equipage. Her valet and footman wore liveries, with a silver band to their hats, and they represented her husband as a man of considerable fortune. Mrs. W. when she got the goods, at different times spoke of many ladies of distinction, some of whom Mr. L. supplied, and the lady expressed her satisfaction at getting to a fashionable shop. Mrs. W. ordered her bill, and on its being delivered she had fled. It would be impossible to enumerate the various artifices resorted to by this family to carry on their frauds. The two prisoners were proved to have been in the coalition by various circumstances, and they were remanded, whilst methods should be used to bring up Mrs. Wakefield.

After the examination of M'Eavy, and Henry, his son, on Wednesday, the mother, Ann M'Eavy, and William, another son, the footboy to Mrs. Wakefield, were apprehended. The mother, who, it has been stated, acted as housekeeper to Mrs. W. represented herself to have been merely a companion to Mrs. Wakefield, at 16*l.* per annum. On being questioned whether she was not the mother as well as the housekeeper of Mrs. W. she said relationship had certainly tied her to her. The son was examined apart from his mother, but he refused to answer questions without consulting her. He did not know what relationship Henry, the footman, was to him. On being asked if M'Eavy was not his father, he said "he was his mother's husband," and he believed Mrs. Wakefield was his cousin. The two prisoners

soners were committed, and to be brought up again with their relations on the following day.

15th. William Tyrrel was indicted for an assault on Mary Mills. The prosecutrix stated, that she was married, but had been separated from her husband. She had an allowance of half a guinea a week, from a Mr. Moore, of Suffolk-street, St. Luke's. She was going to the house of her benefactor, on the 2d of January, when the defendant, in company with another person, seized her at Islington, hurried her into a hackney-coach, and took her to a mad-house, at Hoxton, where they left her. She was confined there three weeks, the first few days of which she was accommodated with people of the better order; but her money being exhausted, she was turned into another ward amongst mad people, and her situation was so dreadful, that she was nearly deprived of her faculties. After having been three weeks in this situation, she solicited some Jew boys, who were allowed to vend their commodities through a little hole in the door of her apartment, to convey a letter to Mr. Moore. This was refused. She at length found in her apartment an old dry inkstand, and having procured the feather of a chicken, she, with a little water, was enabled to commit her distresses to a piece of paper she accidentally found, and threw it out of the window, which was fortunately picked up by some person in the street, by which it found its way to Mr. Moore, who, on receiving the letter, repaired to the mad-house, and with considerable difficulty was admitted, when he conveyed her to his house. She

knew the defendant, and she believed the other man belonged to the mad-house. She at that time suspected Mr. Mills had been the author of her misery.

Mr. Nares, the magistrate, stated, that he understood the prosecutrix had been taken up by an order, signed by the apothecary of the mad-house; he had investigated that fact, and he could say that the man alluded to had never seen the prosecutrix.

The chairman was amazed at such conduct, which had seldom been heard of.

Mr. Alley stated, that he, and other gentlemen at the bar, would at any time conduct a prosecution against the husband, the mad-house keeper, and the defendant, for a conspiracy; and advised the prosecutrix to lose no time in indicting the whole of them.

The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner guilty.—Judgment respited.

26th. COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—The King *versus* governor Picton.—Last term the defendant was found guilty of torturing Louisa Calderon, one of his majesty's subjects in the island of Trinidad.

Mr. Dallas moved yesterday morning for a new trial. He stated that the defendant was a person of respectability and character in his majesty's service, as governor of the island of Trinidad. He solicited for a new trial upon the following grounds:

1. The infamous character of the girl, who lived in open prostitution with Pedro Rauiz, and who had been privy to a robbery committed upon her paramour, by Carlos Gonzalez, and when a complaint found

against

against her had been brought before a magistrate, she refusing to confess, had been ordered to be tortured.

2. That governor Picton, who condemned her to this torture, did not proceed from any motives of malice, but from a conviction that the right of torture was sanctioned by the laws of Trinidad; and that he was rooted in this opinion, by a reference to the legal written authorities in that island.

3. That whatever his conduct might be, it was certainly neither personal malice, nor disposition to tyranny, but resulted, if it should prove to be wrong, from a misapprehension of the laws of Trinidad.

4. That one of the principal witnesses in this trial, M. Vargas, had brought forward a book, entitled *Recopilacion des Leys de los Indes*, expressly compiled for the Spanish colonies, which did not authorize torture.—The defendant had no opportunity of ever seeing that book, but it had been purchased by the British institution, at the sale of the marquis of Lansdowne's library, subsequent to his trial; and having consulted it, it appeared that where that code was silent upon some criminal cases, recourse was always to be had to the laws of Old Spain, and these laws, of course, sanctioned the infliction of torture.

The court, after some consideration, granted the rule to shew cause for a new trial.

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2d. A circumstance took place at the house of a gentleman of fortune in the neighbourhood of Chelsea, which for a while caused considera-

ble uneasiness in the family. An elderly woman, of shabby appearance, knocked at the door of the house in question, and requested to have an interview with the lady of the house on an affair of considerable importance. She was refused admittance by the servant, when she insisted on her right of access to the house, being nearly related to the family by marriage. The gentleman was not at home, and the intruder was shewn into a back room, where she had an interview with one of the daughters.—She represented herself as being the wife of her father, to whom she had been united in wedlock, as long since as 1772. This assertion caused great uneasiness in the family, as the intruder mentioned the place where the gentleman of the house resided, and with hearty tears she insisted on protection under the roof. She was suffered to remain in the house until the return of the alledged husband, whom she seized with apparent anguish and fondness. He, however, knew nothing of her, and her subsequent conduct was such as to require her detention. Her name, it appears, is King.

The abuses committed in the West Indies, are said to exceed every thing that was ever stated in romance. The commissioners are stated to have discovered that forged bills and receipts, for articles never purchased, and bills drawn on government indorsed under forged and fictitious names, were common and notorious. They found a most base collusion between the officers of government, and the merchants and contractors, by which the latter were allowed to charge stores at a much higher rate than they might have been obtained

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for in the market. In one instance it was discovered, that to conceal this iniquity, a bribe of 87,000*l.* had been given; in another a bribe of 35,000*l.* Vessels, houses, stores, &c. were usually hired at most extravagant rates, in consequence of fraudulent contracts, where others might have been obtained much cheaper. But worse than either of these iniquities was the diabolical fraud of suffering the merchants and contractors to furnish his majesty's troops with inferior and bad rum, and other articles, at an extravagant rate, by which the lives of the troops were endangered, as well as the country defrauded. And, for the purpose of committing these practices, all free competition for the supply of articles was prevented; and every obstacle was put in the way, even of the purchase of bills on the treasury. They were dated in one island and negotiated in another; and they were sold at a much more advantageous exchange than that at which the officers debited themselves in their accounts.

The following instance of cold-blooded economy, in Bonaparte, is mentioned as a fact:

When the English force, under sir J. B. Warren, had put into St. Jago, after the capture of the *Mazengo* and *Belle Poule*, admiral Linois requested of sir John permission to assemble the French officers, for the purpose of reading to them an imperial edict, which he had by him for some time, and which materially affected his and their interests. The English admiral having accordingly assented to this demand, with all that urbanity and politeness which distinguish him, the French officers were got together, to the amount of nearly 70, when the

instrument in question was read to them by admiral Linois. It began by reciting, that his imperial majesty, Bonaparte, having had serious cause of chagrin and displeasure, at the repeated checks and disasters his naval force had hitherto experienced in the contest with England, was determined that it should undergo a thorough reform. Then, after many regulations for the better ordering and conducting his navy in time of hostility with other powers, and for the excitement of his sailors to heroic deeds, it concluded by stating, that in future all officers of his navy, who were captured by the enemy, should be from that moment reduced to one-fourth of their actual pay: "And you, gentlemen, therefore," continued Linois, "with myself, are hereby so reduced, and we must shift, as well as we can, with the little that remains!"

SHOCKING MASSACRE.—*Account of the Massacre of the Officers and Crew of the Ship Atahualpa, communicated by Capt. Isaacs of the Montezuma.*—

"The ship, *Atahualpa*, had been lying at anchor in Sturgis cove, up, Millbank Sound, three days. The natives had, during that time, been remarkably civil. On the 12th of June, 1805, they came off in several canoes, and desired captain Porter to purchase their skins; and about ten o'clock, Calete, the chief of one of their tribes, desired captain Porter to look over the side, and see the number of skins in his canoe. Capt. P. was complying, but was obliged to bend over the rail, when the chief threw his coat over his head, stabbed him twice between his shoulders, threw him overboard, and gave the signal for a general attack.

"Mr. John Hill, the chief mate, was shot through the body, but ran
below

below, got his musket, returned on deck, shot the chief, and gave him his mortal wound.

“ John Goodwin, the second mate, shot dead.

“ John G. Rackstraw was daggered, and died immediately.

“ Lyman Plummer was daggered, and lived until the ship was got out, when he requested the surviving crew to take care of the ship, and find captain Brown.

“ Isaac Summers, cooper, Luther and Samuel Lapham, Peter Spooner, seamen, and John Williams, cook, were all killed. The cook defended himself bravely, as long as his hot water lasted, but that being expended, they cut him down with an axe. Three seamen, one Sandwich islander, and a Kodiak Indian, were dangerously wounded. Five more of the crew were slightly wounded; and three men and a Sandwich islander were all that escaped unhurt.

“ These four at length bravely rushed through the crowd of Indians, got below, and finding a few muskets loaded, fired them through the loopholes, in the break of the forecastle, which terrified the natives, and many jumped overboard. The four men then regained the deck, and after fighting some time with a few Indians, who seemed determined to hold their prize, killed or drove all overboard. One canoe was now seen under the bows, endeavouring to cut the cable; but a swivel was brought from the after part of the ship, and discharged at them; ten were killed by the swivel, and one by a musket-shot, so only one was left alive in the canoe.

“ The crew lost their jacket knives, by plunging them into the skulls of the Indians, from whence

they were unable to draw them out. After the decks were cleared, the topsails were loosed; when the ship swung her head off shore, the cable was cut, and after some time beating, was able to get out of the Sound. Two days after were off Newatta; the wind coming a-head, shaped a course northward.

“ On the 13th of June, deposited the bodies of our murdered shipmates in the deep.”

10th. This evening, at nine o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at the dwelling-house of Mr. Steptoe, butcher, in Bear-alley, Fleet-market, which consumed nearly the whole of his house, and a part of the adjoining one: very little of the property was saved. Mr. and Mrs. Steptoe were both at their shop in the market when the accident happened, and three fine children, who were in bed, perished in the flames.

As a young girl, named Anderson, of Deeping St. James, Lincolnshire, was returning from school, she was struck by a fire-ball, which caused her instant death.

Christopher Simpson, lately executed at Lancaster for highway robbery, confessed he had broken open above eighty houses, stolen thirty horses, and committed more highway robberies than he could remember!

The Gazette of this night contained his majesty's proclamation for a new copper coinage, of 150 tons of penny-pieces, 427 tons and a half of half-penny pieces, and 22 and a half tons of farthings. The penny-pieces are in the proportion of 24 to the pound avoirdupois of copper, and so on with the others.

The Vigilant, of 74 guns, in ordinary at Portsmouth, which sunk in January, is raised. It appears

that her sinking was not occasioned by any leak ; but it is supposed the water, at various times, came in at the scuppers, and from the inattention of some persons on board her, she was neglected to be occasionally pumped.

A few days ago, at a sale of old furniture at Wolverhampton, a poor woman bought an arm chair for a few shillings ; and shortly afterwards, on attempting to repair it, she found, in the stuffing of the back and bottom, gold and silver coins of George I. to the amount of 100l. The broker, on hearing of the circumstance, applied for legal aid to recover the property, but without effect.

It does not appear to be yet determined how far the plan of drilling and dibbling wheat answers the purposes of the farmer ; but the following experiment, by Mr. Charles Miller, of Cambridge, shows to what an astonishing extent the increase of wheat may be carried with care :—

On the 8th of August, he took up a plant of wheat, which had been sown in the beginning of June, and divided it into 18 parts, each of which was transplanted separately ; about the latter end of September, they were again removed, and divided into 67 roots ; in the end of March following, and beginning of April, they were separated into 500 plants, which yielded 21,109 ears ; and the single grain thus yielded 570,000 fold ! the produce measuring three pecks and three quarters, and weighing 47lb.

12th. The college committee met at the India-house ; after which Charles Grant, esq. the late chairman ; the honourable William F. Elphinstone, the present chairman ;

Mr. Parry, the deputy ; the secretary ; Mr. Wilkins, the librarian, and the rest of the members of the committee, proceeded from the house in two carriages, for Hailybury, near Hertford, in order to assist at the ceremony of laying the first stone of the college, to be erected there for students, intended for the company's civil service in India.

Last week Matthew Mark Watson, a youth about 16 years of age, was found hanging in a cellar at Huntingdon ; on being taken down, various experiments were tried to bring him to life, but to no purpose. —A spirit of *inquiry* led this youth to *hang himself*, in order to ascertain what sensations it would produce !

A short time since, a woodcock's nest was found by some children gathering fuel in Calvin's wood, in the parish of Bucklebury, Berks ; the rarity of this excited a great deal of curiosity in the neighbourhood, and drew numbers to the spot : the bird was daily flushed from the nest by her unwelcome visitors, who had thus repeated proofs that the eggs did not belong to one of any other genus, nor to another of the numerous species of the snipe ; they are considerably larger than the partridge's, nearer the size of the Guinea-hen's, and speckled with a darker brown ; the nest, placed on the ground, consists of dry leaves and feathers, which the hen apparently has plucked from her body.

Mr. Ekington, the celebrated drainer, got last year from some boggy land which he hired of lord Crew, the amazing produce of 174 bushels of good oats, from 5 bushels and eleven quarters of seed, sown broad-cast. This extraordinary return has been made from land which
a few

a few years ago was not worth one shilling per acre, but is now actually worked to profit by *exhausting* crops without manure.

Earl Nelson, and his heirs, by a message from the crown, since confirmed by parliament, is to have a grant of 5000*l.* *per annum*, and 120,000*l.* to purchase a family estate.

14th. A ball of fire fell on a cottage, at Claverand-green, in the forest of Dean, and forced its way through the roof into the kitchen, where T. Davies, the owner, and his wife and child, were sitting, but happily without doing any damage, although a cask of gun-powder was in the same room; where it was kept for the use of the mine works in the forest.

15th. Owing to the cold of last night, several hundreds of the swallow tribe, called Martins, had clung to the toll-table, against the turnpike house, at Whalley, in Yorkshire; those again had others covering them, four or five in thickness, all of whom seemed quite in a torpid state; several dozens were stroked off the board, and those taken up appeared completely lifeless, until about seven this morning, when the sun's warmth caused re-animation, and they gradually moved off to the water-side, a distance of about 30 yards; in a short time afterwards they began to skim the surface of the water, and fly with the usual vigour of those birds.

17th. This morning, about one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at Hungerford, Berks, and before assistance could be procured, ten houses were completely destroyed.

A singular swan was lately shot by John Kirkup, groom to sir Wilfred Lawson, bart. of Bray-

ton-house, which weighed eighteen pounds and a half. It measured across the wings eight feet two inches, and in height six feet one inch. It is of a remarkable colour, and is supposed to be the largest ever seen in Cumberland.

This being the anniversary of Dr. Jenner's birth-day, the friends of the royal Jennerian society held their annual festival at the London tavern, at which were present about 300 persons, including the duke of York, the earls of Westmoreland, and Egremont, prince Castelcicala, doctor Jenner, and many of the most eminent of the medical profession. After a variety of loyal and appropriate toasts, the health of the illustrious chairman, the duke of York, was given; when his royal highness was pleased to say, "Gentlemen, I have, from the first institution of the society, been a warm friend to it, from a conviction that it must be of unspeakable benefit to mankind. I am sorry to learn that some misrepresentations, from interested and sceptical individuals, have thrown a temporary damp upon it, and in some measure retarded its well-intended exertions; but, I have no doubt, it will soon evince to the world, that the advantages resulting from it, are above all opposition, and that its good effects will speedily be extended to every quarter of the globe. No man can more completely wish its success than I do; I request you will accept my thanks for the very flattering manner in which you have proposed my health, and give me leave to drink your's in return." This short address was received with rapturous applause.

Dr. Lettsom, in an animated speech, observed, "As the small-

pox is the most loathsome and fatal disease that afflicts the human race, it might have been supposed that, when inoculation was first introduced into this country, it would have been adopted with general consent; but unfortunately it was but partially encouraged; in consequence of which, it increased the fatality of the small pox, by increasing infection; insomuch that, during the 42 years after the introduction of inoculation, the deaths in London by the small pox were upwards of 1700 more than in the 42 preceding years.—At length, however, the discovery of the cow pock by Dr. Jenner has put it into our power completely to exterminate the small pox; and, from its safety and security, it was natural to conclude, that all parents would feel an ardour to save their children, by gratefully accepting a blessing, which would for ever protect them from the worst species of pestilence.

“That this sentiment did very generally prevail, was obvious from the decrease of deaths in the metropolis; for, from the average number of 2500, it gradually fell to 1200, to 1000, and in 1804 to little above 500 in the year by the small pox.

“To the honour of the medical profession, this new discovery, which was calculated to annihilate their greatest pecuniary source of emolument, was very generally encouraged by them. Unfortunately, however, for these kingdoms, two professional gentlemen in this city, the only physicians I believe in the world, not only opposed vaccination, but widely circulated unfounded assertions against it, and even advertised gratuitous inoculation for the small pox. These occurrences took place early in 1805; and the

deaths by the small pox hence rapidly increased, and a greater number of infants perished in 40 days, than during the whole preceding year, insomuch that for many successive months there died one infant by the small pox in every two hours, including both night and day. Lamentable is it to add, that the governors of the hospital for inoculation adopted the same practice; and in one year this infectious pestilence was communicated to 2300 persons, and in the vicinity of the most populous city in Europe; thus generating a pestilence, the extent and fatality of which cannot be ascertained; for this pestilence, whilst apparently dormant, retains its active malignancy for a series of years.

“At the moment of adopting this baneful practice, the governors circulated the following resolution of a general court, ‘That vaccination might, under divine Providence, have prevented the calamity of the increased fatality of the small pox.’ After this avowal of a truth, they recommended the inoculation of the small pox, in consequence ‘of the prejudices and ill-founded objections against inoculation.’ These are their own words and mode of reasoning; and every person would be indulgent to prejudices that do not militate against the safety and happiness of the community. Like the amiable Fontenelle, I would say, ‘if both my hands were filled with truths,’ under such circumstances, ‘I would open but one at a time.’ But this does not apply to prejudices, the indulgence of which is productive of public injury; for, if reason were always subservient to prejudice, neither improvement nor reformation would ever have enlightened the world. When Constantine

the great overcame the prejudices of paganism, and embraced christianity, the Romans pleaded their prejudices in favour of combats by gladiators; but the emperor immediately interdicted them, although they were infinitely less fatal than the small pox. It is indeed a strange climax in our policy, that; whilst we incur a considerable expence in maintaining the laws of quarantine against the infections of the plague and yellow fever, we are at a considerable expence in supporting a public institution for keeping up a pestilence more dangerous and fatal than the plague and yellow fever combined. What should we think of the Egyptians, should they publicly support a pest-house for generating the plague; or the Americans for disseminating the yellow fever? We may hope, however, that the governors of the hospital for inoculation, who are persons of the highest respectability, will ultimately discourage prejudices inimical to the community; for, as long as they continue to inoculate the small pox, and give a sanction to the practice, the extermination of this pestilence will never be effected: but, with their support, and our exertions, with those of other similar institutions, we may ultimately witness this happy consummation. This society alone has vaccinated 20,000 persons, and distributed upwards of 20,000 charges of the vaccine fluid, since the last report only. Thus, by its efforts, not only these kingdoms, but nearly all parts of the world, have been supplied with this salutiferous dew of heaven, the good effects of which will, I hope, be related by some person more competent to its history. We are thus become the centre of communication;

and all nations look up to us for instruction. With these brilliant prospects before us, like a skillful general, who, in order to ensure success, increases his exertions the nearer he approaches to victory; so it becomes us to persevere in the glorious cause we have espoused. And although our expenditure has necessarily exceeded our income, the liberal support and donations we now hope for will enable us to triumph over the most insidious and malignant enemy of the human race."

The rev. Rowland Hill then addressed the company, with regard to the salutary effects of vaccination; and to offer a few striking facts that had taken place under his own immediate observation. He then said, "I have myself inoculated upwards of 5000 subjects; and I have not failed in a single instance. I have also made every inquiry in all those parts of the country which I have occasionally visited, and I have uniformly received the most favourable and flattering accounts of the good effects resulting from it wherever it has been introduced. It is calculated that not less than 40,000 persons die yearly of that pestilential disease, the small pox; and I think it will well become the legislature to inquire how far men ought to be suffered to be thus the means of killing themselves. It is one of the primary blessings of this island that it is a land of liberty; but it is at the same time a great pity that we should thus have liberty to kill one another. I have felt this sentiment most sensibly; and, in addition to the number I have myself inoculated, I have so warmly recommended the practice in the chapel I possess on the other side of the water, that upwards of 4000 more

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have

have been inoculated, who have all done well; and thus I may say I have been the means of inoculating 10,000; so that, on the average of one in six dying, I have had the happiness to preserve the lives of about 1600 of his majesty's subjects. Strange to tell, there are persons, and those too men of breeding and education, which ought to have taught them better things; medical men, who, to raise themselves from oblivion, would wish to rise to fame on the ruins of this benevolent institution, and by the continuance of one of the greatest scourges with which human nature was ever afflicted. These men, I am sorry to say, circulate the grossest misrepresentations and falsehoods against vaccination, through the medium of low and illiberal pamphlets. One of these redoubtable authors has told us, in the effervescence of his wisdom, 'that vaccination may be performed as well by a fool as a philosopher.' The number of men who die annually of the small pox in this kingdom would man three ships of the line, form three regiments, or turn into the fields so many hundreds of stout labourers. What a consideration!"

The health of Dr. Jenner having been enthusiastically given; he thus addressed the company: "Gentlemen, I beg leave to offer you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in drinking my health, and for the very flattering manner in which that honour has been conferred. After the very animated speech of his royal highness the duke of York, our illustrious chairman, on the subject of vaccination, and the very important information conveyed to us in the admirable oration of my worthy friend

Dr. Lettsom, but little remains for me to say on the subject. I cannot, however, sit down without informing you that I continue to receive from every quarter of the globe the most agreeable information respecting the progress of vaccination; and these accounts have been equally satisfactory from whatever quarter they have arrived. I can safely aver, it would be difficult to point out a spot, however remote, where its influence has not been felt. It has pervaded all parts of the civilized world, from the north to the south; from the Ganges to the Mississippi. But, gentlemen, while I exultingly communicate this intelligence, equally flattering to your feelings as to mine, it is a matter of great regret to me, that here, in this metropolis, in the very centre of the British empire, vaccination proceeds with a comparatively languid and tardy step. To what cause, gentlemen, can this be ascribed? You will ascribe it to no other than the insidious effects of a few interested individuals, who, by distributing their delusive papers, have too well succeeded in contaminating the minds of the lower orders of society. I will not suffer myself to believe that these effects have been extended beyond this class; and to those who know something of the nature of the human mind, how poor must their triumph appear!—Hitherto I have avoided taking any public notice of the publications alluded to: I have no reason to regret it, as the task of refutation has been so ably performed by many enlightened and philanthropic individuals, both in and out of the profession. But, gentlemen, a charge of a specific nature having been brought forth in one of these productions, wherein I

am named as having failed in a series of vaccinations in the West of England, I think it a duty incumbent on me now to declare to you, that not a single individual there mentioned, and who is subsequently said to have had the small pox, was ever vaccinated by me. After this declaration, I leave you to make your own comments on the whole of this very extraordinary publication." This unaffected and interesting address was received with loud and reiterated plaudits.

Mr. Murray the secretary, according to the usual custom, read the report of the annual general court, which stated, that the number of persons inoculated at the central house, and other stations in the metropolis, since the last annual report, is 6,560, making the total, since the commencement of the institution in 1803, 19,471 persons; and that 19,182 charges of vaccine matter had been supplied, free of expence from the central house alone, since the period of the last report; which great supply of vaccine virus much exceeding that of former years, affords a strong presumption that the Jennerian inoculation has considerably increased.

The secretary also read a communication from T. Parry, esq. an East-India director, informing the society, that the practice of vaccine inoculation had been introduced at Macao and Canton in China, under the auspices of an English Mandarin, sir George Staunton, with such success, as to promise to save the lives of millions of people in that extensive empire.

Mr. Ring read an English translation of a Latin letter from Dr. John Reyss, of Mackow, in Poland, addressed to "Dr. Jenner, the il-

lustrious exterminator of that pestilential disorder the small pox;" in which he compliments the doctor highly for his discovery; wishes that joy and festivity may prevail on his birth-day; requests to be enrolled among the honorary members of the society; and "to be favoured with a portrait of Dr. Jenner, and a small slip of cloth of the colour he most delights in, that Dr. Reyss and his friends might be able to wear coats of that same colour on the 17th of May, the birth-day of Dr. Jenner."

The earl of Egremont, one of the earliest and most ardent supporters of vaccination, bore testimony to various misrepresentations and falsehoods circulated in his neighbourhood respecting the practice.

18th. WEYMOUTH.—Last night was landed at the Custom-house the last chest of dollars from the wreck of the Abergavenny, which completed the 62 chests recovered by Mr. Braithwaite, who, with much perseverance and ingenuity, has succeeded. The total of the 62 chests is about 70,000*l.* value. He is going to proceed immediately on the cargo.

This morning, about ten o'clock, a boy named Francis was drowned off Strand-lane. He was cleaning the top of the cabin of a barge, and fell over-board.

20th. A court of directors of the East-India company was held, at three o'clock, which continued to sit until nine in the evening, to deliberate on the propriety of recalling sir G. Barlow from the seat of government in India, and the appointment of lord Lauderdale in his stead; when a division took place, and there appeared, for the recal of sir G. Barlow and the appointment of lord

lord Lauderdale, *four*,—Against it, *eighteen*.

21st. A few days ago, the dairy-maid at Bayham Abbey, in Sussex, the seat of lord Camden, threw herself into the moat, and was drowned. Verdict, lunacy.

The long coach, which conveys passengers from the mail coach office in Dublin, to the packets at the Pigeon-house, was stopped this night about ten o'clock, by ten men armed with swords and pistols, who robbed eight passengers, near to the canal bridge. The villains obliged the passengers to come out of the carriage one by one; amongst them were lord Cahir and Mr. George Latouche, whom they robbed of near 500*l*.

PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.—As capt. Jones, of the royal Flintshire militia, quartered at Hythe, who had that morning accompanied the regiment to field-exercise, on the heights near Folkstone, was standing with several officers, near the edge of the cliffs, the earth suddenly gave way under him; in consequence of which he was instantly precipitated to the distance of 28 yards, in an oblique direction from the top; but was most providentially stopped in his fall, by a small abutment on the surface of the rock, against which his foot accidentally struck. In this dreadful situation he lay suspended near a quarter of an hour, without daring to move, before any effectual assistance could be rendered him. Scarcely, however, had this distressing circumstance occurred, when Thomas Roberts, a private in the regiment, alarmed at the truly perilous condition of his officer, endeavoured, at the obvious risk of his own life, to extricate him; but, unfortunately, in the attempt, literally

fell from the top to the bottom of this tremendous precipice, being a distance of 549 feet (of which 261 feet were quite perpendicular.) Providentially, the latter in his fall did not touch the captain, who, anxious to save him; had already extended his hand to him for that purpose. During this interval, a rope was expeditiously procured from the signal-house; and a noose being made at one end, it was lowered to the spot where captain J. lay; when he, with much difficulty, succeeded in fastening it round his body; and was thus gradually drawn up by the spectators, who still for some time doubted the possibility of rescuing him; however, at length he happily escaped without having sustained any material injury. The soldier, though terribly cut and bruised in the head and various parts of his body) was taken up alive, and without a single bone being fractured, on the beach, near a stone-quarry, and immediately conveyed to the regimental hospital at Hythe; where, to the utter astonishment of every one, he is now able to walk about, and is declared by the surgeon of the regiment out of all immediate danger. The height of the cliff, having since been accurately taken by an officer of the regiment, is found by actual admeasurement as follows:

	Yards.	Feet.
Oblique distance of cap.		
Jones's fall —	28	or 84
Perpendicular height		
from the above point		
downwards —	87	or 261.
Remainder (again oblique) to the base —	68	or 204
	<hr/>	
	183	or 549

22d. The chancellor's prizes in the university of Oxford for the present

sent year were this day adjudged to Edward Garrard Marsh, bachelor of arts, late scholar of Wadham college, and now fellow of Oriel college, for the English essay—*Posthumous Fame*; and to John Latham, commoner of Brasenose college, for the Latin verses—*Trafalgar*: also the prize, by a private donation, to Henry Allen Johnson, commoner of Christ-church, for the English verses—*Travels of discovery into the interior of Africa*.

The rev. Mr. Wood, second master of St. Paul's grammar school, put a period to his existence, by hanging himself.

A boat belonging to the grand junction company arrived at Mr. Homer's Paddington wharf, which has been fitted up in Northamptonshire, for the purpose of bringing, at once, near 100 live fat sheep to the London market. This being the first attempt of the kind, it excited considerable curiosity. It consisted of a common canal boat, that had, by way of ballast, a lading of ten tons of lime-stone; on this there were two slight decks, at a proper distance above each other, and a roof of thin boards above, to shoot off the rain; the space between each of the decks was divided by sliding boards into near fifty separate pens, so that each sheep had a distinct one to itself, in which he could either stand or lie down at pleasure. On the arrival of the barge alongside the wharf, the sliding boards at the side of the boat, and between the pens, were taken out, and the sheep jumped on the wharf in a few minutes. The boat left Braunston on the 20th, at three o'clock, and in 53 hours arrived, after a journey of upwards of 95 miles. It is expected that a boat

laden with sheep will weekly arrive in future.

24th. A dreadful fire happened in Langford this day, which consumed in its progress two breweries, and above fifty dwelling houses.

Two children, brother and sister, the boy about ten, the girl seven years of age, while playing a few evenings ago, near the new dock at Leigh, both fell in. There was eight feet water in the dock at the time; when captain Nash, of the impress service, and a private of the Argyllshire militia, named Frow, were let down with ropes round their bodies, and succeeded in preserving the sufferers, after they had both disappeared.

In the court of king's bench, a Mr. Jukes, on an indictment preferred against him by Mr. Henry Erskine Johnston, the comedian, for an assault in the boxes of Covent-Garden theatre, was found guilty. The offending party proposed terms of accommodation, which were acceded to.

This morning, a pleasure-boat was nearly upset in Blackwall reach, by tacking about; and a lad, named Smith, being struck by the main-sail, was forced overboard, and drowned. A similar accident happened on Thursday at Bugby's hole, in the same neighbourhood.

The same day, a man who attempted to undress the body of a labourer, who died by suffocation a few days since, in consequence of sleeping by a brick-kiln near town, in order to put it in a shell, was so overcome by the effluvia, that he was deprived of his senses, and soon expired.

An accident happened this day to Mr. Charles Buxton, on his return from Epsom. Mr. B. in his phaeton and

and four, overtook a friend in a barouche, drawn by the same number of horses; and a determination being manifested to try the speed of the horses and the skill of the drivers, a race was the consequence. At Ewel, on turning a corner, Mr. Buxton's phaeton was upset, and he and Mr. Hugh Atkins, a Russia broker, were thrown with such violence, that each gentleman, strange to say, had a thigh broken and three ribs.

25th. This morning, about two or three o'clock, a man and woman were seen walking, arm in arm, deliberately down Bridge-street, Blackfriars, and separated at the stairs of the bridge. The woman, soon after, walked on the projection under the coping of the bridge, as far as the third lamp, and then threw herself on the bed of the river; and it being low water, she was killed on the spot.

An unfortunate affair happened in Falmouth this day. As some men attempted to escaped from the hired armed ship *Humber*, in contempt of the threats of the lieutenant of that ship, who repeatedly declared he would fire upon them if they did not return, that officer discharged a musket, and shot one of them through the heart. The coroner's jury who investigated the affair returned a verdict of *accidental death*.

27th. Last week a dreadful hurricane occurred at Sunderland, accompanied with thunder and hail. The shipping in the harbour, which amounted to nearly 500 sail, were thrown into extreme danger and confusion; many were damaged, and several driven ashore and wrecked, as were a number of boats.

This day, at a bear-baiting in Tothill-fields, one of the bears hav-

ing broke loose, fastened upon a person of the name of Shawe, whom he tore very much with his paws; and would have destroyed him, but for the assistance of the people.

MR. ELWYN'S PICTURES.—A selection of the choicest pictures of this celebrated collector was brought on Friday to the hammer; annexed are the prices of the principal pictures:—

Guineas.

<i>Teniers</i> —A landscape, with the Chateau of the painter, to Mr. Slater, for . . .	460
<i>Wouwerman</i> —A grand Hawking, to Mr. Duncombe . .	900
<i>P. Veronese</i> —Mars and Venus united by Love, to Lord Breadalbane . . .	320
<i>L. Da Vinci</i> —Madona and Child, to ditto	670
<i>N. Poussin</i> —A Landscape .	430
<i>Rubens</i> —His old Nurse by Candlelight, to Mr. Beckford	2200
<i>Ditto</i> —Conversion of St. Paul, to Mr. Beckford . .	4000

QUADRUPEDS. — On board the *Union East Indiaman*, lately arrived in the London docks, is a dog from St. Helena with two noses; and on board the *Eolus*, lying along side her, are a beautiful young lioness and tigress, the latter is fastened by a rope on the quarter deck, and is so tame, that a stranger may with safety handle it. There are also on board the same vessel, a black sheep with six horns, and a great variety of birds, all from the river Plata. The whole afford delight to the lovers of natural history.

A REMARKABLE HEN.—For the three last summers, a hen, the property of Charles Ranken, at Auchmairn, parish of Cadder, has frequently laid eggs of an extraordinary

nary size and weight. Within these few weeks, she has laid three eggs, each of which measures, in diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and weighs full $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, and generally, on the day before she lays the large egg, she has an egg of an ordinary size.

28th. The late tempest was in many parts of Wales particularly violent and extensive. At Monmouth, the elements seemed to be in a perfect blaze; though the claps of thunder, which followed the lightning, were not so loud as might have been expected.—At Landoga-on-the-Wye, near Monmouth, a piece of meadow-ground was covered over with loose stones, which the convulsion brought down from the surrounding heights, amounting in weight to nearly 200 tons.

A soldier lately returned from the Indies is now at Tuddenham, who says, he was present at the death of Joseph Clark, whilst abroad; and that he confessed to him that he committed the robbery and set fire to the house of Mrs. Syer, at Hadleigh, for which Sarah Lloyd, the servant maid, with whom he intrigued, and who admitted him into the house, was executed.

29th. Seven waggons loaded with casks of specie have arrived at the bank of England, under the escort of a party of light horse. The casks contain the 400,000*l.* in dollars, sent some time since from the bank to Hanover, and which was luckily got away before the Prussians took possession of that place.

30th. The directors of the East India company took the sense of a general court of proprietors upon their late proceedings, which decided, by 18 against 4, for the continuance of sir George Barlow, and

of course the rejection of the earl of Lauderdale. At the general court for this purpose, the following resolution was taken by ballot:—

“That this court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approves of the zeal manifested, and the conduct pursued, by the court of directors; and regards a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the court of directors to be indispensibly necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the court of directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion; measures which the legislature has declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy, of the nation. And this court doth assure the court of directors of its most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East-India company.”

At six o'clock, the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who reported the numbers to be,

For the question . . . 928

Against it . . . 195

Majority . . . —733

DIED.—At Brompton, after a short illness, aged 44 years, Mr. Palmer. He was a man of uncommon corpulency, and was induced, about three weeks since, to go to London, in order to see that prodigy of bulk and fatness, Mr. Lambert. Mr. Palmer weighed about twenty-five stone, or 350 pounds; and although five men, of moderate size, have been buttoned in his waistcoat, he was comparatively of diminutive size

size when placed by the side of Mr. Lambert. The windows of the tap-room were obliged to be taken out on Sunday, to admit of the corpse being taken from the house; from which to the place of interment it was carried in a waggon, as no hearse could be procured which would have been sufficiently capacious to admit the coffin into it.

25th. At Inverary Castle, his grace, John duke of Argyll, marquis of Lorn, (lord Sundridge, 1766,) a field marshal in the army, colonel of the 3d regiment of foot guards, honourable master of the king's household in Scotland, keeper of Dunstaffnage and Carrick, and governor of the British society, &c. &c. His grace was born in 1722, and is succeeded by his eldest son George, marquis of Lorn, now duke of Argyll.

And on Sunday morning died, at Roseneath, Colin Campbell, esq. an old and intimate friend and faithful servant of his grace, as chamberlain and bailie of Roseneath. He had completed his 94th year in February last. His grace and bailie Campbell had both been of the old Highland watch, and were the only survivors of that matchless corps.

The late duke of Argyll married, March 3, 1759, Elizabeth, daughter of John Gunning, esq. and relict of James, duke of Hamilton, father of the late duke; by whom, who died December 20, 1790, he had issue—George John, born February 17, 1766, who died an infant.—George, marquis of Lorn, born September 22, 1768; succeeded to the barony of Hamilton, on the death of his mother—John Douglas Henry Edward, born December 24, 1777—Augusta, born March 31, 1760;

married to captain Clavering, and has issue—and Charlotte Susan Maria, born June 21, 1775, married to captain Campbell.

The remains of the duke were deposited in the burying-place of that illustrious family, at Kilmun. The following are the particulars of the ceremony, (as reported by an eye-witness,) which was performed in the most private manner possible:—

About ten o'clock, the princess Elizabeth revenue brig, Henry Beatson, esq. commander, sailed from Roseneath, with the corpse of his grace; also, the prince William Henry, captain Hamilton; prince of Wales, captain M'Kinnon (acting,) revenue cutters; and the Campbelltown packet Henrietta, having on board his grace, George duke of Argyll, lord John Campbell, lady Augusta Clavering and daughter, lady Charlotte Campbell, sir Alexander Campbell, of Ardkinglas, with other friends, and the servants of the late illustrious nobleman. The whole came to anchor in Holy Loch, between twelve and one o'clock, nearly opposite the family burying-place. The body of his grace was towed in his barge by the crew of the princess Elizabeth, dressed in nankeen, with crapes round their hats, and received on a platform, near which the present duke, lord John, &c. were landed. At a small distance, lady Clavering, and the other ladies, came on shore, accompanied by sir Alexander Campbell, &c. and proceeded to the vault, where they waited the procession.

A part of captain Hamilton's crew was placed on each side of the path that leads to it, dressed in white frocks, with black velvet caps trimmed with silver. The corpse of his grace

grace was carried to the tomb shoulder high, by the Kilmun volunteers; upon entering which it was laid next to the duchess. All then returned from the vault except those of the family, who, after remaining for a few minutes, went on board captain Hamilton's cutter, and proceeded to Ardincaple. A salute of nine guns was fired on their going ashore. The brig and the other cutter also fired a salute upon leaving Holy Loch.

The outer coffin was covered with crimson silk velvet, and had two coronets, one at the head and another at the foot. The following is the inscription:—

Field Marshal

JOHN DUKE OF ARGYLL,

&c. &c. &c.

Died 25th May, 1806,

Aged 83 years.

The mourners wore sashes, with a large knot upon the right shoulder, and another at the left thigh.

JUNE.

5th. This morning, about three o'clock, a fire broke out at the Key hotel, Chandos-street, Covent-garden, which in a short time was burnt to the ground. The house was a bagnio of the first description, and the most frequented of any in the metropolis. The following circumstances came out before the coroner's jury, sitting on the body of a gentleman who perished in the flames. The inquisition was taken on the 6th, at the White Lion, Hemming's-row, St. Martin's-lane, before Anthony Gell, esq. coroner for Westminster.

George Thorpe, waiter at the Keybagnio, stated that the deceased,

with a lady, came to the house (which was kept for the present by a Mr. Hamerton) at twelve at night, on the 4th of June; the gentleman appeared to be very much inebriated; and, after having been a short time in the house, supper was served up in a bed-room. After the cloth had been cleared, the gentleman said he should go, but the bell rung soon after, for the chamber-maid to assist in undressing the lady. The deceased, on the maid's entering the room, was lying prostrate on the floor, by the bed-side. The chamber-maid left the room at a quarter before three o'clock, and a quarter after three, witness heard a violent screaming. He repaired to the landing-place on the first floor, where the lady, in her *chemise* only, was standing with a candle, the bed-room being in one entire blaze. She begged of the witness to save the gentleman; but the flames issued so rapidly from the room, that he durst not attempt to enter. The house was divided, and in that part where the fire broke out, none but the deceased and his companion slept, except a domestic in the attic story. It was some time before the other part of the house caught fire; and consequently by the alarm which the witness and the chamber-maid kept up, the other companies had time for flight.

Jane Devaynes, (who stated her name to be so, but who has for several years been known about the theatres by the names of Kemble and Stirling) stated, that she was in company with the deceased at the Key. Her first acquaintance with him was accidental, on Whitmonday last; since which time he had almost daily visited her, at her apartments in York-street, Mary-le-bone. He

came

came to her residence at ten o'clock at night, on the 4th inst. and was then inebriated. He insisted on sending for three bottles of wine, one of which was drunk; witness had put the other two on her sideboard, thinking her companion had had enough. In the evening, they took a coach, and repaired to the Key, which house, the deceased said, he was well acquainted with. She then related the circumstances of her going to bed, and being alarmed, as described by the waiter. Witness said she knew nothing of the deceased's name, nor where he lived. He had a great deal of paper property about him, which he had shewn to her in the evening. She always considered him to be a clergyman.

Elizabeth Hannam, chambermaid at the Key, corroborated what had fallen from the preceding witnesses.

Mrs. Clark, (the late hostess at the Key) only knew the deceased personally.

A Miss Llewellyn gave an account of the deceased visiting her; but she knew not his name. He was a man of low stature, sometimes dressed meanly, and wore his hair curled in one curl, with powder.

There being no further evidence to throw any light upon the subject, the jury returned a verdict of—*Accidental death*.

It has been since stated, and it is feared with too much truth, that the gentleman who was thus burnt to death, was a Mr. Garner, who kept an academy in Brompton-row, on the high road leading to Fulham. Mr. Garner was a widower, and, it is said, a few months since paid his addresses to a young lady of considerable pecuniary expectations; but meeting with a repulse, it is sup-

posed that the disappointment affected his intellects, as his subsequent conduct evinced strong symptoms of derangement.

9th. An alarming fire broke out this morning, between twelve and one, at the house of a baker, in William-street, Pimlico. The house was entirely consumed, and a child in it was burnt to death.

11th. The following malefactors were executed this morning, opposite the debtor's door, at Newgate, in pursuance of their sentences, viz. —G. Calder, for personating A. M'Gogan, a seaman on board the Caroline frigate, and by that means defrauding T. Good, navy agent, of 223l. G. R. Walker, and C. Dodds, for forging and uttering a will, purporting to have been left by major Hawkins. G. Hemmings and G. Bevan, for extorting money from the rev. Mr. Orde.

By the Leopard, of 50 guns, arrived at Portsmouth this day, intelligence was received of the total loss of the Lady Burgess, outward-bound East Indiaman, commanded by captain Swinton. She sailed in company with the fleet, on the 31st of March, from Portsmouth, and continued with them till the day she was lost, which happened on the 20th of April, when she struck on a sunken rock, between St. Jago and Bonavista, at two in the morning, and went entirely to pieces. The number of persons on board the Lady Burgess, was 184; 34 out of this number perished. Among the latter are, Mr. Cock, the chief mate, and Mr. Dick, the purser; as also, Messrs. Monk, Binny, and Kidd, cadets. All the rest of the passengers, officers, &c. were saved.

At the suit of lord Cloncurry, a *fiat* for 10,000l. was lately marked in

in Dublin, against sir John Pigott Piers, for *crim. con.* with lady C. Sir J. P. P. is, as generally happens in such cases, an old friend of the husband, and was an inmate in the house at the time of the alleged seduction. Lady C. is a beautiful woman, the daughter of an officer. His lordship met her at Rome, where he fell in love with, and married her. Sir J. P. P. is a widower. The lady is not permitted, as in England, to range at large with her paramour, but is confined in the castle of Lyons, in the county of Kildare, long-famed for its beautiful scenery, placed on a hill, and overlooking the grand canal from Dublin to Kildare, Queen's county, &c. It was the hospitable and princely abode, for ages, of the Aylmer family, the ancestors of the countess of Kenmare.

18th. This afternoon, about four, a boy crossing Fleet-street, was knocked down by the pole of a gentleman's carriage. The coachman endeavoured to stop; but the horses kicked the child on the head, and immediately drew the carriage over its neck, which killed it on the spot; no blame is imputed to the coachman, who used every exertion to prevent the accident.

23d. This evening a scaffold gave way at the Mint, in the Tower, where they were making some repairs, by which accident three men were unfortunately killed on the spot, and many others severely wounded.

At the public-office, Queen-square, John and Jane Barrington were committed for trial, charged with attempting to extort money from lady Frances Compton, by counterfeiting the hand-writing of lady George Cavendish, requesting the former

lady to befriend the prisoners, as deserving her attention. It is supposed they had carried on this species of fraud for a length of time.

In the court of king's bench, Robert and Henry Kennett, father and son, were brought up for judgment, being convicted of a conspiracy to defraud certain creditors under a commission of bankruptcy. They were both sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, and the father to stand once in the pillory, in Oxford-street.

24th. This afternoon, a pair of spirited horses ran away with a curicle from Hatchett's, in Piccadilly, down Dover-street, threw down Dr. Reynold's coachman, who was passing at the time, and wounded him dangerously. Two other men were thrown down, and slightly injured.

25th. In the court of exchequer, at Dublin, major Bland, of the 47th foot, laid his action against captain King, of the commissariat department, for criminal intercourse with his wife. The former had been absent from Europe for a length of time, during which the lady had not heard from him. At length, concluding he was dead, she listened to the addresses of the defendant, and married him. These accounts were contradicted by the certainty of the lady having received remittances from her husband. On the plaintiff's coming home, the circumstances of the case were developed—an action was commenced, and damages were laid at 10,000*l.* but the jury gave a verdict for only 300*l.*

26th. The inhabitants of Andover were much alarmed by a whirlwind, which, from the description, nearly resembled a West India tornado.

nado. It carried up three hay-cocks in a field near the town, belonging to Mr. T. Heath, to a height past calculation; as a great part of the hay was literally carried beyond the reach of the human eye. When seen again, the estimated height was upwards of 800 feet. It fell in different parts of the town and neighbourhood, a portion of it full half a mile from the spot whence it was carried up. The consternation of the labourers in the fields was very great, but can more easily be conceived than described.

It is said that the marine soap, to wash with salt-water, manufactured from earth found upon the earl of Warwick's estate, will produce to that nobleman a profit of 10,000l. a-year.

27th. A verdict, with 300l. damages, went against Mr. Briggs, son of sir J. Briggs, in the court of king's bench, for the seduction of Betsy Harris, the daughter of a farmer and butcher, in Monmouthshire.

Mr. R. L—— decided a celebrated match at whist, by which he has won 6000 guineas. The match occupied no less than six days in playing out; during which time the parties took very little rest.

28th. Mr. Moulton, horse-dealer, of Kensington, being in a single-horse chaise, in Hyde-park, attempted to drive the horse into the Serpentine river, to give him water; the horse, plunged, sunk, and threw out Moulton, and a boy with him, when Moulton, the boy, and horse, were all drowned.—Same afternoon a Newfoundland dog, in plunging for a stone thrown into the above river, brought up the body of a young woman by the hair of her

head: she was genteelly dressed, and appeared to have lain some time. The deceased proved to be a servant, of the name of Collins, about twenty years of age, who had lived last with a family in Kensington-square, and had been missing near a week.

Last week a ewe sheep, belonging to Mr. Dannerly, of Dinthill, was killed, on account of a supernatural conception. It appears that the sheep, after having been incautiously opened, had four lambs, which were extracted from the body alive; one of them is since dead, but the other three are all likely to do well.

The archbishop of Canterbury being engaged on his quadrennial visitation, a few days ago went to Ilythe, in Kent, in his coach and six. Stopping there that night, by some accident the stable into which his grace's horses were put, caught fire; and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions were made to save the horses, three of the poor animals perished in the flames.

Egremont-house has just experienced the sad vicissitudes of fortune, to which fashion has of late so wantonly reduced so many "principalities and powers." After descending from a noble earl to an opulent woolstapler, it was knocked down the other day by the hammer of the auctioneer, to Thomas Bernard, esq. the late benevolent treasurer of the foundling hospital, for 16,000l. including the furniture.

29th. Early this morning a party of friends, consisting of Mrs. Van Butchel, the wife of Dr. Martin Van Butchel, of Mount-street; her second son, Mr. Isaac Van Butchell; three misses Aston, daughters of Mr. Aston, gun locksmith,

of

8f Robinson's lane, Chelsea, and nine others, went up the river in a four-oared cutter, belonging to Godfrey, of Lambeth, to Richmond, where they dined and spent the day. On their return in the evening they hoisted a sail. About half past nine o'clock, as they were sailing through Fulham-gut, they ran athwart a sailing barge, lying at anchor, which stove in the side of the boat, and she upset, in consequence of which the whole of the company were plunged into the river. Some of them clung to the cable of the barge, and some to the sides. Mr. J. Van Butchel, striking his head against the barge, sunk never to rise again. The three misses Aston, held by the side of the barge for a considerable time. Two of them, Ann and Hannah, sunk, their strength being exhausted; the ebb tide sucked them under the barge, and they rose no more. The remainder were saved by boats passing by at the time.

DIED.—24th. At Tunbridge-wells, Charles Francis Sheridan, esq. elder brother of the right honourable R. B. Sheridan. His illness had been of some duration, and was borne with exemplary fortitude. Mr. C. F. Sheridan was many years a member of the Irish parliament, and secretary at war in that kingdom, previous to the question of the regency, when he resigned his seat and office. He was a gentleman of most distinguished talents as an author, both in history and political controversy; and no man was more universally beloved and respected in private life. Mr. C. F. Sheridan has left a widow and several grown-up children. Mrs. Sheridan was Miss Bolton, niece to the right honourable Monck Mason.

JULY.

PIGEON-SHOOTING.—A long-expected pigeon-match, between the celebrated Morton, and Keates, the bargeman, was decided at Child's-hill, in favour of Keates, who, out of 21 shots, killed 17, which fell within the bounds; two others fell at a short distance, the other two, though hit hard, escaped. Moreton only killed 11 out of 21. Keates having missed his first and third bird—six to four on Moreton.—Another match, at five pigeons each, took place between a Berkshire gentleman and Mr. Collisson, of some celebrity at the sport. Mr. C. killed his five birds, which was the number allotted to each party; and his opponent, who missed his first shot, lost after Mr. C. had killed his fifth bird.

3d. At a general court of the corporation of Trinity-house, held on Thursday, the right honourable earl St. Vincent was unanimously elected an elder brother, in the room of the right honourable William Pitt deceased; and captain Jonathan Wilson was elected an elder brother, in the room of captain Effingham Lawrence deceased.

LORD NELSON'S WILL.—The following additional codicil to the will of his lordship, was proved on the 4th instant at Doctor's Commons:—

CODICIL.

“October the 21st. one thousand eight hundred and five, then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

“Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the right honourable sir William Ha-

milton, have been of the very greatest service to our king and country, to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our king or country: first, that she obtained the king of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother the king of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England; from which letter the ministry sent out orders to then sir J. Jervis, to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the arsenals of Spain or her fleets: that neither of these was done is not the fault of lady Hamilton; the opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not lady Hamilton's influence with the queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the fleet being supplied with every thing, should they put into any port in Sicily; we put into Syracuse, and received every supply—went to Egypt and destroyed the French fleet!—Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call upon my country, but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma lady Hamilton, therefore, a legacy to my king and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my country, my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only. *These are the only favours I ask of my king and country at this moment, when I am going to fight their battle.* May God bless my king and country, and all those I hold dear—my relations it is need-

less to mention; they will of course be amply provided for.

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

“Witness, HENRY BLACKWOOD.

T. M. HARDY.”

The above article fully explains the unmanly and implacable vengeance with which Bonaparte pursues the queen of Naples. To the friendly offices of that unfortunate princess, obtained by lady Hamilton, lord Nelson, in his last moments, has declared, by his will, that this country is indebted for the glorious victory of Aboukir, and the consequent defeat and flight of Bonaparte.

PLYMOUTH.—A dreadful accident happened on-board a Swedish ship, just as she came to an anchor in Catwater. A loaded gun was fired, which burst, and killed Mr. Mann, pilot, and so wounded Mr. M'Ansland, a pilot, and two Swedish seamen, that they all died this morning. This port has lost two excellent pilots in Mr. Mann, and Mr. M'Ansland, who were well acquainted with all the different parts of the harbours and anchorages of this port.

4th. The fishing-boats of Lowestoft and Yarmouth were unusually successful last week. By the former, as many mackarel were caught in one night, as sold on the beach for 1260l.—The first hundred sold this season, fetched 8l. they were afterwards sold for 5s. per hundred.

A singular robbery has been committed in the British Museum. A person who has been in the habit of visiting that place for upwards of a year, has stolen, at different times, from the portfolios, a number of scarce and valuable engravings, by the Dutch masters, to the amount of 1500l. He sold them to printsellers.

It

It is stated, that a committee have investigated the particulars of the robbery, and come to a resolution that Mr. Dighton, who is charged with being concerned in taking the valuable articles, should not be prosecuted, on condition that he restore the whole of the property that is missing. Mr. Beloe, in whose department it happened, has been dismissed for negligence. If the trustees could prosecute, this would be compounding felony; but, it is understood, that through the negligence of Mr. B. in not making a catalogue, the property in the articles stolen cannot be proved, and that a prosecution would be fruitless.

As a waggon belonging to Mr. Kent, of Abingdon, in Berkshire, was going out of the New Inn in the Old Bailey, it was discovered to be on fire, caused by an unforeseen accident, by which property to the amount of near 400l. was destroyed; the remainder of the goods were saved by means of engines, and the exertions of the people of the inn; several chests of tea were among the property lost.

Miss Holbeck, of Sloane-street, riding in Hyde Park, with another lady and servant, her horse took fright, ran through Cumberland-gate, turned to the left in Oxford-street, and galloped up the Edge-ware-road. The lady kept her seat with great courage, until the horse rather slackened his pace; when, being exhausted, she lost her fortitude, fainted, and unfortunately fell on her head. She was taken up speechless, and conveyed to a surgeon.

The rev. Mr. Milner, a titular bishop of the Romish church, the rev. Mr. Wheeler, a clergyman of

the same persuasion, with Mr. Gadd, a surveyor, and Miss Gadd, his sister, were tried upon an indictment, in the court of king's bench, charging them with unlawfully conspiring together to prevent the marriage of Mr. Taylor, surgeon, of Islington, with Miss Pike, a young lady of fortune, after the marriage deeds were drawn, and the wedding clothes bought. It appeared that the parties had influenced Miss Pike to give up Mr. Taylor; but it likewise appeared that Mr. Taylor had paid his addresses to Miss Gadd, and had quitted her for the pursuit of Miss Pike. The defendants were acquitted.

5th. In the same court, an issue, directed by the court of chancery, was tried to ascertain the validity of the will of the late lord Chedworth; when *the will was established*. The ground taken by the heir at law was, that his lordship was not of sound mind, and competent to make a will; but so far from this being the fact, Mr. Garrow called lords Dartmouth, Moira, Suffolk, and Eldon; sir Charles Bunbury, colonel Hilsted, Mr. Cowper, of the house of lords, Mr. Jekyll, and many other witnesses, to prove the sanity of the deceased. The noble lords, and Mr. Jekyll, spoke as to their acquaintance with him, not only at college, but subsequently. They considered him a nobleman of the most intelligent mind, well versed in politics and literature. These, as well as the other witnesses called, were of opinion, that no man was better qualified to make a valid will than his lordship.—Mr. Dallas addressed the jury on behalf of the heir at law, and inferred the want of sound understanding in lord Chedworth, merely from a variety

of eccentricities and singularities in his behaviour. He called two witnesses, who rather confirmed the evidence of his lordship's sanity than otherwise.—Lord Ellenborough stopped the cause, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, establishing his lordship's will.

The sheriffs inspected the interior of Newgate, and humanely gave directions that the long ward on the debtor's side should be appropriated for the use of the unfortunate persons who might choose to work at their respective trades for the benefit of themselves and families.

At the Middlesex sessions, Edward Eggerton, Richard Clements, and John Whitfield, were tried, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the house of correction, for attempting to break open the shop of Mr. Pristman, silversmith and jeweller, in Princes-street, Soho, on Sunday, the 11th of May last, at *three o'clock in the afternoon!*

Elizabeth Barnet voluntarily surrendered herself for trial at the Old Bailey, being indicted for robbing a man of the name of Rouvellet, of 40l. while living with him in the Fleet prison, upwards of twelve months since. Rouvellet had lately been committed to Ilchester gaol, by the magistrates of Bath, on a charge of forgery. He wished to put off the trial, but was brought to town by *Habeas Corpus*, double-ironed, and compelled to proceed. The prosecution appearing to be instituted from motives of revenge, and the charge unfounded, the prisoner was acquitted.

7th. During a violent storm of thunder and lightning, four horses that were at plough under a tree, at Hints, near Lichfield, were all killed

by one flash. The driver was stupefied, but is likely to recover. The above furnishes another convincing proof of the danger of standing under a tree during a storm.—At Uttoxeter, the thunder was accompanied with an extraordinary hail-storm: some hail-stones which fell at Boylstone, are said to have measured three inches in circumference. Mr. Walker, of Brook End, near Uttoxeter, had a cow killed by the lightning.

10th. In the court of king's bench, a black man, named Jackson, obtained a verdict of 500l. damages, against captain Livesay, commander of the slave ship, Lord Stanley, from Liverpool to Africa, and thence to the West Indies, for the most inhuman treatment ever heard of, by various punishments, and the most cruel flogging, from the captain and others, which was repeated for several days, till at last the blood burst from the wretched man's breasts. The surgeon, on the trial, described the shocking state of his back, and said, that for eighteen inches square, the flesh sloughed off. It is now scarcely healed.

11th. ADMIRALTY SESSION.—A session of the court of admiralty was held at the Old Bailey, before sir W. Scott, a full bench of civilians, Mr. Justice Le Blanc, &c.—Acow, a Chinese sailor, was indicted for the wilful murder of another Chinese, of the name of Anguin, on the 24th of May last, on the high seas, viz. on board the East India ship, called the Travers, on her voyage home, near the Azores. The principal evidence was Robert Oliver, second mate of the ship, who stated, that on the 24th of May last, between two and three o'clock in the morning, as he was on watch, he

he heard a person moaning in great distress ; he called up two men, who, on going below, cried out, " O God ! a man is murdered !" Others came up, who saw the prisoner standing, with a knife in his hand, which was covered with blood : the deceased was lying near him. The prisoner made no resistance ; but when they took him into custody, he said, " Me kill Anguin—Anguin tell me lie—China fashion—me kill Anguin, me kill Anguin—you hang me." The head was nearly severed from the body. There were two mortal stabs, one of which had penetrated the heart, the other the loins. There were in all nine wounds. The other witness corroborated this account. It did not appear that the prisoner and the deceased had any quarrel on board, but they had some dispute on shore. The prisoner, by his interpreter, said he must be hanged by the English law, and did not desire to live : he said he cut the man's head off.—The jury having found him guilty, sir W. Scott pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner, who seemed to take but little concern in it. He was ordered to be hanged on Monday next, at Execution Dock ; but his sentence was afterwards respited until the Friday following, on account of the tide serving more conveniently for the time of execution.

Richard Curling, John Forwood, Thomas Moss, John Sanders, and Thomas Reed, were indicted for stealing on the high seas, sixty-five fathoms of small bower cable, value 58*l.* and an anchor, value 10*l.* the property of Messrs. Joseph Wales, and C. Y. Bonner. The prisoners are all pilots, who resided on the coast of Kent, and three of them

went on board the Traveller brig, captain Ballard, to conduct the vessel into Ramsgate, from the Downs : while on board, a plan was entered into by the prisoners and the captain, to cut away the cable, and that a rope should be fastened to it, by which it could be recovered by two men, who were in a boat. This was done, and the captain, according to his own statement, committed this fraud in conjunction with the prisoners, to make the loss more severe on the underwriters, and consequently more profitable to the owners, who, very laudably, instituted this prosecution. The trial excited a great deal of interest, but our limits only allow us to give this abstract. Three of the prisoners were found guilty, and Sanders and Reed, the men who were in the boat, were acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence to establish their guilt.

A tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain commenced this morning, at eight, in the metropolis, and lasted until eleven, without intermission. It excited universal terror. The lightning entered a house under repair in East-street, Manchester-square ; the blaze was so violent, that every one apprehended that the whole house was on fire, but no injury was sustained, except the breaking of a few panes of glass. Two persons, in the house adjoining, were forcibly struck with the lightning. A ball of fire fell into the area of the lottery-office, in Somerset Place ; it forced open the door, and drove Mr. Pearce, the secretary, who was standing at the window, with a person who was with him, to the opposite side of the room.—Another ball fell in the Thames, opposite Arundel-street. As M

Jones, a builder, of Newcastle-street, was standing with his two sons, and six or seven workmen, at the rear of his house, a ball of fire fell in the midst of them; but it burst upon an iron grate, and sunk into the vault, leaving a sulphureous smell. The storm commenced at 8 A. M. at Stanmore, from the S. W. and continued to rage, with unabated violence, for two hours. On the North-east side of Harrow Weald Common, a thatched hovel, where thirteen persons, of both sexes, had taken shelter, was set on fire by the lightning, and a woman, having a child at the breast, was killed, whilst the infant miraculously escaped. A boy was also so much scorched as to be without hopes of recovery.—At Portsmouth, about half past ten, the brig William, captain Denning, from London, bound to Jamaica, coming into St. Helens, was destroyed by the lightning, which struck the head of the maintop-gallant-mast, passed through that, down the top-mast, main-mast, and pierced the decks into the hold, where it set the cargo on fire. The captain and crew were obliged to abandon her, and landed at Portsmouth. At Deal, in the afternoon, there was a tremendous thunder-storm, with hail and rain; the lightning was very vivid and quick; it struck the maintop-gallant-mast of his majesty's bomb Prospero, shivered to pieces the top-mast, and damaged the main-mast; one man was killed, named Joseph Perkins, and several other of the people were knocked down, but recovered. A corn mill, belonging to Mr. John Croft, of Caistor, co. Lincoln, was much damaged, and a boy in the mill killed, by the lightning. Nine sheep, belonging to Mr. Sibsey, of Bassing-

ham, near Carlton le Moorland, were also killed. At Gainsborough, there was a very uncommon fall of rain, accompanied with loud claps of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning. Three pigs were struck dead at Morton, and two fine horses, in a close near Lea, were killed.—At Peterborough it was extremely violent, and the inhabitants were much alarmed by a fire ball bursting in the market-place. In Rutland, at Ashwell, a hay-stack, belonging to Mr. Chamberlain, was burnt. At Langham, Mr. Sherrard had a sheep killed, and a cow belonging to Mr. Elliot was also killed, by the lightning. The hail came so violent at Teigh, as to break many windows. This morning, a boat belonging to the Sheerness tender, lying in Hull Roads, was sent to Sunk Island, with seven hands, to bring on board lieutenant and Mrs. Fox. Between nine and ten they had proceeded but a short distance from the shore, when W. Mazarello, the cockswain, aged about nineteen, standing erect, was struck dead by the lightning, and fell overboard. Mr. and Mrs. Fox were much stunned, and the rest, except one man, were all struck down, but soon recovered. The body of Mazarello was soon afterwards picked up: his clothes were burned to rags, and the case of his watch was melted. The old block-house-mill, at Hull, was struck by the lightning, and one of the main timbers split. William Curtis, labourer, of Patrington, was next day found dead in a field near that town; having, it is supposed, experienced the fatal effects of the lightning: the hoe with which he was at work is supposed to have operated as a conductor. Near Exeter the effects were

were extraordinary: in Moreton church yard, the earth was torn from several graves, and human skulls thrown to a considerable distance; and, near Bow, about 50 trees were cut in two, as if done with a saw. The report of the thunder was like that of artillery fired in regular succession. About two, the inhabitants of Ipswich were much alarmed, as the crashes of thunder shook many houses; and at the hill barracks it was still more awful; as the electric fluid communicated with a range of stables, and struck down nine horses, two of which were killed. The stables were set on fire, but it was soon extinguished. Near twenty persons were struck down by the lightning, but none killed. A barn, at Framlingham, belonging to S. Kilderbee, esq. of Ipswich, was burnt down by the lightning. The storm was truly awful in Birmingham and its neighbourhood. The lightning split the crane at the canal office in that town. Its effects in the country adjoining have been dreadful.—A man was killed by the lightning at Teffont. At Dumfries the peals were loud, and the flashes uncommonly vivid. The lightning struck the house of James Kirk, at Mains Riddell, Colvend, shattered the chimney-head, and, descending the chimney, broke the hearth-stone to pieces. Two cows were killed, by the lightning, while grazing in a field near Ecclefechan.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS OF THE LATE VIOLENT STORMS.—Sutton Place, near Guilford, in Surrey, the seat of John Webbe Weston, esq. was struck by lightning, when he and his lady had a most wonderful escape. They were in bed, in a room in which was a sash-window facing the West; the head of their bed stood

to the South, about six inches from the wall, and opposite to the feet of it was the chimney; at the wall behind the bed's head were two pulls for a bell which hung in the room below, from the middle of which pulls a wire went down the wainscot and through the floor. In the room below there was a window (under that in the bed chamber) secured by up-right iron bars. The lightning entered at the S. W. corner of the bedroom, tore off the paper and plaster from the wall, took the wire of one of the pulls of the bell, which it melted into small globules, some round like shot, some long, and run down the wire in the centre into the room below, where it seems to have been conducted upwards by the iron window bars, and to have entered the bed-room again by the window above, where nearly every pane of glass was broken, and where the skirting-board was forced *into* the room; from thence it went up the chimney, displacing a small iron back, forcing out the bricks on the east side of the chimney above the roof, and splitting a chimney-pot, on the top, which fell in all directions. When Mr. and Mrs. Weston awoke, the room was full of fire and rubbish; but no farther mischief was done. — At East Horsley, a few miles off, two oxen belonging to W. Currie esq. were killed.—An oak in the grounds of Loseley, near Guildford, was stripped of its bark, and the body, though not torn into pieces, was split and shivered so as to have scarce a sound timber in it.

12th. A meeting of the principal gentlemen of the county of Essex was held at the Angel inn, Ilford, agreeable to advertisement, for the purpose of considering the propriety of applying to parliament for an act

act to make a road from London to Tilbury; when several resolutions for the above purpose were proposed by sir Thomas H. Lennard, and carried by a large majority. A subscription was immediately opened, and several thousand pounds subscribed. Should the above patriotic proposal be carried into execution, it will reduce the distance from London to Tilbury, on the Essex side, eight miles, and thereby afford a very great accommodation to all persons travelling, or connected with the shipping interest of this country, particularly benefit the towns through which it will pass, and facilitate the conveyance of fish to the London markets.

This day the West India dock company opened a new dock at Blackwall, appropriated for ships outward-bound, and the Phoenix West Indiaman, captain Douglas, belonging to Messrs. Hibberts and Co. was warped into the basin from the import dock, amidst the applauses of many thousand spectators. The vessel was decorated from stem to stern with the colours of every nation, surmounted with the British standard.

14th. The storm which happened this day seems to have been one of the most extraordinary ever remembered in the eastern part of this island. From a quarter past one, for three hours, the sky was uniformly and deeply clouded, and the rain and hail, with few and short intervals, came down in torrents.—Soon after the storm began, it was thought advisable by the magistrates attending to the business of the quarter sessions in Bury St. Edmonds, to take down the great chandelier in the Shire-hall, it being deemed a powerful conductor; in doing this,

however, mischief had very nearly happened, as the clerk of the peace narrowly escaped a fatal blow from the fall of part of it. In a very few minutes after came one of the strongest flashes, and a violent explosion, at the distance of two seconds, equal to 2200 feet nearly; or little more than one third of a mile. There were three other explosions, the most distant of which from the flash did not exceed eight seconds. The lightning was exceedingly red and dense. On this day, a mare, in a pasture belonging to Mr. Beeton, of Haddwicke, was struck dead under a tree, which was also shivered to pieces. A popular tree, in the meadows, near Stamford-bridge, which stands between two stacks of hay and clover, was stripped of its bark, and nearly split in halves, but not thrown down, and most probably, by its attraction, preserved the stacks from fire.—In some parts of Middlesex this storm was very violent, and particularly at Sunbury, where the lightning struck the church, and has done some damage to the tower.—At three, a hurricane took place near Hyde Park, when a cloud burst over Chesterfield-street, Curzon-street, and Queen-street. The body of water fell with such rapidity, as to fill the cellars of the inhabitants, and formed a complete current in Shepherd's Market, and it was with difficulty that the gratings of the drains were dragged up, so as to admit the water, and thereby prevent great damage.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—*The King v. Dorant*.—This was a prosecution for perjury, instituted by Rouvellet, the man who prosecuted Elizabeth Barnett, at the Old Bailey, on Saturday, for an alledged robbery,

robbery. The prosecutor appeared in fetters. His evidence was so vague and contradictory, that lord Ellenborough stopped the trial, and the defendant was acquitted. It appeared in the course of the proceedings, in this wicked prosecution, that it was instituted for the vile purpose of invalidating the evidence of Mr. Dorant, who is to be an evidence against Rouvellet, at his approaching trial for forgery. After the trial the prosecutor was conducted back to Ilchester gaol, from whence he had been removed by *habeas corpus*, to give evidence on this iniquitous prosecution, and against the woman, Barnett, above-mentioned.

16th. During the storm this day, a remarkable strong flash of lightning, followed by a tremendous crash of thunder, attracted particular attention at Salisbury, about two in the afternoon; and at this moment a poor man, named Whitlock, servant to farmer Maton, of Pitton, was struck dead by the lightning.

17th. This evening, the lightning and thunder were very sharp, and twelve lambs, grazing in a field belonging to Mr. Thomas Parsons, of Great Barton, Suffolk, were struck dead.

A very singular and brilliant meteor was seen by many of the inhabitants of London, in broad daylight, this evening, about eight o'clock, passing in the southern and western part of the hemisphere, from about S. E. to N. W. It appeared about one-fourth of the diameter of the moon, but more brilliant than Venus ever appears, and moved with very great swiftness, nearly in an horizontal direction, leaving a conical tail of light and sparks behind it.

The meteor described was observed very clearly over the Hyde, at Edmonton, by persons passing between 8 and 9 o'clock.

A gentleman who was angling in the Mersey, near the Cheshire shore, killed two fine congers, one weighed $24\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. the other 12 lbs.

18th. Acow, the Chinese sailor, convicted at the last admiralty session, for the murder of Anguin, another Chinese, was hanged at Execution Dock. He was conveyed from the Old Bailey in a cart, and appeared dreadfully dejected.

MALTA. — "I now come to relate to you an event of the most melancholy description, and almost unparalleled in regard to the dreadful and miserable consequences. It happened this morning. A magazine took fire, and blew up with an explosion scarcely ever known to be equalled; by it 370 barrels of gunpowder, and above 1600 shells and grenades, were blown up. Such an immense quantity as 40,000 lbs. of gunpowder must occasion the most dreadful havoc and destruction. The houses adjacent in every direction were thrown immediately into ruins;—and how shocking it was to the inhabitants you may easily conceive, as there was no chance of escaping. The buildings are all of stone, of immense thickness. It is calculated that one thousand persons have either perished, or are dreadfully maimed. The principal sufferers are the Maltese, who chiefly lived near the place. One man has lost his wife and six children; others nearly the same; and whole families are buried together. Those who escaped momentary death, perhaps, are shockingly disfigured and maimed, and crawling about in a miserable condition

condition. Fourteen artillery-men, who were in the magazine, were of course blown to atoms. The band of a regiment (the 39th) were just playing "God save the King," near the place; two were killed on the spot; the whole remainder were much wounded. The guards on duty were killed. The magazine was situated on the side of the water opposite to the city of Valetta; it is called Barmola. Stones were thrown over to us, some to the distance of two miles. It was situated close to the water-side, and the bed of the sea was so shook by it, that it rose up and overflowed the banks. Two vessels (small ones) were sunk. Immense stones were thrown up, which fell into the water; others on the ships and rigging: one I saw, which fell on a vessel just arrived, weighed an hundred weight. The guard-ship, the Madras man of war, is moored some distance from the disastrous place; but a stone fell upon the quarter-deck, and broke the thigh of the gunner, who had lately arrived. A Mr. Woodhouse here, who, with his brother, has a great wine-making concern in Sicily, has lost 250 pipes of it, worth nearly 7000*l*. They were at some little distance from the place; but the shock was so great that the casks burst. The churches are filled with the dead. A friend of mine, just come from the ruins, says, that he was walking over them, when he lighted on the head of a woman. Her whole body was crushed flat; and, although it is only a few hours since the general calamity took place, her body, owing to the intense heat, was entirely putrified. It is supposed that the men were employed in cutting away the fuses from the shells, or doing something like that, when

a spark arose. The merchants have begun a subscription of 200*l*. a piece for the relief of the poor sufferers. A whole town I may say is destroyed. The accident happened this morning about a quarter past 6. They say there are now buried in the ruins 1000 barrels of gunpowder that are in danger; but I trust in God it is untrue, for, were that to blow up, it would bring all Malta in ruins."

23rd. This day, during the storm of thunder and lightning, about two o'clock, a labouring man named Tytheman, ploughing in a field belonging to John Potter, esq. at South Weald, Essex, for shelter against the violence of the rain, repaired with his horses under a tree in the field; when he and both horses were struck dead by a flash of lightning. There were no marks of violence upon the man, except a small perforation in the crown of his hat, apparently as if the electric stroke took an upward direction through it; the horses were lying back to back, and appeared as if they had died without a struggle.

Buonaparte lately ordered an assembly of the principal French Jews in the empire, who were summoned accordingly by M. Mole, one of their elders. He stated that his majesty had appointed commissioners to treat with them respecting the bad conduct of many of their members with respect to their religion—"The laws," says he, "which have been imposed upon persons of your religion have been different all over the world; they have been too often dictated by the exigency of the moment. But, as there is no example in the Christian annals of any assembly like this, so you, for the first time, are to be impartially judged,

judged, and your fate decided by a *Christian Prince*. It is his majesty's wish that you should become French; it is your duty to accept this title, and to consider that you, in fact, renounce it, whenever you shew yourselves unworthy of it."—The following questions, proposed by his majesty, were then read by the secretary of the meeting; and a time appointed for receiving the answers:

—"1. Is the Jew permitted to marry more than one wife?—2. Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion?—3. Can a Jewess intermarry with a Christian, or a Christian female with a Jew; or does the law prescribe alone that Jews should intermarry?—4. Are the French, in the eyes of the Jews, brothers or aliens?—5. What in all cases are the connections which their law permits them to maintain with the French who are not of their religion?—6. Do the Jews who were born in France and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, consider France as their native country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they under any obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code?—7. Who are they who are called rabbins?—8. What civil jurisdiction do the rabbins exercise among the Jews? What power of punishment do they possess?—9. Are the mode of choosing the rabbins, and the system of punishment, regulated by the Jewish laws; or are they only rendered sacred by custom?—10. Were the Jews forbidden by their laws to take usury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this of strangers?—11. Are those things proclaimed which are forbidden to the Jews by their laws?"

The Jewish assembly at Paris has answered three of the questions proposed to it, respecting Jewish marriages, as follows: that the Jewish law, in the strictest sense, permits polygamy, divorce, and mixed marriages, but that these are limited by practice and usage. To the question which relates to the duties of French citizens, the assembly is said to have answered in the fullest manner.

24th. As James Dixon, a letter-carrier of the town of Windsor, was delivering his letters, he was struck blind with the lightning.

The metropolis was this day again visited by a most awful and tremendous storm. It commenced about two o'clock, and continued, with undiminished violence, until three. The clouds descended to the very house-tops, and the city was enveloped in darkness. The rain fell in such torrents, as to resemble, in a great degree, those periodical descents of the deluge so common in the West Indies. The flashes of lightning were uncommonly vivid in the neighbourhood of the Strand.—A man was struck by the lightning in Drury-lane, but did not sustain any material injury. A ball of fire struck one of the poles, near London Bridge, for mooring the barges, and shivered it to pieces. The clouds charged with the electric matter came from the S. W. The reports were first heard from a considerable distance, but gradually approached the capital; as, in the latter part of the time, there was not an interval of half a second between the flash and the explosion. The rain and hail were incessant. The water rose so high in the lower parts of the city, as to fill the kitchens and cellars of the

the houses; and in some parts of the Borough, bridges of boats were constructed for the foot passengers.—The flashes of lightning were uncommonly vivid. The masts of several ships in the river were shivered from top to bottom; and we understand, at Islington, one or two horses were knocked down. The effects of the storm have been seriously felt in the environs of the metropolis, where many gardens have been completely inundated and destroyed. In St. Giles's the cellars were so flooded, that the people were obliged to quit them to save their lives. A house in Flint-street, near the King's Bench, was damaged; the chimney was thrown down, the roof destroyed, and the windows forced out, happily without any one sustaining the least injury. An apartment in the house caught fire, but was extinguished.

25th. The rain commenced this morning between one and two, and poured down in torrents for a considerable time. All the kitchens in that part of Oxford-street which lie between Bond-street and Manchester-square, were completely inundated. In Bird-court, in James-street, and other streets in the same neighbourhood, the distress of the inhabitants was inconceivably great. In these houses the water was at least four feet deep. The foundation of a house in Bird-court, and of another at the entrance into Davies-street, are so much injured, that carpenters have been employed to prop them up. In the lower part of Piccadilly, opposite to the house intended for Lord Barrymore, the water rose to the height of three feet, and was impassable for several hours.

28th. Two fire-balls were observed to fall nearly at the same time; one in Etton field, near Peterborough, the other near Woodcroft, happily without doing any injury.—A fire ball entered the chimney of a house in Bisbrook, near Uppingham, and went out at the door; there were several children in the room, but happily no lives were lost.

29th. KILKENNY. "I have indeed abundant cause of thankfulness that I am permitted once more to write to you, as my preservation, in common with the inhabitants of this city, has been truly providential. Yesterday, about 2 o'clock, the most tremendous thunder-storm I ever heard began here, and continued with increasing fury till near four. The whole atmosphere seemed on fire; the lightning quite vivid and forked; threatening universal destruction, and instantly succeeded by such thunder as seemed to be destined for the desolation of the entire city. Torrents of rain fell almost during the whole time; and, occasionally, dreadful hail, in size about a pigeon's egg. One young woman was killed; I saw her this morning—the hair on the front of her head completely burned—the gable of the house where she was, split, and the glass in the window broken. In another house a man was struck quite senseless, and the electric fluid passed along the entire direction of the bell, and consumed it to ashes, leaving a mark similar to that which appears after the explosion of gunpowder. On the roof of a third, it tore away about three yards of the slating, and killed a bird on the top. I could not conceive any thing on this earth more awful or terrific. The consternation was universal."

AUGUST.

AUGUST.

2d. At the Sussex assizes, which were held at Lewes, the following cause (for *cruelty to a dog*) came on: —Hicks *versus* James Collard.—Mr. Morris said, the declaration set forth, that the plaintiff had a valuable dog; that the defendant beat him, and rubbed his sides with a caustic liquid; in consequence of which it became necessary to destroy the animal. To this the defendant had pleaded, that the dog trespassed upon his premises, and that he beat him to keep him away.—The plaintiff was a stable keeper at Brighton, and the animal destroyed was his yard dog. The defendant was a druggist and chemist, who had a bitch in his house, to which the dog paid occasional visits. In one of those visits the defendant secured the dog, most cruelly poured on him oil of vitriol, and turned him out. In the course of the next day, it corroded the flank of the poor creature until his bowels actually dropped out, and it became necessary to put the animal out of its misery. It was stated in confirmation by a witness, that the morning after the liquid had been applied, about five o'clock, he first saw the dog; it was then running about the yard in great agony. The hair on the back was hard, as if burnt, but on the sides, where the dog had licked himself, the flesh was torn away, and there was but a thin skin between that and the bowels. The tongue of the animal, by licking itself, was burnt as hard as a coal, and was so stiff that it appeared as if it had been bent. About twelve o'clock, the skin on the flank was eaten in holes, and the bowels dropped out on the ground. In this

state they shot the dog. Two other witnesses proved to the same effect. —At the conclusion of the examination of witnesses, the judge (Baron Macdonald) observed, that his feelings had been so deeply lacerated by what he had heard, that he could not recapitulate the evidence. Such an act of wanton wickedness and cruelty, he said, he had never before heard of, and he hoped that he never should again. He regretted that the law would not permit him to punish such a miscreant as he deserved; but advised the jury to give the most ample damages that the law would allow.—The damages were only laid at five guineas, the value of the dog, consequently the jury could give no more.—Five guineas were therefore awarded.

At eleven o'clock A. M. there was an awful thunder-storm in East Lothian. The morning was fine, but between ten and eleven the sky became dark and stormy, and soon burst into loud peals of thunder, preceded by flashes of lightning uncommonly vivid. The lightning broke upon the manse of Gladsmuir, and struck dead a female servant. The manse was for some time filled with smoke and sulphur, but no other damage happened to it, than the falling of some slates from the roof.

In the north of Scotland, large tracts of land still remain under water. In the parish of Urquhart, about 18 miles from Inverness, a bridge was carried off by the current, and three men who were on it at the time perished.

4th. This day was cut, in the garden belonging to Thomas Taylor, of Norton, near Stockton, co. Durham, a melon, which measured, in circumference over its two ends, 36 inches,

inches, and betwixt them, in a direction perpendicular to its axis, 28 inches; weight, 16lbs. 0½ oz. It is thought to be the largest ever grown in this part, or perhaps in England.

6th. A party of boats at Weymouth went on a sailing match, when one, the *May-Flower*, with five hands, upset, and immediately went down; the men were all saved except one of the name of *Strickland*, a shoemaker, who sunk with the boat.

7th. A grand conference of the methodists closed at York on Saturday last. The increase of the society this year amounts to near 9000. *Seventeen* preachers have been admitted into full connection, and near *forty* more on trial. Fifty additional chapels have been erected in the course of the year. At the above conference the rev. Adam Clarke sat as president, and Dr. Thomas Coke as secretary. Upwards of 20,000 members were present on the occasion.

About one o'clock this morning the sugar-house of Mrs. A. Molesworth, in Union-street, Shadwell, was discovered to be on fire. In two hours the interior of the sugar-house was entirely consumed: the dwelling-house escaped with little damage. The premises, we hear, were insured for 7500*l*.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the operation of tapping was performed by Mr. Cline on Mr. Secretary Fox, and upwards of 16 quarts of water were removed. The operation was performed in the presence of Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Moseley, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Tegart, and Mr. Cline junior.

The same day, James Branscomb, esq. was chosen sheriff of London;

and has accepted the office, together with Jonathan Miles, esq.

A dreadful fire broke out this evening, in the extensive warehouse and stores belonging to Mr. Bennet, sugar-baker, at the corner of Conduit-street, Shadwell, by which the whole of those valuable premises were destroyed, together with sugar, molasses, &c. to an immense amount.

An effort, by two motions, in the court of chancery, was made to revive the question of the sanity or insanity of the late lord Chedworth; and the main spring by which the point of insanity was to be insisted on, was an affidavit of the rev. Dr. Parr, of Hatton, in Warwickshire. The doctor, in his affidavit, states, that he very reluctantly came forward, at the instance of the heir at law, lieutenant-colonel Alexander Wright, of the 77th regiment; he nevertheless states, that notwithstanding lord Chedworth's highly cultivated mind, his brilliant fancy, and his superior talents, yet he believed him at times to be deranged, and of so unsound a judgment, that it would have been proper at those times to have placed him under personal restraint. This affidavit was repelled by the counsel on the opposite side, by the production of several letters from Dr. Parr himself to lord Chedworth, written in the life time of the latter, all of which conveyed the most exalted idea of his lordship's understanding.—The lord Chancellor (after advertising to the strong and powerful evidence produced on the trial, in the court of King's bench, of lord Chedworth's sanity) particularised the case of the attorney general v. Panther, in which lord Thurlow laid down a maxim, from which he said

No judges should depart: It was, that the *onus* should be with those who asserted the *insanity*, and that it was not sufficient to show that the party had been suspected of a morbid imagination at particular periods of his life; but it must be proved that he was actually deranged at the time of doing the *act*, the validity of which was questioned. His lordship concluded, by refusing to grant a new trial, and hoped that the matter of costs would be the only thing hereafter to be discussed.

8th. This evening, on finishing a house in Brick-lane, Spitalfields, the bricklayers went on the most elevated part of the building to drink a gallon of beer, with three huzzas. In their hilarity, four persons fell to the ground; one was killed on the spot, and the others were taken to the London hospital; one of whom is since dead, and the other two not likely to recover.

9th. A wooden house in Lambeth Marsh took fire, owing to the boiling over of some varnish. The adjoining houses were pulled down; and the flames prevented extending.

On Bushy Heath, near Rickmansworth, several men and women were employed in the making of bricks. When the storm came on, one of the women, to appease the crying of her infant child, placed it on her breast, and ran towards her cottage, which she had nearly reached, when the lightning struck her in a terrible manner; it burnt her body to a cinder, and tore her limbs from their places: one of her legs was found 20 yards from her body; but the child remained unhurt. The lightning next set fire to her thatched cottage, in which were her four other children, one of whom was killed, and another so dreadfully

scorched that its life was despaired of, though hopes are now entertained of its recovery. The cottage, and the whole of the poor man's furniture, were entirely consumed. —The storm at Newcastle was extremely awful. A violent squall of wind arose from the S. W. which sunk a pleasure boat belonging to a gentleman in South Queensferry, then near the island of Inchcolm. The owner of the boat, his servant, a skipper, and two tradesmen, all residing in Queensferry, unfortunately perished.

CARLISLE.—This afternoon came on a most dreadful storm. It commenced about 4 in the afternoon, and continued till near 8, at which time it was as dark as it used to be at 9. The lightning was amazingly vivid, and appeared one continued flash; the thunder, too, was tremendous. A large barn at Linstock (farmed by John Lennox), two miles from this city, was struck by a fire-ball. The barn contained 80 cart-loads of hay, valued at 250*l*. —As 5 or 6 people were employed in the cellar of the new brewery here, a thunder-bolt penetrated into it, and struck all to the ground. The eldest son of Mr. Ross was severely injured, but there are hopes of his recovery. At Coldbeck, the storm was equally severe. A cow, the property of the high sheriff, was killed by the electric fluid.

10th. This morning as several young men and boys were bathing in the Serpentine river, a young man named Smith, a good swimmer, was seized with the cramp, and sunk. The spectators ran to the receiving-house to give the alarm. The body was found in about 20 minutes, and taken to the receiving-house; and in half an hour life was restored.

14th. This day a fire broke out at Pill, owing to the obstinacy of a gentleman's servant, in setting fire to the thatch taken off some old buildings; which communicating to the adjoining houses, three were burnt to the ground. Three poor families have been deprived of a home.

19th. The thunder-storm of this day has done infinite damage in various parts of the country. At Northfield End, near Henly, a fire-ball entered the chimney, and passed through the windows, after greatly injuring the house.—Two men and a boy, who were dressing wheat in a barn, at Harrington Tiger, near Huntingdon, were struck dead by the lightning, and the barn burnt; as were a fat cow and three sheep, belonging to Mr. Handley, of Deeping Fen.—In Haddon lordship, two beasts, the property of Mr. Dean, and a horse near Cambridge, perished.—A fire-ball entered the work-house at Godmanchester, but passed out at the front door, without doing any injury. It afterwards entered the hut of a poor man opposite, M. Budge, who was killed while sitting in a chair; after which it exploded.—Three fat bullocks grazing in a field, and belonging to Mr. T. Sadler, of St. Osyth, were destroyed by the lightning.—A barn in the possession of Mr. B. Wiggins, of Hageley, near Maldon, was consumed, together with the contents, part of the corn of this year's growth.

This evening, about seven o'clock as Mr. Nettlefield, stockbroker, with a female relation, was driving his gig towards Maidenhead, the horse took fright, and running on a bank, the lady was thrown out, and killed on the spot.

Three children amusing themselves a few days ago in a sand-hole, at

Bank Top, Manchester, a part of the rock above them gave way, and killed them all on the spot.

At Rudford, near Gloucester, two sheep were killed in a field; and, on the Tewkesbury road, a post-chaise horse, belonging to the Bell inn, was struck down, but soon recovered the shock. A poor man was killed near Stapleton; he had a scythe on his shoulder, which, no doubt, served to attract the electric fluid. A very fine horse was killed at Tortworth, in Gloucestershire. A valuable horse, the property of Farmer Daily, was struck dead at Witney; and two others were killed near Henley. One of the Bath coaches was overturned on Twyford bridge, by the horses taking fright at the lightning; but none of the passengers were injured, though the coach was thrown into the stream. At Godstone, in Surrey, the lightning struck two men who were hoeing turnips in a field, and killed one of them on the spot. The other, after remaining some time senseless on the ground, recovered as from a swoon, and appeared much surprised and shocked at finding his companion dead. At Dunstable the lightning fell on a house, formerly the Bull inn, but now fitting up for a brewery, and fired a stable in which were five waggon-horses; they were got out safe.—Joseph Bridge, employed by Mr. Ford, of Rayleigh, near Shrewsbury, in mowing oats, endeavoured to shelter himself under an oak, which he had nearly reached, when he was struck dead.—A large oak growing in a field in the parish of Sherstone, Wilts, belonging to Mr. John Deverell, was struck by the lightning. A large limb, weighing four or five cwt. was
3 severed

severed off completely from the body of the tree; nearly the whole of the bark of the body of the tree was also torn off, and scattered round in small pieces, to a distance of 20 yards from the tree.

Mr. Anthony Daffy Swinton, late vender of Daffy's Elixir, underwent a long examination before three of the commissioners of bankrupts, at Guildhall. At his former examination he talked much of a Miss Moore, who he said had lived with him, and had burned the memorandums which constituted his accounts. The commissioners issued orders for the appearance of Miss Moore, to be examined. Miss Moore did not appear; but the bankrupt confessed that he himself burnt the leaves torn from the account-book, for which he substituted clean ones, and gave orders to a young man of the name of Hall to fill up the blank pages with fabricated accounts, and to write with different pens, and three different sorts of ink, to make it appear as if wrote at different times. He likewise gave in, the same day, a list of things *concealed* at various places by his desire. The commissioners told him, that from what he had stated at his several examinations, they thought it their duty to send him to Newgate; to which prison, after hearing Mr. Const as his counsel, he was committed.

20th. A most atrocious fraud was committed on a number of gentlemen at the stock-exchange, it being the settling day, by a foreign Jew, of the name of Joseph Elkin Daniels, who has for a long time been a conspicuous character in the alley. Finding that, in consequence of the great fluctuation of omnium, he was not able to pay for all that he

had purchased at an advanced price, he hit upon a scheme to pocket an enormous sum of money, and with which he has decamped: 31,000*l.* omnium was tendered to him in the course of Thursday; in payment for which he gave drafts on his bankers, amounting to 16,816*l.* 5*s.* which were paid into the respective bankers of those who had received them, to clear in the afternoon. Having gained possession of the omnium, he sold it through the medium of a respectable broker, received drafts for it, which he cleared immediately, and set off with the produce. On his drafts being presented, payment was refused, he having no effects at the banker's.

21st. There was this day the most destructive overflow of water in the vale of St. John, near Keswick, that has been experienced there since the memorable *water-spout* of the year 1749. This, too, is supposed to have been occasioned by the bursting of a cloud upon the mountains. About 2 P. M. the water came rushing down the gill, between Fisher-place and Brattah, with such force, as to overflow the channel of the river, and to do considerable damage. The principal mischief was sustained by Robert Walker, of Fisher-place, whose grounds are nearly all covered by rubbish, washed down from the sides of the adjoining mountains. At the time the wide-spreading torrent was sweeping every thing before it, down the sides of the mountain, there was scarcely any rain at the bottom. The scene was terrible in the extreme. In the former visitation (1749,) a mill was washed down. The millstone has not been found to this day.

22d. Early this morning a very handsome

handsome young woman, about 18 years of age, dressed in a white muslin gown with long sleeves and yellow gloves, straw bonnet, and velvet shoes, was found in the agonies of death, by the watchman in Belvidere-row, near the king's bench prison; she lay between two carts. On being taken up, and on opening the door of Mr. Gibbs, near the spot, she fell forward, and breathed her last. After the body was conveyed to the watch-house, it appeared that she had received several severe bruises about the head; there were likewise some marks of violence about her throat and neck; a piece of flesh was also found to be cut and torn away from the lower and secret part of the body! On Saturday evening, an inquisition was taken on the body, at the Yorkshire Grey public house, opposite St. George's workhouse; when, after a long and minute investigation, the jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder against some person or persons unknown." The deceased, it was proved, was an unfortunate girl of the town; but all who knew her agreed in giving her the best character that a woman in her situation could have. The deceased was addicted occasionally to liquor. Whether to the jealousy of man, or the envy of women, (among whom, we understand, she was an object of jealousy,) her death is owing, remains at present enveloped in uncertainty.

At the Suffolk assizes, held at Bury, among other prisoners who received sentence of death, were Luke Castle and Samuel Wheeler (both under 22 years of age,) for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. John Chapman, of Stradishall, and stealing sundry articles of wear-

ing apparel, &c.—The atrocious conduct of these two offenders cannot but convince every reader of the justice of their sentence. The villains, who had long infested the neighbourhood, and belonged to a gang of that class denominated gipsies, entered at midnight the dwelling-house of Mr. Chapman, who resided therein alone, most cruelly beat and tortured him with a bayonet, in order to extort from him his property, and afterwards attempted to enclose him in a hutch, which not proving of a sufficient length, they threatened to shorten him by cutting off his head; however, they contented themselves with binding him down in his bed with a table-cloth, still continued the use of the bayonet until the sufferer was nearly exhausted; they then, before they departed, obliged him to kiss a bible, and swear he had no property but what they had taken; and with shocking imprecations threatened, if he attempted to unbind himself before they returned, to murder him. In this situation he remained about an hour; when one of the villains came back, determined to put in practice his horrid intention, had he found him in any other situation; but that in which he left him.—Jane Ellis, who was an accomplice, was admitted evidence against them.

At the Surrey quarter sessions, in Horsemonger-lane, of seven lamp-lighters found guilty of stealing oil from the proprietors of Vauxhall, three were sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and four sent on board the tender.—Thomas Rogers, for assaulting and beating his wife, and attempting to put her into a copper half full of boiling water, was found *guilty*.—He prayed to be allowed to serve as a soldier. The
learned

learned Chairman (Serjeant Onslow) replied, that he could not think of disgracing the king's service so much as to send so cowardly a fellow into it; and then passed sentence of two years' imprisonment, and to find sureties.—No less than three prisoners were in the list of commitments, charged with ill-treating female children; one, M'Manus by name, was convicted, and received sentence to suffer one year's imprisonment; the others escaped through defect of evidence.

After a great number of gentlemen had been previously excused serving the office of sheriff, on paying their fines of four hundred pounds and twenty marks, James Branscombe, esq. has been elected by the livery, sheriff of London and Middlesex, to serve with Mr. Miles; since which Mr. Branscombe has given bond to serve the office. Richard Phillips, esq. citizen and stationer (of Bridge-street, Blackfriars,) was nominated with Mr. Branscombe; but the show of hands was decided to be in favour of the latter gentleman.

Mr. Joseph Edge, aged 62, a native of Macclesfield, in Cheshire, lately undertook, on several bets amounting to upwards of 2000 guineas, to perform a journey of 172 miles in 50 successive hours, which he completed in 49 hours and 20 minutes! This aged pedestrian started from the Angel inn, in Macclesfield, exactly at 12 o'clock at night of the 6th instant, and arrived, accompanied by two gentlemen in a gig, at the Swan with two Necks, Lad-lane, at 20 minutes past one o'clock in the morning of the 9th.

At the Somersetshire assizes, held at Wells. J. D. R. Rouvellet was found guilty of forging the accep-

tance of Messrs. Child and Co. to a bill of exchange for 420l. by which he defrauded Madame Simson, lace dealer, of Bath. He was convicted principally on the evidence of Elizabeth Barnett, who at that time lived with him as his wife, and saw him commit the forgery. The trial lasted twelve hours. Elizabeth Barnett being the chief witness against the prisoner, that circumstance accounts for his having instituted both a criminal and civil prosecution against her, if possible to get her out of the way; in order to prevent her giving evidence against him upon the trial.

Eleanor Whitford was tried at the Surrey assizes; she standing indicted for having intermarried with John Whitford, on the 26th of November, 1801, at Gretna Green; and afterwards, at the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, on the 19th of May, 1806, feloniously intermarried with Robert Jacques James, her former husband being still alive.—Not having room for a detailed account of this trial, we can only state, that Mrs. Whitford appears to have forsaken her husband in consequence of his having been unfortunate in business. Mr. James, a pretended wealthy old gentleman, whom she afterwards married at Lambeth church, had previously taken apartments at Whitford's house; and hence Mrs. Whitford's desertion of her husband, and subsequent mercenary union with James, on the presumption that her Gretna Green marriage was not legally binding. The man who married the parties at Gretna Green, David Lang, a tobaccoist, was called to establish the first marriage. He stated, that he performed the ceremony over the

prisoner and her husband, in his way; that was, he read nothing, but he said something off the tongue; and authorised them to cohabit together. Being questioned if he had any certificate of the marriage, he replied "No, only the names of David Lang, Eleanor Whitford, John Whitford, written on paper."

The chief baron deeming it necessary to have proof that the marriage was legally solemnized according to the laws of Scotland, Mr. Curwood, the counsel for the prosecution offered Mr. Lang as an evidence to that point; but the lord chief baron said, he should not receive the law of Scotland from a tobacconist. The prisoner was in consequence acquitted for want of evidence of the law of Scotland. This decision, however, in no way affects the question as to the legality or illegality of Gretna Green marriages, for his lordship said, he could only know the law of Scotland from evidence in the cause. He said also, he would have taken the evidence of a Scotch advocate, but could not take that which was offered.

REMARKABLE CASE. — Mr. Scholes, surgeon, of Holmfirth, lately tapped a young lady, (a Miss Pearce,) for the dropsy, and took from her 53 quarts of water and putrid matter.

25th. At the Lancaster assizes, which closed this day, 13 prisoners received sentence of death: John Barlow, for stealing six pieces of calico; Luke Lockard and Peter Higgins, for forgery; James Sidebottom, for stealing a waistcoat, &c. Ralph Bolton, for a burglary; Charles Johnson and Robert Thomas, for forgery; James Yates, for wounding and ravishing Mary Hoyle, of Spolland; Isaac Hitchen, aged

62, for an assault, with intent to commit an unnatural crime on John Knight (he was one of the most affluent men in Warrington; his wealth is said to exceed 60,000*l*.) James Stockton, Thomas Fox, and Joseph Holland, for a similar offence on Thomas Taylor; and John Powell, for an unnatural crime with John Knight. The judge (baron Graham,) in the most impressive manner, advised the eight last-mentioned malefactors to prepare to meet the fate which the laws of their country had affixed to their heinous offences. Hopes of mercy were held out to the other five. It appeared on the trials of Hitchen, Stockton, Fox, Holland, and Powell, that they regularly assembled at the house of Hitchen, on Monday and Friday evenings; and that they called one another *brother*. The judge very properly ordered that no notes should be taken on these trials, nor any young persons be allowed to be present at them. Five of the persons charged with unnatural offences were admitted as evidences for the crown. Stockton, Powell, Holland, Lockard, Higgins, and Yates were executed on the 13th, on the new drop, erected at the back of the castle. Stockton first ascended the scaffold; he appeared much agitated, indeed his limbs seemed almost inadequate to their task. Powell seemed much affected, though he did not display such dejection as the former. Holland appeared in a state of the greatest agitation; the contrition of his countenance truly indicated the penitence of his mind; on the scaffold his feeling appeared the most acute; he seemed impressed with all the horrors consequent to a situation so awful, and to implore the pardon of
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an Almighty God with the greatest fervency. He was a man advanced in years, of a gentlemanly appearance, and possessed of a handsome property. Yates (a young man) ran up the scaffold steps, and seemed little affected; Lockard and Higgins (young men) appeared greatly dejected. Hitchen and Fox are respited.

26th. The waters about Keswick rose up to an unusual height, from the excessively-heavy rains which fell the preceding night, and much damage has been done. The water-wear, at Forge, is washed down, which will occasion a stop in the cotton-works, and carding and fulling-mills. The carding-mill at Stair is also washed down. Considerable damage has been done near Broughton in Furness, Conistone, and other places in that part of the country, by the washing down of bridges, &c.—The lightning struck four pit-men, who had taken shelter in a new building at St. Helen's, Lancashire, the windows of which were not glazed. One of them, who had just stepped forward to look at the appearance of the sky, was killed on the spot, and two of them were so debilitated, that they were obliged to be put to bed. The watch and chain, belonging to the man who was killed, were completely melted.

We have to record another instance of the violence and atrocity of Buonaparte. A bookseller, M. Palm, residing at Nuremberg, formerly an imperial town, and under the special protection of Prussia, has been dragged from his house to the fortress of Brannau, and there tried, and shot by the sentence of a French military commission, for no greater crime than vending, in the way of

his trade, a book respecting the government of France under Napoleon. He was a man of the highest integrity, and his unhappy fate is universally lamented. This atrocious act, placed beyond a doubt by private letters, is only slightly alluded to in the German papers. The fact is, that there is not one journalist within three days journey of the French army, who has not the fate of the Nuremberg bookseller continually before his eyes.

The fate of M. Palm, has excited in Germany an interest that does the greatest honour to the feelings of humanity. He was 40 years of age; and born at Schondorf.

His conduct, when sentenced to death by the French commission at Brannau, was so heroic, that it deserves to be generally known. —This brave man was offered his pardon, upon condition that he gave up the author of the work; which he refused to do even at the place of execution, exclaiming, “that he would rather die than betray the author.”

To intimidate others, Buonaparte ordered 6000 copies of the sentence of the mock tribunal to be circulated all over the continent. Some patriots at Berlin, in return, subscribed for the publication and distribution of 60,000 copies of the inclosed letter which he wrote to his wife some hours before his execution. The general indignation this murder has excited every where in Germany is excessive. The pity of his fate is only surpassed by the abhorrence of the tyrant who commanded and directed the assassins who perpetrated this atrocious deed.

“ In the Dungeon of the Military Prison of Brannau, August 26, F f 4 1806.

1806.—*Six o'Clock in the Morn-
ing.*

“MY DEAREST BELOVED,

“When you read these lines you are a widow, and our dear, dear children have no longer a father. My destiny is fixed; in five hours I cease to live. But though I die the death of a criminal, you know that I have committed no crime; I fall a victim of the present calamitous times! times when an untimely death can neither dishonour a man whose whole life has been irreproachable, nor throw a stain on his surviving family. In our miserable days what virtue has not expired by the hands of the executioner!—Do not let your affliction for the fate of a husband deprive you of firmness to support the duties of a mother. Our dear, dear babies (Oh, my God! I shall never more press them or you to my bursting heart!) have now a double claim on your maternal love, as well as on your maternal tenderness. Implant on their tender minds all those virtuous sentiments which made their good mother so very dear to their unfortunate father. I advise you to collect, as soon as possible, the wreck of our fortune (if any,) and to retire with it to England or America. In those fortunate lands innocence is still secure, and patriotism is yet revered.—In my last fervent prayers I recommend you all to the protection of an Omnipotent Providence, and to the compassion of those contemporary patriots of all countries whose noble bosoms sympathise with my own feelings, and deplore, if not weep, over the destruction of liberty in wretched Germany.—Reward the friend who delivers this; and for-

give, and teach our dear children to forgive, my murderer. May heaven pardon him as much as I do! I cannot—I dare not say more;—my breast is too full. Oh, my God! never more to behold and embrace them and you!!!—Almighty Creator, bless and preserve you all, until we meet in another and better world, to part no more!—With my last breath, your ever affectionate husband,

JOHN P. PALM.

29th. The theatre royal, now erecting at Manchester, was let to Mr. M'Cready, at 1600*l.* a year, and an annual free benefit for a public charity.

Cooke, the actor, brought an action, at the last Carrickfergus assizes, against Mr. Atkins, the manager of the Belfast theatre, for the sum of 127*l.* 10*s.* as a balance due to him for an engagement in the year 1804. But it appeared in evidence, that Cooke (in consequence of his want of attraction, and the consequent loss of the manager) agreed to give up the sum in question, upon condition of receiving a ring, in token of Mr. Atkins' respect; which was accordingly given to him. The jury, of course, found a verdict for the defendant with costs.

The city of Bath was visited with a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, between the hours of two and four this morning. No accident in the town. A ball of fire fell on a house at Twerton, which was entirely consumed; and it is reported that every inhabitant perished.—A stable belonging to a farmer on the new Gloucester road was burnt, and six valuable horses.

SEPTEMBER.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. This morning, at six o'clock, a fire broke out at the distillery belonging to Messrs. Smith, Cook, and Tate, in Millbank, Westminster, which burnt with incredible fury for near two hours, destroying the valuable steam engine, estimated at 5000*l.* being capable of working eight stones at one time, in the process of grinding corn and malt. A great quantity of corn was also destroyed; fortunately the dwelling-house escaped. The damage is estimated at 60,000*l.* which was chiefly insured. The first partner in the above firm is W. Smith, Esq. M. P. for Norwich.

3rd. Was executed at Ilchester, pursuant to his sentence, J. Doerke Romney Rouvellet. From the time of his sentence, to the hour of his execution, he evinced a pious, manly, christian fortitude; denied, with his dying breath, the crime for which he suffered, and said, "that he was the victim of a perjured woman, whom he forgave, as well as all the world."

4th. A dreadful catastrophe took place in Angel-court, Charing-cross, in a house of ill fame. Margaret Smith, a young woman, being in company with a man who used to frequent her lodging, and two women, an altercation arose, and she was severely beaten by some of the party, and suddenly precipitated from a two pair of stairs window into a cellar below; but whether she leaped out to avoid the blows, or was thrown out by the others, we do not learn. Her skull was fractured, and also some of her limbs; and in this state she was carried to the Westminster Infirmary, with little hopes of recovery. The

two women and the man were taken into custody.

At the execution of Matsell, at Birmingham, for maliciously firing at and wounding a watchman of that town, being desired to give a signal the moment he wished to be turned off; when every thing was ready, he threw up a handkerchief that he held in his hand, and exclaimed, "Here goes!"

Mrs. Forsyth opened her house at Broadstairs, that Mrs. Siddons might give readings for the benefit of the Sea-bathing Infirmary, at Margate. The tickets, about 300, were 10*s.* 6*d.* each; they were all issued by private hands, the name of the party being put down on the back, and indorsed when transferred. This benevolent design was fully answered, but unfortunately ill repaid. While the bustle of the company engaged the attention of Mrs. Forsyth and family, a servant went into a bed-room and stole a box of jewels, worth upwards of 900*l.* the property of Mrs. Forsyth. [They have been since returned.]

Steeptill, a beautiful seat on the back of the Isle of Wight, has been burnt to the ground.

7th. At night, some vile incendiary set fire to a rick of barley, containing the produce of sixteen acres of land, belonging to the hon. John Monckton, at Fineshade, near Stamford, and the same was entirely consumed. Fortunately no other mischief ensued, although numerous stacks were standing near. At a small distance from the rick yard, where the fire began, a letter was found, without a superscription, the contents of which were of the most diabolical nature, threatening to shoot the keeper, should he dare to proceed thirty yards from that place;

place: to give greater weight to their infernal machinations, a bullet was enclosed in the letter.

Mr. Sainsbury, of Weston, has obtained the astonishing number of 2000 grains of Egyptian wheat from two ears, sown in his own garden.

The board of agriculture has this year offered various premiums for the promotion of that useful science; among which are the three following; viz.

1. "To the person who shall produce to the board, a model of the best and cheapest cottage, on a scale of one inch to a foot; with estimates of the expence of erecting it—from five to ten guineas, according to merit.

2. "It having been represented to the board, that there are roads in some parts of the kingdom, where much carriers' work is regularly done with one-horse carts; and as, in such cases, it is conceived that it might be easy for such carriers to substitute oxen, or spayed heifers, in some of their carts for comparison, the board will give to the carrier, or other person, who shall make the experiment in the most satisfactory manner, during one year, and report the result to the board—fifty guineas.

"It is required that the oxen be fed in the same manner as the horses, and not to be under five years old.

3. "To the person who shall discover a principle, which may lighten the draught of oxen to carriages—twenty guineas; being the amount of a legacy left by the late colonel Goate, of Brent Eleigh, Suffolk, for this specific purpose."

8. As Mr. W. King, of Adderbury, Oxon, was going to church to be married to a Miss Williams, of Banbury, the constables met him

within a few yards of the church-door, and took him away (for leaving a former family chargeable to Adderbury); to the great grief and alarm of the intended bride, who had just entered the church.

8th. Some gentlemen shooting in a wood on Kingsdown, near Bath, discovered a man lying motionless. Finding some symptoms of life still remaining, they had him conveyed to a house. His name is John Lockyer, and he is well known in Bath. Being on his way home on Tuesday evening the 19th of August, during the tremendous thunder-storm, he was struck senseless by the lightning; how long he remained in that state he has no conception, but on recovering his recollection he was incapable of standing. That a human being should exist 20 days without any subsistence, but the little rain-water he was able to catch in his shaving cup, and by chewing the surrounding grass, will appear incredible, but it is a fact, and will be clearly substantiated. His senses appear to have recovered much sooner than his powers of speech, or the use of his limbs. He was conscious of his situation long before he had the ability to speak, or the inclination to move. The medical men who attend him expect he will recover the partial use of his limbs. The following are the memoranda he minuted on the slate leaves of a black letter case; and which book is bent and cockled up, evidently appearing to have been soaked through by the wet: "I am just able to pencil this—I believe the fatal thunder-storm (to me) was on the 18th of August (It was on the 19th). I should not have known how the time went on only by hearing the guns go off for partridge shooting the

the first of September, and it is now the fourth I am pencilling this.—From the above time till now I have not had any thing to put in my mouth.” On another leaf he had written on the day he was discovered:—“As I was going across this wood to Farleigh, I was struck down by a violent clap of thunder, where I lay senseless for God knows how long. When I came to myself my hands and feet were swelled very much, so that I could not stand nor have I eat or drank any thing for three weeks past.—God only knows my sufferings.” He has since undergone the amputation of one of his feet.

This day, a fire broke out in Northfleet dock-yard. About one, smoke was seen issuing from the store-house, and flames burst out immediately afterwards. Water was procured, and the engines speedily brought, but not in time to save any part of the building, or its contents. About 2 o'clock the roof fell in. Two fine seventy-fours, nearly completed, are upon the stocks, within 20 or 30 yards, but happily the fire was to leeward of them. The flames were extinguished before night, without communicating to any other part of the premises.

9th. This day was married, at Slinsford church, Dorset, Viscount Marham, son of Earl Romney, to Miss Pitt, only daughter and heiress of William Morton Pitt, esq. with a fortune of 60,000*l.* and an estate of 12,000*l.* per annum, independent of the estates of her father. The ceremony took place in the presence of Lord Rivers, Mr. and Mrs. Lascelles, Lord Barham, Mr. and Mrs. M. Pitt, Mrs. Iremonger, &c.—Mr. and Mrs. M. Pitt gave the lady away; while Col. Noel and Miss Beckford

officiated on the occasion.—In the early part of the morning the whole of the unmarried female branches of the neighbouring tenantry and villages attended at Kingston-house, the seat of W. M. Pitt, esq. each female attired in an elegant white muslin dress, provided for them, as a present on the occasion, by Miss Pitt. After refreshments, about 40 couple proceeded, two and two, before the procession to the church, strewing the way (before the happy couple), in the ancient style, with flowers of every description. After the ceremony they returned in the same order, attended by nearly 300 spectators, where a dinner, consisting of English hospitality, was provided on the occasion in booths on the lawn; and the festive eve concluded with a ball on the green, in which the nobility present shared in the mirth. At an early hour in the evening, the happy couple and suite set off in post chaises to pass the honey-moon at the lady's own seat, Enchcombe-house, Dorset.

The workmen employed in digging the foundation for the new Blue Coat Hospital at Gloucester (intended to be erected upon an elegant and extensive plan, on the site of the antient building in East-gate street) lately discovered, about six feet below the surface of the earth, the remains of a very curious tessellated Roman pavement, 30 feet long, and 20 wide, divided into compartments, enriched with a great variety of scrolls, frets, and other architectural ornaments, and having a wreathed or braided border. The colours are white, red, bluish, grey, and pale and dark brown. The *tesserae* are mostly cubes of different sizes, from one half to three quarters of an inch; some are triangular, and

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of various other shapes. The cement on which the pavement is laid is about an inch thick, and appears to be composed of sand, pounded brick, and lime, forming together a very hard substance. The interstices are filled up with cement, so hard that it is even more difficult to break than the *tesserae* themselves. The white and pale *tesserae* appear to be of hard calcareous stone, and bear a good polish; the red are of a fine sort of brick; the bluish grey are of a hard argillaceous stone, found in many parts of Gloucestershire, and called *blue lias*; and the dark brown appear to be of the granite found at St. Vincent's rocks near Bristol.

As some workmen were employed in sinking a cistern at Messieurs Gardiner's factory at Leicester, they found, 10 feet below the surface of the earth, the remains of a large Roman building, the walls of which were 4 feet thick, composed of alternate layers of forest stone and Roman brick. From the similarity of the structure to the ancient temple of Janus or Jewry Wall, it is supposed to have formed part of that work, from which it is about 100 yards distant.

The King George Packet, of and from Parkgate, for Dublin, was lost at night, near Hoyle Bank, and all on board perished, except five men and a boy; 125 persons were drowned, among whom were seven cabin passengers.

16th. Mr. Daniels was brought up for examination before the lord mayor at the Mansion-house; when his buying 30,000*l.* worth of omnium, selling it again, and running away with the money to the Isle of Man, with a variety of other circumstances, being proved by Mr. Montifiore, his broker, and other

persons, the lord mayor ordered the prisoner to be brought up next day.

17th. The lord mayor, after consulting with the council for the prosecution, and the prisoner's counsel, determined to liberate Mr. Daniels; which being done, he was detained on lord Ellenborough's warrant, to make his appearance to a commission of bankruptcy. — He has since been liberated.

18th. A court of bank proprietors was held; when it was announced by the governor, that the half-yearly dividend, about to take place, would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, together with a bonus of 5 per cent. The bank likewise to pay the property tax on the dividends.

On the 25th of August his royal highness the prince left London and called at Bushy Park, to take with him, as by appointment, his brother the duke of Clarence. — At half past five, the royal brothers set out from Bushy Park, accompanied by colonel Lee and major Bloomfield. Their royal highnesses slept that night at Benson, Oxfordshire, and passed through Oxford about one o'clock on Tuesday; they then proceeded to Blenheim, and drove through the Park, expressing themselves highly gratified with both the internal and external beauties of that magnificent place, and at the same time testifying their regret that they could not devote more time to view and inspect them. Their royal highnesses next proceeded to the earl of Guildford's at Wroxton Abbey, where they dined; on Wednesday a round of entertainments were provided for the amusement of the royal guests during their stay, among which was a play, performed on Friday. Their royal

royal highnesses, on their route to Ragley, the delightful mansion of the Marquis of Hertford, stopped at the Lion inn, in Stratford, where the volunteers were assembled to receive them. The prince of Wales was waited upon by the mayor and corporation, who presented a loyal address to his royal highness, accompanied with an elegant box, adorned with an appropriate inscription, made of the celebrated mulberry-tree planted by the immortal Warwickshire bard. While at Ragley, the royal brothers visited Warwick and Warwick castle. Their royal highnesses, after leaving Ragley, passed through Shrewsbury about half past five o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, on their way to Ross Hall, the seat of Cecil Forrester, esq. M. P. to which place they were escorted by a detachment of the Shrewsbury yeomanry. — Their royal highnesses, after leaving Ross Hall, proceeded to Loton, the seat of Sir Robert Leighton, bart. and from thence to Trentham Hall, on a visit to the marquis of Strafford. At all the places they visited, the gentry and country people assembled, to testify their respect and loyalty. Addresses were presented from various corporations, &c. and most graciously answered. The volunteers who turned out were noticed with great and peculiar condescension by the royal tourists. On the 18th instant the prince of Wales and duke of Clarence paid a visit to Liverpool, to which place they went from Knowsley in a coach and six of the earl of Derby's, followed by 20 other carriages. On their arrival, they were received by the duke of Gloucester, the dragon guards, Devon militia, Liver-

pool volunteers, &c. After the royal brothers had inspected the docks and various other establishments, they partook of an elegant dinner provided by the mayor, and in the evening returned to Knowsley. The entertainment cost the corporation of Liverpool not less than 10,000l. The number of persons who flocked to Liverpool upon the occasion was immense, and their loyalty was commensurate with their numbers.

The propensity of dogs to worry and destroy sheep in the night has recently been severely felt in the valuable flock of col. Anstey, of Ibsley House Hants;—Ten sheep three lambs, and a Spanish ram, of the Merino breed, have been killed, and fifteen sheep and three lambs wounded, by a dog of the old spaniel breed, and a mongrel bitch.

A raven lately died belonging to Mr. Tindall, at the Marquis of Granby inn, in Lincoln, aged 29 years. When first taken, he frequently took his flight from the inn for a month or five weeks, and returned again. He had one thigh broken twice.

Ann White, single woman, is committed to Bedford goal, by the coroner, on suspicion of throwing her new born female child into a privy, at Dunstable. It is singular, that three days before a new-born infant was taken out of the same privy, and the inquest found that *such child was still born*. From circumstances produced in evidence, it appeared that Ann White was the mother of both children.

A poor woman, who was lately about to be tried in Ireland for a capital offence, was asked by the judge if she had any counsel or attorney?

attorney? She replied very seriously, "She had no counsel but God and no attorney but his lordship."

19th. A dreadful accident happened this morning, in Harp alley, Tower-Street. Two old houses, one in possession of a publican, and both let out in lodgings to a number of poor families, fell down, and buried the inmates, 26 persons, in the ruins. Weatherelt, the landlord, his wife, and son, fell from the upper story, and were found nearly together in the rubbish, where the cries of the two latter had brought the people to their relief. The husband was taken out quite dead, by the side of his wife; the son and wife were both bruised, but not so as to endanger their lives. A widow woman, named Darlington, whose husband was killed last year, by accident at Woolwich, had a child killed; and a man named Lacey lost a daughter. All the rest, though buried under the ruins where they remained for several hours, were taken out alive.

The same morning, at 10, an explosion took place in a house in Eagle-court, Red-lion-square, occasioned by a private still bursting in the kitchen. The premises were much damaged. The kitchen was occupied by a person of the name of Williams, who ran away. The Excise Officers seized on all the materials, besides a quantity of wash.

20th. This day, the treasure taken from the Spanish settlement, Buenos Ayres, was brought to town in eight waggons, on each of which was a *Jack Tar*, holding a flag, on which was inscribed the word *Treasure*; as also on the caravans, R. M. the initials of Royal Money. They were escorted by the Loyal Britons, commanded by col. Alexander Da-

vison, the rear being brought up by the Clapham volunteers, commanded by col. Bestead. The cavalcade proceeded along Whitehall, passing the Admiralty, and along Pall-mall into St. James's square, where it halted in front of col. Davison's house, and the men received some refreshment. At 3 it arrived at the Bank, where 1,086,203 dollars, and a box filled with jewels and precious stones, were deposited. The field-pieces and colours taken at Buenos Ayres were carried to the Tower.

21st. A duel was fought this morning between Baron Hompesch and a Mr. Richardson, of Colchester, in consequence of the Baron, who is near-sighted, running against Mr. Richardson and two ladies in the street. On the exchange of the third pistol Mr. Richardson was shot through the body.

23rd. At ten o'clock this night the Admiralty telegraph, lately erected on Haldon, near Exeter, and which communicates with Plymouth, by some accident caught fire, the whole of which, together with the glasses, &c. was entirely destroyed.

29th. At a common-hall this day sir William Leighton, knight and alderman, was elected lord mayor for the year ensuing.

OCTOBER.

1st. An unfortunate accident occurred at the new works, building for a magazine at Chatham. A large arch, eighty feet long, and sixteen feet wide, containing nearly 100,000 bricks, having been finished, in taking away the centres, which had been raised for turning it, the pressure of the brickwork proving too great for the abutments, which gave

gave way, the arch fell in, and, melancholy to relate, killed eight men, and very materially wounded two others. What renders this circumstance still more distressing is, several of the unfortunate sufferers have left very large families. A comfortable provision has been made by the board of ordnance for the widows and orphans. The widows to be allowed one shilling per day, as long as they shall continue unmarried, and an allowance of sixpence per day to be granted to each of the children, to be continued until they respectively arrive at the age of 18 years.

2nd. At Brompton, in Kent, in consequence of the frames employed in turning the arches of a magazine building there being removed, before the work was sufficiently dry, the building gave way. Ten workmen were buried in the ruins, of whom six have been dug out lifeless, and it is feared that the others have shared the same fate. The arches are supposed to have contained 60,000 bricks.

It is with great concern we have to state the following melancholy accident. Her royal highness the Princess of Wales was this afternoon on her way to the seat of Mr. Locke, at Norbury Park, near Leatherhead, Surrey, in a barouche, attended by Lady Sheffield and Miss Harriet Mary Cholmondeley, and was driven by her royal highness's own servants. On their arrival at Sutton, they took post-horses, and were driven by the post-boys belonging to the cock inn. Her royal highness's horses and servants were left to refresh in order to take her home that evening. Her royal highness proceeded to Leatherhead, when on turning a sharp corner to

get into the road which leads to Norbury Park, the carriage was overturned, opposite to a large tree, against which Miss Cholmondeley was thrown with such violence, as to be killed on the spot. She was sitting on the front seat of the barouche alone. Her royal highness and Lady Sheffield occupied the back seat, and were thrown out together. They went into the Swan inn, at Leatherhead. Sir Lucas Pepys, who lives in that neighbourhood, and had not left Leatherhead (where he had been to visit a patient) more than a quarter of an hour, was immediately followed, and brought back; and a servant was sent to Mr. Locke's, with an account of the accident. Mrs. L. arrived in her carriage with allexpedition, and conducted the princess to Norbury Park, where Sir Lucas Pepys attended her royal highness and, as no surgeon was at hand, bled her himself. On the following day the princess returned to Blackheath. Her royal highness received no other injury than a slight cut on her nose, and a bruise on one of her arms. Lady Sheffield (wife of Lord Sheffield, who was with her, did not receive the slightest injury. —An inquest was held on the 4th, before C. Jemmet, esq. coroner for Surrey, on the body of Miss Cholmondeley, at the Swan inn Leatherhead. It appeared, by the evidence of a Mr. Jarrat at Leatherhead, and of an hostler belonging to the inn, that the princess's carriage, drawn by four horses, with two postilions, while turning round a very acute angle of the road, was overturned. The drivers, through extreme caution, had taken too great a sweep in turning the corner, which brought the carriage on the rising

rising ground, and occasioned its being upset. The carriage swung round a great tree before it fell. When the surgeon saw the princess of Wales, she most benevolently desired him to go up stairs, as there was a lady who stood more in need of his assistance. The surgeon (Mr. Lawdell, of Great Bookham) then went to Miss Cholmondeley, and found her totally deprived of life. There was a violent confusion on her left temple; and her death appeared to have been occasioned by the rupture of a blood vessel. The jury returned a verdict of Accidental Death. Miss Cholmondeley was born in 1753, and was the daughter of the late Hon. and Rev. Robert Cholmondeley, rector of Hartingford-Bury, and St. Andrews, Hertford, who was son of the third earl of Cholmondeley, and uncle to the present earl. Her mother is living, and resides in Jermyn-street. On the 8th, at 12 o'clock, the remains of this unfortunate lady were interred in Leatherhead church, close to the spot where lady Thompson, wife of sir John Thompson, some years since lord mayor of London, is buried. The body was, on the evening of the sixth, removed from the Swan inn to an undertaker's near the church-yard, and was followed to the grave by her brother, George Cholmondeley, esq. one of the Commissioners of excise; the hon. Augustus Phipps; William Locke, esq; S. Gray, esq. and several other gentlemen. The fatal spot where this amiable lady met her sudden death is still visited by crowds.

SWITZERLAND.—On the 2nd ult. at five in the evening, the Knippenouhl Rock, which formed the summit of Mount Rosenberg, was on a

sudden detached from its situation; and at the same time part of the mountain, of several feet thick, on the western side, and about 280 feet thick on the east side, gave way, and fell into the valley which separates the lake of Zug from that of Lauwertz; and some houses in the village of Stein. One part of the mountain fell into the lake of Lauwertz, which caused such an agitation in the waters of the lake, that they overthrew a number of houses, chapels, mills, &c. along the southern shore. Upwards of 1000 persons were the victims of this calamity. A society of thirteen travellers were on the road from Arth to Schwitz: nine who walked first perished; the other four escaped. In this convulsion, enormous pieces of rock were carried through the air to prodigious distances. The lake of Lauwertz has lost above a quarter of its extent. That rich plain, which was so beautiful, now presents a mountain of near 100 feet in height, a league and a half in length, and as much in breadth. The villages of Goldau and Rothen, consisting of 115 houses; that of Busingen, of 126; and that of Kuslock, have totally disappeared. Of Lauwertz, which lost 25 houses, there remain 10 buildings, all much damaged.—Twenty years since, general Plyffer predicted this catastrophe, from the knowledge that he had of the nature of the mountain. A professor of Schwitz said, that above Spietsflu was a sea of water, which had undermined the rock for several years, and that below, there was a cavern of great depth, where the waters were engulfed. The quantity of water which has fallen during the preceding years has hastened this catastrophe, and the rains of
some

some weeks past have decided it.—On the 10th, 800 persons were employed in digging for the bodies of those who were destroyed by the falling of the mountain at Schwitz. In forming a channel to draw off the waters, between thirty and forty labourers were swallowed up by a torrent of muddy water, which broke in upon them suddenly.

By official accounts received from Malta, it appears that the loss occasioned by the explosion of a powder magazine, which happened on the 18th of July, amounts to—royal artillery 14, thirty-ninth foot 3, Maltese troops 23. The number of inhabitants who suffered by the explosion does not exceed 200. Some houses, and a small part of one of the curtains in the town of Vittoriosa, on the Cottoniera side of the harbour, were thrown down. We are happy to add, that no officer of the army or navy was either killed or wounded.

On the 30th of August, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt at Rome. At Velletri some houses and the church of St. Salvador were thrown down. Very large chasms appear in the walls of the palace of Ruffinella, which is uninhabitable. Half of the beautiful palace at Zagorola is a heap of ruins. At Nemi the cloister of the Minorites is ruined, and the church divided in four parts. The stone edifices at Marino, and other places, are untenable. The house of Lucien Buonaparte is so considerably damaged, that he has been obliged to take refuge in Rome, with the whole of his family.—The shock was most severe at Abruzzo, where several persons were killed and wounded.

4th. As some children were lately playing on a straw-stack, belonging

to Mr. Coulson, of Bottle Barns, near Morpeth, one of them, Mr. C.'s daughter, was sliding down, when a fork, which had been left upright against it, penetrated her side and caused her death.

7th This morning, at nine, Earl Percy, accompanied by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Byng, and several other friends, assembled on the Hustings in Covent-garden, to proceed to the election of a representative for Westminster. After administering the oath to the High Bailiff, Mr. Whitbread addressed the electors, and lamented the impossibility of finding a man of such exalted talents and enlightened views as Mr. Fox, whom he characterised as the best friend England ever had. He then alluded to the refusal of Messrs. Sheridan and others, who had been applied to, to represent the city, and declared that he could confidently propose Earl Percy for their choice, as a candidate who united all the high qualities which could give force to his pretensions. His speech was received with loud applause; and seconded by Mr. Elliot. Lord Percy was then almost unanimously elected. He expressed his thanks for the honour which had been conferred upon him, and paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Fox, whose character, he declared, he highly esteemed, though he had not the honour of being personally known to him, and whose example he should always endeavour to make the guide of his public conduct. His Lordship then bowed, and retired from the hustings. In the usual scene of confusion which arose on scrambling for the materials of the hustings, no person was seriously hurt. A crimson gilt chair, elegantly decorated with laurel, was

brought on the shoulders of eight or ten men to the door of Hudson's hotel, where Lord Percy had retired; his Lordship was then chaired round the market in the usual form, and afterwards carried in the same state down Southampton-street, and along the Strand to Northumberland house, where the populace were regaled with bread and cheese and porter.

8th. This night an attempt was made to destroy the flotilla at Boulogne. The damage done proves to be very considerable; though not more than 300 rockets were discharged. One of the messengers who came over with Lord Lauderdale, saw three houses which had been set on fire and burnt by the rockets. What damage was done to the shipping could not be well ascertained, on account of the strict watch kept over the whole embassy. It was said, by some, that only three rockets had fallen on the ships, which had been taken up and thrown into the water without doing any mischief. So much, however, were the enemy terrified by the extraordinary nature of the attack, as well as occupied in counteracting its effects, that, during the half hour the boats remained before the town, one shell only was discharged at them. The rockets or arrows are portable, and any town which can be approached within two miles, would be endangered by their operation. The success against the shipping would have been infinitely greater, had not the boats approached too near the town. The fire in the town was seen burning from Dover the morning after the attack.

11th. A few days since, a large oblong British or Danish barrow was opened in the parish of Duntest-

bourne-Abbots, Gloucestershire; in which was found a kistraen, or cromlech, containing about 8 or 9 bodies of different ages, many of the bones of which, and the teeth, were entire. The whole length of the barrow, diagonally, was about 50 yards; straight over the stones about 40; the width about 30 yards; and the distance between the two great stones 24 feet. The barrow was composed of loose quarry-stones, laid in strata near the great stones, and brought from a distance. The largest stone, which has been long known in the country by the name of the Horse-Stone, is of the kind of grey-withers, or Stonehenge: it is flat on the East side, and round on the side which is in the barrow; is 12 feet high from the base, and 13 in circumference. The other stone lies almost flat on the ground, and is about three yards square, and one foot thick. This covers the kistraen which contains the bones, and which is divided into two cells, about 4 feet square each, and 6 deep. There is little doubt of its being British; and it may be called the early altar, or family monument. There are several other barrows in the neighbourhood; and it is singular that the farm adjoining is called Tack Barrows, probably a corruption or abbreviation of some other name. The bones are reburied, but the barrow, and the tomb, will be left open some time longer for the inspection of the curious.

A dreadful riot took place a few days ago in Ratchiff Highway, between a party of Lascars and another of Chinese sailors, who have come home in the ships from India. They met nearly 200 in number in Angel-Gardens, Wapping, and assailed each other with all sorts of weapons.

weapons. After several were severely wounded, 18 of the ringleaders were secured by the police.—Four Lascars had a narrow escape, as they had cords round their necks, and were just about to be turned off from a bedstead, and so hung, when they were rescued by a party of British seamen.

12th. PLYMOUTH.—This morning a duel was fought by Mr. Armstrong, a midshipman of the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Long, midshipman of the Resistance, which sailed lately from that port, leaving him behind. It terminated fatally to the latter.—His antagonist's ball entered his right side, and lodged in his left shoulder. This circumstance took place at half past eight o'clock, and was not made known till three in the afternoon, when the port-admiral ordered search to be made for the deceased. He was found lying on his back, his hat on, his pockets turned out, and a cane lying across his arm. The quarrel originated at a hop in Pembroke-street. Mr. L. was a youth of affable manners, about 18 years old, and, it is said, nearly related to the duke of Montrose.—The jury returned a verdict of Wilful Murder, in consequence of which Armstrong and the two seconds have been apprehended, and are now in irons.

14th. A meteor was observed about eight this evening at Swansea; during the short time it was visible, it illuminated a considerable extent of the country.

16th. Two fine young oxen, the property of J. A. Dalrymple, esq. of the Gatehouse, Sussex, died lately so suddenly, that the men who attended them could scarcely believe them to be dead. On opening them it appeared, from the stomach, that

they had been licking a gate which had just been painted with white lead and oil, and which had occasioned their death. A similar accident took place a short time since, under the observation of Mr. Toombs, in Kent.

19th. G. Rick was this day gored to death by a bull at Pickworth, near Falkingham;—the deceased had lived with the proprietor of the bull, but had been obliged to leave his service, in consequence of a determined hostility which the animal had manifested towards him; they had not seen each other for some time, when the bull, having strayed from his pasture, met and killed the object of his enmity.

A professorship of military surgery has lately been instituted in the university of Edinburgh, by order of his majesty.

Five hundred and twenty four silver coins have lately been discovered near Cartmell in Lancashire, by two labourers employed in getting stones, on an estate belonging to lord George Henry Cavendish. They were inclosed in an unglazed earthen pot. The coins are all in a state of high preservation, and are now in the possession of lord Cavendish. The earthen vase was broken to pieces before its contents were discovered.

25th. This day the parliament, which stood prorogued to the 29th of October, and which was to meet for the dispatch of business on the 29th of November, was dissolved; and writs issued for a new parliament to be assembled on the 15th of December.—The privilege of franking, at present dormant, recommences on the 6th of November.

Among the personages who lately attracted public notice at Brigh-

ton was an original, or *would be* original, generally known by the appellation of the green man. He dressed in green pantaloons, green waistcoat, green frock, green cravat; and though his ears, whiskers, eyebrows, and chin, were powdered, his countenance no doubt, from the reflection of his clothes, was also green. He ate nothing but greens, fruits, and vegetables; had his rooms painted green, and furnished with green sofa, green chairs, green tables green bed, and green curtains. His gig, his livery, his portmanteau, his gloves, and his whip, were all green. With a green silk handkerchief in his hand, and a large watch chain with green seals, fastened to the green buttons of his green waistcoat, he paraded every day on the Steine.

This morning at 6 o'clock this gentleman leaped from the window of his lodging on the south parade, into the street, ran from thence to the verge of the cliff nearly opposite and threw himself over the precipice to the beach below. Several persons immediately ran to his assistance, and carried him, bleeding at the mouth and ears, back to his lodgings. The height of the cliff, from whence he precipitated himself, is about 20 feet perpendicular. From the general demeanour of the above gentleman, it is supposed he is deranged. His name, we understand, is Henry Cope, and that he is related to some highly distinguished families.

30th. We are sorry to record the serious disaster which has befallen the fleet from Jamaica. The following have foundered.

	Tons.	Men.	Saved.
Pallas,	233.	12	1
Rashleigh,	232	11	all.
Forty-second,	266	12	only 1.

Ann,	220	11	all.
Coverdale,	385	25	all.
Nutwell,	426	29	all.
Herculean,	646	25	22
Frances,	326	13	all.
Exeter,	503	22	2
Erin,	290	18	none.
Achilles,	267	14	all.
African,	374	20	11.
Cumberland,	—	—	—

Tons 4419.

Seventy people drowned, exclusive of passengers. The *Cora*, 155 tons, and the *Sally*, 263 do. were abandoned by their crews during the gale. They have been since found at sea, and the former carried into Philadelphia. The *Union* is put into Virginia dismasted. The *Jane* sprung a leak, and bore away for America. Seven sail, bound to America, parted for their destinations; four of them known to be arrived. The *Minorca*, for London parted off the *Havannah*. Thirteen parted during the gale, seven of which have arrived; and five remain unaccounted for, viz. *Jean*, 184 tons; *Concord*, 315 do; *Acuteon*, 260 do. Pursuit, 302 do. and *Aurora*, 267 do.

Recapitulation.— 13 foundered; 2 abandoned; 2 gone to America; 7 parted, bound to America; 1 parted, without leave; 71 arrived, with *Franchise* and *Penguin*; 7 arrived before; 5 unaccounted for; 1, *Carmathen*, for London, put into Bermuda. Total 109.

NOVEMBER.

3d. Mr. William Watt, of *Bolington*, near *Macclesfield*, having occasion to look at the water-wheel of a neighbouring mill, the wheel caught him, and he was literally crushed to atoms.

A pauper, named John Venn, in Pontefract workhouse, aged 84, last week hung himself. The deceased was one of the six marines selected to shoot admiral Byng, and often said that he was sure his ball killed him.

5th. Two Italians, one named Nardi, an artificial flower-maker, and the other Grandi, were this day charged, at Bow-street, with severely wounding a young man, of the name of Broad, a printer. A dispute took place that evening in Long-acre, respecting the Westminster election, when the young man received a stab in the arm, which cut the principal artery : and, had not a surgeon immediately attended, he must have bled to death. He is since dead and the prisoners committed for trial.

8th. The mail coachmen, on communicating the intelligence of the return of lord Lauderdale from Paris, at the villages as they passed along, were cheered by the inhabitants with shouts of applause ; and the general cry was, " eternal war, rather than a dishonourable peace!"

9th. This day the usual civic ceremonies took place. The different companies proceeded by water to Westminster hall, where the new lord Mayor, sir W. Leighton, was sworn into office; and returned to Guildhall to dinner, where a banquet was served up with the usual costly abundance. Amongst the company present were, the lord Chancellor ; the duke of Norfolk ; the earls of Moira, Spencer, and Lauderdale ; lords Grenville, Holland, Howick, Mahon, Minto, Rendlesham ; sir Samuel Hood, sir F. Burdett ; Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Mellish, &c.—As the procession by water passed Hungerford Stairs, a

boat containing 15 persons was upset, several of whom would have been drowned, but for the exertions of the watermen belonging to the apothecaries' barge.

12th. This day, two young persons (sisters) were admitted into the house at Cupersbridge, Lambeth, belonging to the society called "*the refuge for the destitute.*" They were the first objects received *into the house*. They were reduced to very great distress, wholly, as it appears, by the neglect and cruelty of others, and not from any misconduct of their own. Several persons previously had been relieved from the funds of this very benevolent and national undertaking, for which the objects who receive immediate benefit of it, and the community at large, are indebted to the rev. E. W. Whitaker, son of the late serjeant.

This night the house of Mrs. Baldwin, an old lady, aged 87, at Broadfield, in Kent, was broke open by 8 or 10 ruffians, which they robbed of money and plate to the amount of about 148l.

13th. A few days since in Wherl-Abraham and Creuve Mues, in Crowan, in consequence of a water-spout that fell in that neighbourhood, the water ran with such violence as to break down the boundaries round the mouths of the shafts, and choaked the adit, which forced the water back into the lump or place where the fire-engine draws the water out of the deep part of the mines, and where the men generally work ; 40 or 50 of them made their escape up the ladders ; and to prevent their breath being taken away by the violence of the water falling on them, they threw their woollen shirts over their heads, and with dif-

faculty reached the summit. Five men are missing, and no doubt they are drowned. The loss to the adventurers in these mines is estimated at nearly 6,000*l*.

DREADFUL MURDER AND ROBBERY.—A most barbarous murder was committed at Edinburgh:—At five o'clock, William Begbie, a porter to the British linen company at Leith, was stabbed and murdered, in Tweeddale's Close, leading to the British linen company's office, at Edinburgh, and robbed of a sealed parcel, in a yellow canvass bag, containing the following particulars: viz.

1300*l*. of sir William Forbes and Co.'s notes, in notes of 20*l*. each.

1000*l*. in notes of Lieth banking company, of 20*l*. each.

1400*l*. in notes of different banks, of 20*l*. 10*l*. and 5*l*.

210 Guinea notes of different banks.

410 Twenty shilling notes of different banks.

The weapon with which the murder was committed was found upon the spot.—Every exertion has been made, and is still making, to discover the perpetrator of the above murder, but hitherto without effect. The notes to the value of 300*l*. have been since found, 1807.

A young lady, daughter of a noble lord, was united in wedlock to a *gardener*, a few days since. The bride was at a *seminary* for young ladies, in the New Road, Marylebone; and, in taking her daily walks, she used to pass the *nursery* in which the bridegroom pursued his daily labour. She became enamoured of his person, and a match was speedily formed. The young lady is considerably under age.

ODD MARRIAGE.—At Stroud,

Gloucestershire, Samuel Holder, aged 70, and who has lost both his legs many years, to the widow of Isaac Wildry, who was drowned in the Stroud canal a short time since. The novelty of the match brought together a large concourse of spectators; at the head of whom was one of the old veteran's daughters, who expressed her disapprobation of the alliance, by ringing a sheep-bell, beating a cannister, and other noisy implements, which were suspended to different parts of her body. The old gentleman was conveyed to and from church on the shoulders of a friend, who was occasionally relieved, in this arduous task, by the willing efforts of the bride herself!

The king has been pleased to grant a pension of 100*l*. to the widow of Mr. Scott, secretary to lord Nelson, who was killed in the celebrated battle of Trafalgar, during her life; and 25*l*. a year to her three sons, till they become of age. Considerable difficulties arose at the admiralty in sanctioning the application, in consequence of there being no precedent for granting a pension to a secretary's widow.

14th. A fire broke out, at nine o'clock at night, at Flamsted's End, Cheshunt, at Mr. Godfrey's, joiner, formerly a considerable tinman in Tabernacle Row, Moorfields. It was occasioned by over-heating the stoves for drying new-invented tea-tables composed of various layers of rags and paper pounded in a method superior to Clay's of Birmingham, and in three hours destroyed the dwelling-house, a large malting-house, and buildings adjoining, forming a kind of square. Mr. G. his wife, and four children, and the furniture, were saved; but a sow and six pigs perished in the flames.

The

The family had received repeated warnings by the excessive heat, which had more than once threatened such consequences.

At East Bourne, a carter who had come with a team from Rye, to take away the theatrical luggage belonging to Messrs. Jonas and Penly, looking after his horses, received a kick on his head from one of them, that dashed out his brains, although he was well acquainted with the vice of the animal, and had, in consequence, but a few minutes before he met the fatal accident, cautioned a stranger in the stable not to go near him.

15th. This day a post-chaise was hired at the King's Arms Inn, in Salisbury, to go beyond Collingbourne. After setting down his fare, the driver was returning at night towards Collingbourne, a dreary road, with which he was unacquainted, and it was so dark as to make it impossible to see the road. Thus situated, he unfortunately drove over a precipice, at the bottom of which he was found dead the next morning. The chaise was nearly broken to pieces, and the horses so much hurt as to render them nearly useless.

A poor woman named Gibbs, of Sheffield, passing lately through Anglis-lane, Coventry, with her infant in her arms, six months old, fell into the mill-dams, and both were drowned.

17th. Late at night, or early the next morning, the chapel belonging to Greenwich hospital was broke open. The strong outer door had been forced, as well as the inner one, which is of solid mahogany, near four inches thick, and which, we understand, cost 500*l*. the vestry door was likewise broke open, and

the iron chest, in which the sacrament plate is deposited, had been attempted, in which act it was supposed the villains broke their iron crow, as part of one was found near it, and there is no doubt but the plate was their object: they, however, made off with two of the minister's surplices, the sacrament linen, and the gold sconces belonging to the pulpit and reading desk.

18th. In the court of king's bench, Mr. Garrow moved for leave to file a criminal information against a Mr. Ambrose Charles, one of the clerks of the bank, for a libel, contained in a letter addressed by him to lord Grenville, reflecting upon the character of lord Moira. The specific charge contained in the letter was, that earl Moira, availing himself of his official situation, had gambled in the funds, through his agents, and most imprudently lent his name to the most important discoveries of secrets affecting the state. The earl of Moira, in his affidavit, directly negatived all the imputations laid to his charge, and asserted, that he never had divulged any of the secrets of government.—The letter of Mr. Charles was dated the 17th of last August.—Rule to show cause granted.

LOUTH.—The officers of the Louth volunteer infantry feel themselves called upon, however reluctantly, to adopt and make public the following resolutions, in consequence of the unpleasant state of the finances of the corps. They say reluctantly, not from any regret at relinquishing their military titles, rendered almost ridiculous by Mr. Windham's sarcastic observations, therefore not desirable; but from a conviction that their country is not

in a better state now than when the British parliament first formed, and one of the ablest men it has had to boast of sanctioned, the system under which they have acted for three years past. Could they continue their services with satisfaction to their own feelings, credit to themselves, and service to their king and country, they would persevere in giving up their time, attention, and those pecuniary demands their respective situations require: but from the pressure of the debt the corps labour under, it is impossible. The times require the exertions of all ranks of men, and England demands "every man to do his duty;" but that does not imply that one individual is to make greater sacrifices than another, where all should unite. The Louth volunteer infantry has hitherto done its duty equal with most corps in the kingdom. Should the members, therefore, from necessity, be obliged to withdraw their services, they will have some consolation in the reflection, that their merit as volunteers stands unimpeached; that they can offer themselves a three years' example to be improved upon; can leave their situations to be replaced by those who have hitherto done nothing, and who not only have not exerted themselves personally, but in some instances smiled with contempt at the exertions of others. This corps was amongst the foremost to associate in the common cause, to avert the greatest of all evils; and, if the then existing executive government can be credited, the volunteers of Great Britain have largely contributed to prevent the dangers which appeared to hang over the nation, ready to reduce it to a state similar to that of which the continent at

this moment exhibits a miserable example:—

Resolved unanimously, That the corps, unless relieved from its present embarrassments, cannot longer continue associated with credit to itself. That the corps has completed three years of service, and is ready to continue those services, if properly supported; but, failing of that support, the members consider themselves as justifiable in laying down their arms, when no longer looked upon as useful or necessary, and whilst they are entitled to some credit, they hope, for their steady adherence to the system under which they enrolled, and their attention to military discipline. That the corps continue its services till the 24th of December, 1806; before which time a hope is entertained that the public may come forward, and thereby prevent the painful necessity of terminating its services at that period. That the corps be called together; the motives that have influenced the conduct of their officers in this instance, and the absolute necessity of firmly adhering to the above resolutions, be laid before them, and fully explained, in order to prevent any future debt being incurred, and further disgrace attaching itself in consequence to the corps. That the thanks of this meeting be given to lieutenant-colonel Clarke, commandant, for his unremitting attention to the discipline and internal management of the corps since its first formation, and for his ready assistance in carrying into effect the object of this meeting.

(Signed by all the officers.)

Before the corps left the field, on having the resolutions entered into by their officers read to them, the
privates

privates subscribed 7s. each, rather than the corps should be dismissed. The officers are determined to encourage so laudable a spirit in the men; and, we trust, their liberal intentions will be generously seconded by the public.

19th. At Guildhall, Edward Wright, *alias* My-Hearty, between 70 and 80 years of age, was charged with stealing a piece of silk handkerchiefs, out of a shop in Barbican, and fully committed. The excuse he made was, that he wanted a shirt. He is a very old offender, having been tried more than 70 times, at the different sessions. He has been upwards of 50 times publicly whipped, and was once capitally convicted.

A meeting of the Sierra Leone Company took place lately at the new London tavern, in Cheapside, Mr. Thornton in the chair; when the honourable gentleman read a report of the state of the company. It concluded with observing, that, in consequence of one of the objects for which the company had been formed, viz. the abolition of the slave trade, being in a fair train of being accomplished, the company being considerably in debt, and the expences unavoidably increasing, the governors recommended the giving up the colony to government. Mr. Thornton has attended a committee of the privy council, and made an offer of the company's charter. He received for answer, that the offer should be laid before his majesty. It is supposed some difficulty will arise, on account of the company wishing to retain some power in the colony, although they give up the charter.

At a village in Norfolk, we are told, a person fills the following

offices:—Churchwarden, overseer, parish-clerk, sexton, constable, surveyor of the high ways, assessor of the land-tax and assessed taxes, and of the property-tax, collector of the same, and bailiff of the manor.—This man has not been selected to discharge these important duties either for his personal qualifications, or for the extent of his property, as he unfortunately has but one arm; and, though the only tradesman in the parish, is a pauper, and receives relief.

A HINT.—Those who send game to the metropolis, by coaches, &c. are recommended in all cases to send letters of advice, and likewise to put some distinguishing mark on the game, to prevent its being changed.

Her royal highness the princess Elizabeth has designed and etched a series of 24 plates, representing the *progress of genius*. They display great taste and fancy, and are intended as presents for the select and particular friends of her royal highness.

ELECTION REPARTEE.—One of the *orators* before the hustings at Covent garden lately roared out to Mr. Whitbread, “If your porter were as strong as your *assurance*, it would do astonishingly well.” — “But,” replied Mr. Whitbread, “if it were as strong as your *impudence*, I could not live by it!”

Mr. Curwen, in his address to the electors of Carlisle, defined a whig in these words:—“He should entertain a constitutional jealousy of the executive government; his eye should be steadily fixed upon ministers, and his ear turned to the people.”

24th. A seaman named Wells, who was active in the murder of the

the captain, surgeon, &c. of the *Hermione* frigate, was executed on board the *Salvador del Mundo*, off Plymouth.

About six o'clock, this morning, the debtor's confined in Newgate were alarmed by hearing something fall into the yard, and afterwards a faint groaning, as if from a person in distress. On alarm being given, Storer, a turnkey, went into the debtors' yard, where he discovered two men, who had been employed to watch at the top of the gaol during Sunday night, in a situation too shocking to describe. One of them, of the name of William Lee, had fallen upon an iron ball, which had taken off the top part of his skull, and dashed his brains out, which were scattered upon the pavement; the other, of the name of Robert Simpson, had, if possible, suffered a still more shocking death, for he had fallen upon some iron spikes, one of which entered in the thick part of his thigh, and penetrated a considerable way into his body! Medical assistance was called; but it proved useless, as neither of them could have existed many moments after their fall. The only possible way of accounting for this melancholy accident is; that there is a small division at the top of the gaol, which they had to cross, and Simpson, the constant watchman, and who has been watchman at Newgate ever since it was built, had that night unfortunately left his lanthorn at home; and it is supposed that, in going round the gaol, they must have forgotten this division, and their miserable death was the consequence. The coroner's jury sat on their bodies, and returned a verdict of—*Accidentally killed*.

26th. This morning the following

convicts were executed before the debtors' door at Newgate: viz. Charles Louis Languis, Joseph Westwood, and Alexander Mackenzie, for forgery; J. Beasley, for returning from transportation before his time had expired; and James Vaughan, (a watchman of Marybone,) for representing himself as next of kin to corporal Leason, deceased, for the purpose of fraudulently obtaining prize money.

28th. In consequence of some language used by sir Francis Burdett, on the hustings, at Brentford, in speaking of Mr. Redhead Yorke, the latter sent, last night, a letter to the baronet on the subject; and it being apprehended by their respective friends that a duel would be the consequence, Mr. Yorke was this day arrested, and obliged to find bail to keep the peace; and we understand that sir Francis was obliged to give similar security.

An attorney, named Dance, was brought up for judgment in the court of king's-bench, he having libelled a Jew baronet, sir Manasseh Lopez, and was ordered to be imprisoned twelve months in Newgate, and to be struck off the roll of attorneys,

29th. A subaltern officer was sued for finery, supplied to his wife, by a milliner, in his absence; the lady, at the same time, living in a state of open prostitution with other men. The cause was tried in the court of king's bench; when the judge and jury would neither admit the articles supplied to be *necessaries*, nor that a subaltern officer, under such circumstances, should pay 146*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* to support his wife in a state of abandoned profligacy. This was evinced by a verdict being given for the defendant.

DECEMBER.

1st. This morning, about eight, a bear, belonging to Mr. Bradbury, clown at the Circus, got loose in the yard adjoining the theatre, and immediately seized a fine boy, son of a Mr. Wilson who keeps the billiard rooms close by. The boy was much hurt; but is recovered. The animal, which had been considered as altogether harmless, had become ferocious from hunger, which impelled him to tear up the stake to which he was fastened. The bear's throat was cut.

5th. John Andrew Nardi, and Sebastian Grandi, were indicted at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of William Broad, on the 5th of November last. The two prisoners were Italians, one a feather maker, and the other a preparer of colours. They had gone out fantastically dressed, in the evening of the 5th, during the Westminster election, and at length got a mob around them in Long Acre. Nardi being provoked, and hard-pressed, drew a knife, and cut the deceased, who had assaulted him, in the arm; the repeated bleeding of which occasioned his death, in St. Bartholomew's hospital. Upon the whole of the evidence it appeared that the prisoners had been more sinned against than sinning. The jury found them both *not guilty*, but that Nardi was insane. The court ordered him to be kept in prison until his majesty's pleasure should be known, under the provisions of a late act of parliament.

At the Queen-square office, eight boys, the oldest not 15 years of age, part of a gang of 50, were examined for stealing a great number of arti-

cles of brass, iron, lead, &c. A constable stated, that a woman of the name of Davison, in Swan-yard, Drury-lane, kept a lodging-house for the reception of such boys, without any other accommodation than straw to lie upon. Such of them as brought home no stolen property, were turned out of doors. A woman of the name of Horn, in Short's Gardens, Drury-lane, used to buy the stolen goods from Davison, which she re-sold to a man of the name of Fisher, in St. Giles's. These three persons are in custody. While the constable, with two other officers, were in the shop of Fisher, a bricklayer's labourer entered, offered three pieces of lead for sale to one of the officers, conceiving him to be the master of the shop, and told where he had *filched* them; when he was likewise taken into custody. The boys are to be sent to the Marine Society.

In the court of king's bench, a man of the name of Rich was indicted, at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, for circulating and vending indecent prints. He was found guilty on the clearest evidence. All good men will join in supporting them, whilst they keep to their proper line of duty and activity.

13th. Last night the neighbourhood of Plymouth experienced a severe tempest. It was with great difficulty the mail and other coaches proceeded, as the horses refused to face the storm on Haldown Heath, and often retrograded for some distance, ere they could be controlled. A small vessel, laden with tobacco and wine, drove from her anchors in harbour, and was lost, with every one on board.

14th. A few days since a respectable

able farmer, of Rowfant, Sussex, on his return from shooting, proceeded to draw the charge; and, having returned to his pouch such of the shot as came easily out, pursued the practice common in such cases, of knocking the butt end of his gun against the ceiling, in order to dislodge the rest, whilst his right hand was employed at the muzzle to catch them. By this the cock was forced down, the powder discharged, and the hand dreadfully lacerated. A surgeon extracted a portion of felt from the wound; but some fragments remaining, they brought on a mortification. The unfortunate man refusing to submit to amputation, expired under great agony, leaving a widow and six children.

This night, about half past seven, a fire broke out in the laboratory of Mr. Maud, in St. Paul's-alley, Hare-court, Aldersgate-street. The conflagration was dreadful. The flames spread with the greatest rapidity, and the poor unfortunate inhabitants who lived adjoining, had scarcely time to save even their lives. Their furniture and other effects are completely destroyed. The whole of Paul's-alley, up to Barbican, in three quarters of an hour became a heap of ruins.

15th. Owing to the wet and tempestuous state of the weather, the Cliff to the east of Brighton, between the Steine and the Crescent, has been undermined by the tide, and a great piece of it fell down this day. The road to Rottingdean is completely severed. Ten unfinished houses were blown down.

16th. A correspondence has taken place between the deputy high bailiff of Westminster, and Mr. Paull, in which the latter refuses to pay any part of the expences incurred by the

high bailiff, in taking the poll at the late election,, except his proportion for erecting the hustings.

17th. Mr. William Ludlam, with whom the philanthropic annuity plan originated, called a meeting this day at the London Tavern, and, on being opposed by some of the stock-holders, he grew outrageous, and proposed to such of the gentlemen as were dissatisfied with his management, to purchase their shares at a guinea premium. Many of them acceded to the proposal. As soon as the proceedings were over, he ordered dinner for himself and his clerk, in the front parlour; and, on the waiter bringing in a dish of mutton chops, he threw them at him, and before he could quit the room, discharged at him the rest of the dishes, with their contents, besides a decanter, and the wine it contained. One of the dishes perforated a valuable painting in the room. On the waiter turning round, he saw a horse pistol presented at him, and, before he could utter a word, Mr. L. snapped it at him, but no powder being in the pan, the pistol missed fire. These outrageous proceedings alarmed the whole tavern, and no person could be found to enter the room. Mr. L. kept ringing the bell violently, but to no purpose. At length Mr. Peacock, one of the masters of the tavern, entered the room, when Mr. L. after making him drink a glass of wine, got between him and the door, and, snatching up two pistols, threatened to shoot him dead if he stirred. The lord-mayor, who was dining at the tavern with a select party, made out a warrant for his apprehension; but Mr. L. by this time aware that measures were taking to seize him, sent his clerk to his

his coachman, to order him to drive the carriage as close as possible to the windows of the room in which he was—to keep on his box—the step was to be ready let down, and the two footmen placed up behind. All this the clerk had done, according to direction. Mr. L. then ordered Mr. Peacock to open the parlour windows, and at this moment a waiter, unapprized of the transaction, entering the room, he fired a pistol at him, loaded with three balls, which lodged in the wall; then, throwing some wine, and the contents of a butter-boat, in Mr. P.'s face, he jumped out of the window into his carriage, which drove furiously off, and he has not since been heard of. A commission of lunacy against him has been taken out.

The Termagant, which arrived at Portsmouth this day, brought the melancholy intelligence of the total loss of the Athenienne, of 64 guns, on her passage to Malta, by striking on the Esquerries rocks, near Tunis, in a gale, on the 20th of October last. The following are the names of the persons, above the rank of sailors, who lost their lives: Capt. Rainsford; lieutenants Swinburne, McMillan, and Salter; capt. Stains, and lieutenants Moss and Minden, of the marines; Mr. Griffin, surgeon; the boatswain, carpenter, and gunner; Messrs. Hennell, Rome, Morrison, Newman, Fitzgerald, and Blackburn, midshipmen. Passengers: Lieutenant Barker, of the Melpomene; ensign Banker, of the 37th regiment; and the carpenter of La Bergere sloop. Persons saved: Lieutenants John and James Little, and — Pym; Mr. Goodwin, purser; Messrs. Manning and Francis, midshipmen; Mr.

Parker, master; Mr. Cannon, master's mate. Passengers: Brigadier general Campbell; Mr. Byron, surgeon of the Endymion; Mr. Dyer, to join the Juno; Messrs. G. Thorn, J. McLean, and S. Wells, of La Bergere. Seamen saved, 121; women, ditto, 2—123. Officers and seamen lost, 347.—The conduct of captain Rainsford is spoken of in the highest terms. When the ship struck, he declared he would be the last to quit her. It was owing to his presence of mind, and the authority he employed, that so many lives were saved. The ship had on-board 10,000*l.* in specie.

19th. A widow woman, of Southwick, near Oundle, had three horses poisoned a few days ago, in consequence of their eating the fibres of a yew tree.

20th. This morning about ten, a violent storm of wind, thunder, lightning, and hail, came on at Alnewick. The hail-stones, which were driven by the gust with uncommon force, consisted of pieces of complete ice, three quarters of an inch square. Very great damage was done to the windows and glass-work, at Alnewick; and at Swansfield, Mr. Sealey had 260 squares of glass broken; and others sustained similar losses. The skirts of the storm reached Newcastle. It was very severe to the westward. The flag-staff, on the new quay at Whitehaven, was shattered by the lightning, and several panes of the light-house were broken. In Liverpool, between twelve and one, the wind was so tremendous, as to blow down a new built house in Nile-street, unroof several houses, and upset a boat on the river, in which there were three men returning

ing from a vessel lying at the Rock, who were all drowned.

A notice appeared in the Gazette of this evening, for carrying into effect the act for abolishing all fees and holidays in the Custom-house department; excepting only the following holidays, viz. Sundays, Christmas-day, Good Friday, the anniversaries of the restoration of king Charles the second, of the coronation of the king, and of the birth-days of their majesties, and the prince of Wales.

A gentleman who had lost 30l. to a fashionable lady at play, presented the amount in Bank notes. This drew from the lady an affected remark, "that at the *great houses* she frequented, nothing but gold was used."—"In the *little houses* I frequent, madam," replied the gentleman, "nothing but paper is used."—*Honi soit, &c.*

It was decided lately in the court of king's bench, in a cause, *The King v. Wilson*, that all foreign letters to English merchants, although brought by their own ships, must go through the Post-office.

Last week a malster of Wherwell, near Andover, Hants, was fined in the penalty of 200l. for making a quantity of malt in an unentered room. And an inhabitant of Chilbolton, in the same neighbourhood, was informed against, for having in his possession a supply of malt, the duty on which had not been paid.

John Tasker, ostler at the George Inn, at Spilsby, and Rebecca Smith, of that place, lately went on foot 240 miles together, to Gretna Green, to be married. Having made this experiment of their fitness to tug through the rugged road of life together, to their mutual satis-

faction, the Vulcan of the Borders riveted them into one, and, turning their faces homewards, they re-trod their steps—whether with the same harmony as they went, "this deponent saith not."

In a late report made to the Central Vaccine Committee, at Paris, it is stated, that by the exertions made throughout France, for propagating the vaccine inoculation, the number of individuals who underwent the operation in the 42 departments, during the last twelve months, amounts to 125,992, which gives a total of near 400,000 for all France; and by supposing, as in the last year, that number to be 1,088,157, it will appear, that one-third of the infants born last year, have been vaccinated. From a number of experiments which have lately been made in France, it has uniformly resulted, that the small pox has never had any effect upon those who have regularly gone through the vaccine infection.

22d. A fire broke out in the Dock-yard, at Portsmouth, which threatened alarming consequences. Between four and five o'clock the flames were seen to burst from the house in which the rope is baked, and the twine tarred, for the use of the sail-makers. The wind was high, and blew directly towards the rigging and sail lofts, between which and the fire was a quantity of light dry timber. Lieutenant Smith of the Audacious, hastened on shore with a party of sailors, to assist in extinguishing it; but no buckets were at hand: a supply was immediately procured from the Audacious; and, by the exertions of the seamen, the fire was prevented from spreading farther.

The same night the following dreadful

dreadful accident happened to the driver of the mail coach from Bristol to Birmingham, within a few miles of Thornbury: The coach was going at a brisk rate, when the guard observed the driver to fall off his seat, between the horses; he got down, and endeavoured to stop them, but in vain. He then succeeded in regaining his seat behind the coach, till the animals slackened their pace, when he drove the coach in safety to Thornbury, where he procured a horse, and returned to the man, whom he conveyed back. Surgical assistance was instantly procured; but it was fruitless, as one of the wheels had passed over his neck, and, it is supposed, killed him on the spot. He has left a wife and two children.

25th. Nine dwellings, with numerous out-houses, corn stacks, &c. were destroyed by accidental fire at Acomb, near Hexham.

In consequence of a heavy swell in the river Conway, the boat which carried the Irish mail was unfortunately lost, with the following persons on board: Peter Allison, of Liverpool; John Godwin, of Cowbridge; John Hunt, esq. his address at J. Heard's, Ballast-office, Dublin; Thomas Tipton, the guard; ——— Carpenter, a son of the guard of that name, coming from school from Yorkshire; Richard Edwards, smith, Holyhead; Charles Harrison, Limerick, not yet found—his trunk picked up; Francis Rouse, Conway; Thomas Hughes, Thomas Roberts, Owen Jones, and John Reynold's, boatmen, Conway. ——— Roberts, tanner, Holyhead, by the assistance of the mail bag, and a boatman, by the assistance of a trunk, were saved.

The same day a stone bridge of

four arches, over the river Crac, at Newton Stewart, was carried away by the floods.

26th. The tide rose to such a height in Ipswich, that most of the streets were inundated. The water was two feet deep, near St. Peter's church, and the common quay was nearly overflowed. At Hampton, Sunbury, Chertsey, and similar places, near the banks of the Thames, the whole of the country was under water; and Kingston and Putney bridges were for a time nearly impassable.

The whole of the Scotch coast has suffered much during the last and preceding week, from the unusual height of the tide, both of the sea and rivers. On the 20th inst. the river Stinchar, at the town of Ballantrae, rose to a prodigious height, and overflowed the highway for nearly 200 yards. About eleven, while the 9th troop of the 1st dragoons, on their route from Hamilton for Ireland, attempted to pass the water, five of the horses, with their riders, were borne down by the rapidity of the current. The men, from the weight of their accoutrements, were some time before they could disengage themselves from the animals. The inhabitants plunged in to their assistance, and, at the risk of their own lives, succeeded in saving those of the soldiers.—At Rothsay, the tide lately rose so high, that both the quays were covered with water, and many barrels of herrings washed over. The water in the houses at this port was 48 inches deep.

This afternoon, about half past one, was one of the highest tides ever remembered. Boats were rowed into Palace and Little Scotland Yards; and the water filled most

most of the cellars about the Horseguards and Parliament-street. A number of wharfs, cellars, and warehouses, from the top of Upper Thames-street to the bottom of Lower Thames-street, and in Bridge-street, Blackfriars, were completely inundated; and also the Lower apartments of several houses in Horsleydown. The injury sustained is considerable. The moon was at full, but the wind was fortunately westerly. Fifteen years have elapsed since those quarters experienced such a visitation.

27th. This day the Thames again rose considerably higher than on the preceding day, at Rotherhithe, Lambeth, and Milbank, as well as at the newly embanked cut at the Isle of Dogs, where serious injury was occasioned by the inundation. Near Lambeth horse-ferry a sow and 12 pigs were drowned.

28th. About twelve o'clock, one of the arches of Haydon-bridge, Northumberland, 95 feet in span, fell in, with a most tremendous crash, at the time that a number of people were going over it to church. One man sunk with the ruins to the depth of 40 feet, by which his thigh was fractured, and he was otherwise much bruised; but he is still alive. The bridge had long been in a state of decay.

BIRTHS in the Year 1806.

Jan. 1. At Laugharne castle, county of Caermarthen, the wife of major R. J. Starke, a son.

In the Royal Crescent, Bright-helmstone, the wife of Kean Osborn, esq. a daughter.

4th. In Green-street, Grosvenor-

square, the wife of capt. Byng, R. N. a still-born son.

5th. The wife of Edward Rigby, esq. mayor of Norwich, a daughter.

At Edinburgh, the wife of capt. Halkett, R. N. a daughter.

11th. At the Union Fire-office, Cornhill, the wife of Mr. Charles Philip Galabin, a son.

13th. In Baker-street, Portman-square, the wife of J. Boddington, esq. a daughter.

14th. The wife of John Biddulph, esq. of Champion-hill, Surrey, a son.

16th. At the Rectory-house at Acton, Middlesex, the wife of the rev. Mr. Antrobus, a son.

19th. In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the countess of Banbury, a daughter.

21st. At the house of Hamilton Nisbett, esq. in Portman-square, the countess of Elgin, a daughter.

24th. At Little Bookham, in Surrey, the wife of lieut. general Manningham, a daughter.

Feb. 1. In Great George-street, Hanover-square, the wife of Thomas Sheridan, esq. (son of R. B. S. esq.) a son.

2d. At Packington-hall, county of Warwick, the countess of Aylsford, a daughter.

3d. At Shroton cottage, county of Dorset, the wife of lieut. colonel Seymour, a son.

4th. At the Government-house, Guernsey, the wife of lieut. colonel Doyle, a daughter.

6th. At his seat in Lincolnshire, the lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.

The lady of sir W. Ramsay, bart. a son.

At Glasgow, lady Janet Buchanan, a daughter.

8th. The wife of Richard Congreve, esq. of Linley-hall, Salop, a son.

9th. The

9th. The lady of sir Henry Oxendon, bart. of Broome, Kent, a daughter.

11th. At Edinburgh, the countess of Loudon and Moira, a daughter.

At Waterville, county of Kildare, Ireland, the lady of lord Dunboyne, a son.

13th. At Pimlico, the wife of lieut. colonel Elliot, a son.

14th. In Manchester-street, Manchester-square, the wife of John Murray, esq. a daughter.

The wife of John Finch Simpson, esq. of Laund abbey, county of Leicester, a son.

The wife of Richard Topp, esq. of Whitton, Salop, a daughter.

17th. At Haughley-park, Norfolk, the wife of George Jerningham, esq. a son.

20th. At her house in Pall-Mall, lady Holland, a daughter.

21st. At her house in Portland-place, the countess of Mansfield, a son.

In Norfolk-street, Grosvenor-square, lady Ogilby, a daughter.

Lately, at Winchester, lady Sarah Crespigny, a son.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cook, aged 64, wife of Mr. Thomas C. of Weobly, Herts, aged upwards of 70, a daughter, being the only child they have had, after a marriage of more than 20 years.

At the house of sir Richard King, in Devonshire-place, the wife of captain Rowley, R. N. a son.

23d. At Orton, near Peterborough, the countess of Aboyne, a son.

25th. At Sudbrook-park, near Richmond, lady Mary Stopford, a daughter.

28th. At his house at Mickleham, Surrey, the lady of the honourable
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D. M. Erskine, M. P. for Portsmouth, a daughter.

March 7th. In Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square, the wife of Samuel Bosanquet, junior, esq. a son.

9th. The wife of Mr. Crane, hatter, of Maidstone, three sons.

10th. In Devonshire-street, Portland-place, the wife of capt. Rolles, a son.

16th. The lady of the honourable lieutenant general St. John, a daughter, who died in a few hours.

17th. At St. John's Wood-house, viscountess Mahon, a son.

At Rodmarton, county of Gloucester, the wife of the rev. Daniel Lyfons, a son.

18th. In Great Ormond-street, the wife of serjeant Best, M. P. a son.

22d. At Bath, lady Charlotte Drummond, a son.

24th. In Grafton-street, lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

31st. The wife of J. J. Smith, esq. alderman of Castle Baynard ward, a son.

April 2d. At the house of general Brownrigg, in Audley-square, the wife of Major Nesbitt, a son and heir.

At Baldon house, Berks, the lady of sir Christopher Willoughby, bart. a daughter.

4th. At Moreton, co. of Dorset, lady Harriet Frampton, a daughter.

5th, 6th, and 7th. The wife of Mr. Joseph Nicholson, of Pennington, near Ulverston, farmer, two sons and a daughter.

6th. At the admiral's house, in Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square, the hon. Mrs. Berkeley, a son.

8th. In Dover-street, Piccadilly, the lady of the honourable John Bridgman Simpson, a daughter.

9th. At Wolhampton, near Ly-
II h mington;

mington, Hants, the lady of sir George Prescott, bart. a daughter.

12th. In Mansfield-street, Portland-place, the wife of F. Plaistow Trapaud, esq. a son.

13th. At Dorchester, M. M'Dow-an, a soldier's wife, of the Inniskillen dragoons, three sons, two of whom are since dead.

14th. At the rectory, North Luffenham, Rutland, the wife of lieutenant-colonel Ainslie, inspector of Lincolnshire, a son.

17th. The wife of John Faux, of Norton-Malerward, county of Somerset, two sons and a daughter, being the third time of her having three children at a birth.

22d. The wife of Benjamin Hobhouse, esq. M. P. for Grampound, a daughter.

25th. In Portman-square, lady Louvaine, a son.

At Grantham, county of Lincoln, the lady of sir Montague Cholmeley, bart. a daughter.

27th. At Berlin, the wife of Mr. Jackson, ambassador to the court of Prussia, a son.

28th. Mrs. Davies, of the Strand, a son.

May 2d. At Ockham-park, near Ripley, Surrey, the lady of lord King, a daughter.

4th. The wife of the reverend Mr. Collin, of Quendon, Essex, a son.

7th. At the rectory, Beaconsfield, the wife of the reverend W. M. Bradford, a son.

9th. In Fitzroy-square, the wife of Charles Lambert, esq. two daughters, one still born.

10th. In Queen Anne-street West, the hon. Mrs. Boyle, a son.

11th. In Grosvenor-square, the duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.

In George-street, the wife of George Smith, esq. M. P. a daughter.

13th. The wife of Henry Otway, esq. of Stanford-hall, county of Leicester, a daughter.

14th. In Charles-street, Berkeley-square, the wife of Charles Jenkinson, esq. a daughter.

17th. At Fulham cottage, Middlesex, the wife of S. F. Lettsom, esq. a son.

18th. At Oxford, the wife of colonel Cox, a son.

20th. The wife of William Windham, esq. of Dinton, near Salisbury, a daughter.

22d. The wife of Mr. J. Bowyer Nichols, printer, Red-lion passage, Fleet-street, a son.

At the house of admiral Sir John Orde, in Gloucester-place, Portman-square, lady Orde, a daughter.

24th. At Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks, the wife of Richard Dayrell, esq. a son.

At Charlton, Kent, the wife of John Atkins, esq. M. P. a son.

28th. At South Lambeth, the wife of Ashburnham Bulley, esq. a daughter.

Lately, at Hermandston, in Scotland, lady Sinclair, a daughter.

In Lansdown-place West, Bath, the lady of vice-admiral sir Charles Knowles, bart. a daughter.

In Cumberland-place, lady Boringdon, a son.

29th. At Brixworth-hall, county of Northampton, the wife of Walter Strickland, esq. a daughter.

31st. At Ingestree, countess Talbot, a son.

June 1. In Grosvenor-square, the wife of colonel Gore Langton, M. P. for Somersetshire, a daughter.

The wife of James Christie, esq. of Pall Mall, a daughter.

At his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the wife of C. Pullen, esq. a son.

2d. At

2d. At Weston, the wife of the rev. Christopher Sykes, a daughter.

At his house at Plymouth-dock, the wife of rear-admiral John Sutton, a daughter.

4th. At Airly-ledge, in Scotland, viscountess Arbuthnot, a son.

6th. The wife of William Owen, esq. of Woodhouse, co. Salop, a son and heir.

8th. In St. James's square, lady Grantham, a daughter.

9th. At Ensham-house, co. Dorset, the wife of brigadier-general Monro, a daughter.

10th. At Gosport, Hants, the wife of Mr. W. Midlane, a son.

11th. At South-End, Essex, the lady of the hon. Edward-John Tournour, youngest son of the late E. of Winterton, a daughter.

17th. The wife of the rev. Mr. Skinner, rector of Camerton, Somerset, a daughter.

At her house in Wimpole-street, lady Elizabeth Loftus, a still-born son.

19th. At Bath, the wife of lieutenant-col. Blackford, a son.

At Dovenby-hall, the wife of J. D. B. Sykes, esq. high sheriff of the county of Cumberland, a daughter.

In Charlotte-square, Edinburgh, the wife of col. Horner, of Mells park, co. Somerset, a daughter.

21st. In Cheyné-walk, Chelsea, the wife of the rev. Weeden Butler, jun. a son.

At Bradfield-house, Bucks, the wife of Richard Orlebar, esq. a son and heir.

24th. In Stretton-street, Piccadilly, the countess of Chichester, a daughter.

Lately, in Dublin, the hon. Mrs. Hans Blackwood, a daughter.

At Dalkeith-house, in Scotland, lady Caroline Douglas, a daughter.

At Paisley, Mrs. Fraser, wife of Mr. J. F. manager of the theatre there, a daughter, being her eighteenth child.

At Sydney-lodge Southampton, the hon. Mrs. Tenant, a son.

In Chatham-place, Black-friers, the wife of Henry Budd, esq. a son.

15th. (O. S.) At St. Petersburg, the wife of Robert Busk, esq. an English merchant there, a son.

26th. The wife of W. Earle Welby, esq. of Nottinghamshire, a son.

In George-street, Hanover-square, countess Cowper, a son and heir.

The lady of the hon. lieutenant-col. Plunket, of the Coldstream reg. of guards, a son.

28th. In Portland-place, the lady of the hon. Henry Blackwood, captain in the royal navy, a daughter.

At his house in the Close, Salisbury, the wife of the rev. Chancellor Douglas, a son.

July 2nd. At Ipswich, the hon. Mrs. Leighton, wife of Knyvett L. esq. of Ford, co. Salop, and sister of lord Viscount Doneraile, a son and heir.

At the Temple, Rothley, the wife of Thomas Babington, esq. M. P. for Leicester, a son.

9th. In Clifford-street, the wife of G. B. Mainwaring, esq. M. P. for Middlesex, a son.

At Sutton vicarage, near York, the lady of the hon. and rev. Edw. Rice, a daughter.

10th. The wife of R. H. Boddam, esq. of Bull's-cross, Enfield, a son.

At Plymouth, the wife of Stephen Love Hammick, esq. surgeon-ex-

H h 2 traordinary

traordinary to the prince of Wales, a son.

11th. At Park farm, Tooting, Surrey, the wife of William Abbott, esq. a daughter.

At his house in Ely-place, Holborn, the wife of Richard Price, esq. a son.

12th. The wife of John Hill, esq. of Hardwick, co. Salop, a son.

13th. Mrs. R. Twining, of Norfolk-street, Strand, a daughter.

The wife of Joseph Rose, esq. of Tovill-place, Canterbury, a daughter.

At Denham-green, the hon. Mrs. Erskine, of Cardross, a son.

14th. At his seat, St. Bride's-hill, co. Pembroke, the wife of C. A. Phillips, esq. a daughter.

15th. At Bishop's-court, Exeter, the hon. Mrs. Paget, a son.

In South Audley-street, the countess of Albemarle, a daughter.

16th. At sir Laurence Palk's in Bruton-street, lady Elizabeth Palk, a son.

17th. At Lymington-lodge, Hants, the wife of Matthew Gossett, esq. a son.

At Inverness, in Scotland, the wife of Alexander Macdonell, esq. of Glengarry, a son and heir.

19th. The wife of Mr. Horatio Robson, of Piccadilly, a seventh successive daughter.

The wife of capt. Gold, of the royal artillery, a son.

At the cottage at Bridlington, the wife of Marmaduke Prickett, jun. esq. a son.

20th. At Mulgrave castle, lady Mulgrave, a still-born child.

21st. At Brompton, the wife of lieutenant-col. Home, a daughter.

24th. At Darnhall, in Scotland, the hon. Mrs. Oliphant Murray, a daughter.

Lately, at St. John's, Newfoundland, the hon. Mrs. Mason, wife of capt. M. of the royal navy, a son.

At Dublin, the countess of Belmore, a daughter.

At sir Hercules Langrishe's, St. Stephen's green, Dublin, the wife of the rev. Dean Langrishe, a daughter.

At Eccles, in Scotland, the wife of Jn. Maitland, esq. sheriff of the county of Wigton, a daughter.

The wife of lieutenant-general England, commander in chief of Plymouth garrison, a son.

At Hensington-house, Woodstock, co. Oxford, the wife of Dr. Blackstone, a daughter.

At Halswell-house, co. Somerset, the wife of Charles Kemeys Tynte, esq. a daughter.

At Bath, Mrs. Matchem, wife of George M. esq. and sister to the late lord Nelson, a son, being her ninth child.

28th. At lord Boston's, in Grosvenor-street, the hon. Mrs. Frederick Irby, a son and heir.

30th. In Lamb's Conduit-place, Guildford-street, the wife of T. W. Plummer, esq. a daughter.

Aug. 1st. The wife of Francis Freeling, esq. of the general post-office, a son.

At Lumford Bakewell, co. Derby, the wife of Robert Arkwright, esq. a son.

2nd. At Dublin the lady of the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, knight of Kerry, a son.

3d. In Hertford-street, May-fair, the lady of the hon. brigadier-general Stewart, a son.

In Clarges-street, the lady of the hon. sir Edward Crofton, bart. a son and heir.

At

At Estcot, Devon, the lady of sir John Kennaway, bart. a daughter.

At Dalhousie house, in Scotland, the countess of Dalhousie, a son and heir.

4th. At Kirkhale, co. Northumberland, the lady of sir William Lorraine, bart. a son.

6th. At Edinburgh, the lady of sir J. B. Riddell, bart. and daughter of the earl of Romney, a daughter.

7th. In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, the lady of sir William Beechy, a son.

At Largie-house, in Scotland, lady Macdonald Lockhart, a daughter.

8th. In Spring-gardens, the wife of Mr. Alderman Hunter, a son.

9th. In Harcourt-place, Dublin, the hon. Mrs. Burton, a son.

At Derby, the wife of I. C. Girardot, esq. a daughter.

10th. In Lincoln's-inn-fields, the wife of John Disney, esq. a daughter.

13th. At Hengrave cottage, Suffolk, the wife of Rt. Gage Rookwood, esq. a daughter.

16th. At the Rock-house, Cromford, co. Derby, the wife of Peter Arkwright, esq. a son.

19th. The wife of Walter Shairp, esq. of Gower-street, a still-born child.

21st. At Ratton, Sussex, the hon. Mrs. Thomas, a daughter.

22d. At gen. Pigot's, in Hertford-street, May-fair, the lady of lord Henry Fitzroy, a son.

23d. At Southampton, lady Charlotte Howard, a son.

In Portland-place, viscountess Acheson, a son and heir.

The wife of Benjamin Pead, esq. of Walthamstow, Essex, a daughter.

24th. The wife of William Sims, esq. of Mile-End, a son.

Lately, at Tramore-lodge, Waterford, the wife of Edward Lee, esq. M. P. for Waterfordshire, a son and heir.

At Updown, near Deal, the lady of sir Samuel Chambers, a daughter.

At Marham, near Narborough, the wife of a tailor, named Parkinson, three children; all, with the mother, doing well.

25th. At Farley-house, Surrey, the wife of capt. Pierrepont, R. N. a son.

27th. At Ellerker, near South Cave, co. York, the wife of Thomas Leeson, esq. two sons; one since dead.

29th. At Thorndon-hall, lady Petre, two sons; the youngest survived only a few hours; and the other died in 11 days.

30th. The wife of Alexander Hume, esq. of Gloucester-street, Portman-square, a son.

31st. At Flookburgh, the wife of — Rawcliffe, three sons; all, with the mother, likely to do well. The father served 12 years in the royal navy, and was discharged in consequence of a hurt.

Sept. 1st. At Duryard-house, Devon, the wife of Robert Hunt, esq. a son.

At Edinburgh, the wife of admiral Duddingston, a son.

2nd. In Upper Gower-street, the wife of major Macdonald, a son.

3d. At Great Clacton, Essex, the wife of lieut.-col. Harvey, of the 79th foot, a son.

4th. The wife of Mr. William John Galabin, printer, of Ingram-court, Fenchurch-street, a daughter.

5th. At her house in Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, lady Charlotte Goold, a son.

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6th. In

6th. In Portland-place, the wife of Henry Fawcett, esq. a son.

8th. At Chatham, the wife of lieutenant-col. Desborough, of the royal marines, a son.

9th. At his house in Lamb's Conduit-street, the wife of G. S. Holroyd, esq. a daughter.

11th. At Kelly, in Scotland, the lady of the hon. major Ramsey, a daughter.

At Edinburgh, the wife of major James Cunninghame, a son.

16th. In Baker-street, Portman-square, the countess of Cork, a daughter.

19th. At Little Ealing, co. Middlesex, the wife of col. Drinkwater, a daughter.

23d. At Southgate, Middlesex, the wife of William Curtis, esq. a daughter.

At Grange, near Wakefield, the seat of John Lister Kaye, esq. lady Amelia Kaye, a daughter.

At Penrice castle, co. Glamorgan, lady Mary Talbot, a daughter.

At his seat at Thame park, co. Oxford, the wife of Philip T. Wykham, esq. a daughter.

25th. The wife of James Johnstone, esq. of Alva, in Scotland, a son.

26th. Hon. Mrs. Montgomerie Stewart, a son.

At her house in Manchester-square, lady Lambert, a son.

At the right hon. sir Hercules Langrishe's, on Stephen's-green, Dublin, the wife of Thomas St. George, esq. a daughter.

Lately, the wife of H. Howard, esq. M. P. for Gloucester, a daughter.

The lady of sir D. Mackworth, bart. a son.

At Taunton, the wife of William Haapping, esq. a daughter.

In Dublin, the lady of the hon. Peter Boyle Blaquiere, a son.

28th. In the royal Crescent, Bath, the wife of Charles Walmesley, esq. a son.

29th. The wife of major Young, of the royal Bucks militia, a son.

At Middleton-hall, co. Caermarthen, the lady of sir William Paxton, a son.

30th. The wife of the rev. H. Sainsbury, of Beckington, a son.

Oct. 1st. At Tiverton, Devon, the lady of sir John Duntze, bart. a son and heir.

4th. At Hope, near Manchester, the wife of Charles Bayley, esq. of Calcutta, a daughter.

7th. The wife of Thomas Smith, esq. of the Chapter-house, St. Paul's, a daughter, being her thirteenth child.

At Saltash, Devon, the wife of brigadier-general Nepean, a son.

8th. At Bath, the wife of major Gray, a daughter.

9th. At Netherby, co. Cumberland, lady Catharine Graham, a daughter.

At Berlin, her highness the electoral princess of Hesse, a prince.

10th. At Hanwell, Middlesex, the wife of Wm. Ramsay, esq. of Jamaica, a daughter.

11th. The wife of Mr. Becket, brewer, of Enfield, Middlesex, a son.

12th. At Letterfoury, in Scotland, the lady of sir James Gordon, bart. a daughter.

13th. In Wimpole-street, the wife of John Archer Houlton, esq. a son.

14th. The wife of William Mason, esq. of Tower-hill, a son.

At Bangor castle, in the north of Ireland, the lady of the right hon. col. Ward, a son.

15th. At

15th. At Rolleston-hall, co. Stafford, the lady of sir Oswald Mosley, bart. a daughter.

Lately, at the house of sir Edward Baker Littlehales, bart, in the Phoenix park, near Dublin, lady Elizabeth Littlehales a son and heir.

In Merrion-square, Dublin, the lady of the right hon. George Knox, M. P. for the university of Dublin, a son.

At Loftus-hall, near Dublin, lady Emily Henry, a son.

At Chichester, the wife of Wm. Tuffnell, esq. M. P. for Colchester, a son.

At Barham court, near Maidstone, Kent, the wife of the rev. Gerard Noel, a daughter.

In Hertford-street, May-fair, the wife of John Dent, esq. M. P. a son.

At Kingston, near Canterbury, the wife of the rev. Cooper Willyams, a son.

18th. At Lincoln, the wife of the rev. Henry-John Wollaston, a son.

The wife of — Farnworth, esq. and daughter of the late sir Richard Perrott, bart. a son and heir.

19th. In the City-road, the wife of Thomas-James, Riley, esq. of the general post-office, a daughter.

20th. The wife of Charles Stuart, esq. of Stow, co. Gloucester, a son.

23d. The wife of Archdale Wilson Tayler, esq. of Barham-wood, Herts, a son, being her eighteenth child.

In Gloucester-place, the wife of James Hewett Massy Dawson, esq. a daughter.

24th. In Cumberland-place, the lady of sir William Blackett, bart. a daughter.

The wife of Charles Manners,

esq. of Edmonthorpe-hall, co. Leicester, a son.

25th. In Russell-square, the wife of William Everett, esq. a daughter.

26th. At Marske-hall, co. York, the lady of the hon. Lawrence Dundas, M. P. a son.

27th. The wife of William Forbes, esq. of Callendar, Scotland, a son and heir. On the following day, a number of the inhabitants of Falkirk caused a bonfire to be kindled in the market-place of that town, the bells to be rung, and in the evening assembled, and drank with much pleasure the healths appropriate to such an occasion, which were the more strikingly interesting, as there has not been an heir born to the estate of Callendar for nearly 180 years, that estate having been forfeited 1745.

27th. In Fitzroy-square, the wife of William Haslewood, esq. a daughter.

The wife of the rev. John Owen, of Fulham, Middlesex, a son and daughter.

Lately, at St. Petersburg, the empress of Russia, a princess.

The wife of John Rowe, jun. of Cawsand, shipwright, three daughters; one since dead. On the same day, her husband's apprenticeship expired.

29th. At Hadham, Herts, the wife of William Hamilton, esq. a son.

30th. The wife of the rev. John Rush, of Chelsea, a son.

Nov. 2d. At Gloucester, the wife of Jas. Weller, esq. a daughter.

4th. The lady of sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. of Harewood, co. Hereford, a daughter.

5th. At the rectory-house at Ross, co. Hereford, the wife of the rev. Canon Underwood, a son.

6th. In Lansdown crescent, Bath, II h 4 the

the wife of Duncan Campbell, esq. a daughter.

In Hind-street, Manchester-sq. the wife of lieutenant-col. Hughes, M.P. a son.

7th. The wife of the rev. John Bramstone Stane, of Forest-hall, Essex; a daughter.

At Rolles, Essex, the seat of her father, admiral Harvey, M. P. for Essex, the wife of William Lloyd, esq. of Aston, co. Salop, a son and heir.

9th. The wife of Henry Brown, esq. of North Mimms place, Herts, a daughter.

10th. At St. Alban's, the wife of F. Todd, esq. of Bury-street, St. James's, a daughter.

At Lutterworth, co. Leicester, the lady of the hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, a son.

At Tregenna castle, co. Cornwall, the wife of Samuel Stephens, esq. M. P. a son.

The wife of Fred. Neby, a journeyman glass-cutter, living at No. 73, Red Lion-street, Holborn, three daughters, all likely to live.

16th. In Gloucester place, the wife of E. Fletcher, esq. a daughter.

17th. The wife of Edward Austin, esq. of Godmersham park, Kent, a daughter.

19th. In Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, the wife of Thomas Cadell, esq. a son.

24th. The wife of George Lackington, esq. of Finsbury-place, a daughter.

In Upper Seymour-street, lady S. M. Stanley, wife of sir Thomas S. bart. of Houghton, in Cheshire, a son and heir.

In Portman-square, the marchioness of Winchester, a daughter.

24th. In North-street, Chiches-

ter, lady Henry Somerset, a son and heir.

26th. At Brompton, the wife of the rev. Clement Cottrell, of north Waltham, co. Hants, a son.

In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, the wife of Henry Hughs, esq. a daughter.

27th. In Hatton-street, the wife of Mr. Charles Rivington, a son.

Dec. 2nd. At Walthamstow-house, Essex, the lady of sir Robert Wigram, bart. M. P. for Wexford, a son, being her twentieth child, and fifteenth son now living.

3d. In Lincoln's-inn-fields, the wife of J. A. Park, esq. a son.

In old Burlington-street, the countess of Clonmell, a daughter.

5th. At Enfield, the wife of W. A. Gregory, a daughter.

In Russell-square, the wife of Claude-George Thornton, esq. a daughter.

8th. At Ochtertyre, in Scotland, lady Mary Murray, a daughter.

9th. At his house in Piccadilly, the lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a daughter.

At Mrs. Chester's, at Hampton court, the wife of Anthony B. St. Leger, esq. a son and heir.

The wife of Valentine Kitchingman, esq. of Carlton-hustwaite, co. York; a daughter.

10th. At Melton-Mowbray, co. Leicester, lady Elizabeth J. Norman, a daughter.

11th. At Mamhead, Devon, the lady of the hon. Robert Dundas, M. P. a son.

The wife of William Jones, esq. marshall of the king's bench prison, a daughter.

In Wimpole-street, the wife of William Corbett, esq. a daughter.

At Taplow-house, Bucks, the hon.

hon. Mrs. Grenfell, wife of Pascoe G. esq. M. P. a daughter.

18th. At the vicarage-house, Wakefield, the wife of the rev. Dr. Munkhouse, a daughter.

20th. At Edinburgh, the wife of colonel Robert Anstruther, adjutant-general of Ireland, a son.

At Redbourn-hall, co. Lincoln, lady William Beauclerc, a daughter.

25th. At Dover, the wife of William Bagster, esq. assistant-commissary, a son.

27th. The wife of D. Jennings, esq. of Fenchurch-street, a son.

28th. At Maxton, near Dover, Kent, lady Forbes, a son.

At St. Faith's near Norwich, the wife of Thomas Twining, esq. of the Bengal civil establishment, a son and heir.

At Chelsea, co. Middlesex, lady Emily Wellesley, a daughter.

30th. The wife of Wilbraham Egerton, esq. of Tatton park, Cheshire, a son and heir.

31st. The wife of St. A. Warde, esq. of Hatfield, near Doncaster, co. York, a son.

MARRIAGES for 1806.

Jan. 1st. At Chevening, in Kent, Mr. James Ferguson, printer to earl Stanhope, to Miss Varley, of Chevening.

John Martin Cripps, esq. of Stantons, Sussex, to Miss Rush, daughter of sir William Beaumarice R. of Wimbledon, Surrey.

Richard Shawe, esq. of Dulwich-hill, Surrey, to the eldest daughter of Nathaniel Bogle French, esq. of the same place.

Richard Staples esq. son of the right hon. John S. of Lisson, co.

Tyrone, to Miss Montgomery, daughter of Hugh M. esq. of Belfast.

D. Henry Smith, esq. of Croom's-hill, Greenwich, Kent, to the eldest daughter of John Voase, esq. merchant.

2nd. Mr. Morris, surgeon, of Leicester, to Miss Fox.

Capt. Oliver, of the royal navy, to Miss Lane of Southtown cottage, near Yarmouth.

4th. At Chelsea, Mr. William George Thompson, son of Thomas T. esq. of Castle-street, Leicester-square, to Miss Eliza-Catharina Barker, daughter, of Francis B. esq. of Hans-place.

9th. Brigadier-general Clephane, M. P. for Kinrossshire, to Miss Letitia Bold, daughter of John B. esq. of Brunswick-square.

11th. At Rostherne church, in Cheshire, Wilbraham Egerton, esq. eldest son of William E. esq. of Tatton park, M. P. for that county, to the youngest daughter of the late sir Christopher Sykes, bart.

13th. At Wanlip, co. Leicester, sir Charles Grave Hudson, bart. to the eldest daughter of the late Peter Holford, esq. one of the masters in Chancery, with 50,000l.

At Wolverhampton, the rev. William Leigh, of Solihull, to Miss Proud, daughter of Samuel P. esq. of Bilston.

At Bristol, the rev. A. Lendon, to Miss Seyer, daughter of the rev. S. S. of the Fort.

16th. At Plumstead, in Kent, Kyrle Erle Money, esq. captain in the Herefordshire militia, and son of Wm. M. esq. of Hornhouse, co. Hereford, to the only daughter of Dominick French, esq.

At Lambeth, Henry Pilleau, esq.

of

of Upper Kennington-green, Surrey, to Miss Franklin, of Essex place, Lambeth.

Robert Buswell, esq. of Arthingworth, co. Northampton, to Mrs. Wright, of Lubbenham, co. Leicester.

18th. At Dublin, Brigadier-general Dyott, aid-du-camp to his majesty, to Eleanor, second daughter of the late Sam. Thompson, esq. of Green Mount, co. Antrim.

20th. At Weston - Underwood, Bucks, Frederick Hall, esq. of Eskelith-house, co. York, to Mrs. Barclay, of Weston.

22d. Rev. Manley Wood, M. A. to the daughter of the late Joseph Boone, esq. of Aldgate.

23d. By special licence, at the house of James Ramsay Cuthbert, esq. in Berkeley-square, George Freke Evans, esq. of Bulgadenhall, co. Limerick, brother of sir J. F. bart. to the right hon. lady Carbery.

At Clifton, near Bristol, Clement Debbieg, esq. to lady Charlotte Butler, sister to the earl of Lanesborough.

24th. At Storrington, W. Chamberleyne, esq. of Rolvenden, co. Kent, to Miss F. Bishopp, daughter of col. H. B. and grand-daughter of sir Cecil B. of Parham park, Sussex.

28th. Capt. John Hayes, R. N. to Miss Pye, of Walworth, Surrey.

30th. Richard Charles Head Graves, esq. of the West-Suffolk militia, to the hon. Cassandra Twisleton, youngest daughter of the late lord Say and Sele.

Feb. 1st. At Dublin, John Crampton, esq. M. D. to Miss Charlotte White, sister to sir John Jervis, bart.

At Liverpool, Mr. James Salmon,

professor of music, to Miss Munday, a young lady of great promise as an oratorio singer.

At St. Andrew's, Holborn, Jas. Hume, esq. to Miss Grant, of Bath.

2nd. Rev. John Dryden Pigott, rector of Habberley, to Fanny, second daughter of Henry Bevan, esq. of Shrewsbury.

3rd. At Cheswick, W. Deraynes, esq. M. P. for Barnstaple, to Miss Wiseman.

At Cardington, co. Bedford, the rev. Jn. Foster, M. A. vicar of West Thurrock, co. Essex, to the hon. Miss St. John, eldest daughter of the late lord St. J.

At Liverpool, the rev. R. K. Milner, M. A. to Miss Richmond.

4th. Rev. James Leonard Jackson, to Miss Lousia Hyde Wollaston, daughter of the rev. Frances W. of Chislehurst, Kent.

6th. At Lynn, Wm. Wheatley Walker, esq. lieutenant of the 2d dragoons, or royal Scots greys, to Miss Melvin, of Norwich.

7th. At Edinburgh, sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, bart. of Stirling, to Janet, second daughter of major-general Thomas Dundas, of Carronhall.

8th. At Dublin, by special licence, William Annesley, esq. son of the hon. and rev. the dean of Down, to Miss E. F. Reynell, of Balnalack, co. Westmeath.

10th. At Ide, near Exeter, John Charles Fanshawe, esq. of Franklyn, to Frances-Delia, second daughter of the rev. W. H. Carrington, of Ide.

11th. Mr. Henry Townshend, jun. of the manor-house at Aston-Flamville, to Mrs. Hill, only surviving daughter of the late Mr. Lovett, of Sapcote, co. Leicester.

12th. At Peterborough, John Webb

Webb Cole, esq. to Miss Collier, of the Minister close.

13th. At Norwich, Mr. Henry-Robert Bowles, acting-manager of the theatre royal there, to Mrs. Aickin, of that theatre.

15th. Mr. Samuel Cotterell, surgeon, at Hinckley, co. Leicester, to Mrs. Lee.

20th. Anthony Peacock, esq. of South Carlton, to Miss Willson.

22d. Horatio Gilchrist, esq. of Stamford, to the eldest daughter of Edward Theed, esq. of Hilton, co. Cambridge.

Lately, at Lincoln cathedral, Hamelyn Trelawny, esq. son of sir Henry T. bart. of Trelawny-house, London, to Miss Rogers, daughter of Jos. R. esq. of Seaview.

Rev. Mr. Jones, late pastor of the Unitarian congregation at Halifax, to Miss Rees, daughter of Dr. R.

Mr. John Stanton, manager of the Huddersfield, &c. theatres, to Mrs. Francis.

Samuel Denton, esq. of Gray's-inn, to Miss Helena-Cornelia Paas, daughter of the late Mr. Cornelius P. of Holborn, engraver to his majesty.

26th. Rev. Clement Cottrell, rector of Waltham, Hants, to Georgiana daughter of John Adams, esq. of Brompton.

27th. At Exeter, Montague Parker, esq. captain in the north Devon militia, to Miss Newcomb, of Teignmouth.

March 4th. At Mary-la-Bonne church, John Gilbert Francklyn, esq. to Mrs. Stevenson, widow of the late major-general S. of the Bengal cavalry.

At Leeds, Mr. William Buck, of Bank Newton, near Gargrave, to Miss Hardacre, of Long Preston.—In the evening of the same day,

Mr. John Buck, an eminent grazier, and father of the bridegroom, died suddenly, while the marriage was celebrating at his house.

6th. Thomas Halliday, esq. of Wimpole-street, to Maria-Margaret, second daughter of the rev. James Morrice, of Flower, co. Northampton, and of Betslinger, Kent.

Rev. William Castell, vicar of Brook, and rector of Threxton, Norfolk, to Miss Dennis, of Colchester.

8th. Geo. Gordon, esq. to Miss Elmslie, daughter of John E. esq. of Berners-street.

Mr. Kennet Dixon, of Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, to Jane, eldest daughter of Dr. Dennison, of Broad-street-buildings.

11th. At Wakefield, co. York, Daniel Gaskell, esq. to Miss Heywood, daughter of Benjamin H. esq. of Stanley-hall, near Wakefield.

At Bristol, rear-admiral Sotheby, to lady Mary-Anne Bourke, daughter of the late earl of Mayo.

At Kirkby-Fleatham, co. York, Thomas Robson, esq. of Holtby-house, in the parish of Hornby, to Catherine, second daughter of sir William Young, bart.

13th. At Rothwell, near Leeds, Jn. Newbery, esq. lieutenant-col. of the Sussex militia, to Miss Cleaver, daughter of the rev. Dr. C. rector of Malton, co. York.

15th. At St. Mary-la-Bonne, capt. Bates, of the 2d. regiment of life-guards, to Harriet, youngest daughter of the late William-Edward Smith, esq. of the treasury.

17th. John St. Barbe, esq. to Miss Thomas, both of Winchmore-bill.

Frederick Bevan, esq. to Miss Buxton, eldest daughter of sir Robert B. bart.

20th. At

20th. At Dublin, by special licence, by the bishop of Kildare, Dugald Campbell, esq. private secretary to his excellency the earl of Hardwicke, to Miss Kingsley.

William Dyke, esq. of Woodborough, Wilts, to Hannah, youngest daughter of J. Richards, esq. of Newbury, Berks.

Lately, at Ratisbon, M. de Fenelon, a descendant of the celebrated archbishop of Cambray, to Miss Von Reinach, canoness of the former temporal abbey of Heidermunster.

At Chiswick, Henry Hobhouse, esq. of Hadspen-house, co. Somerset, to Harriet, sixth daughter of John Turton, esq. of Turnham-green, Middlesex.

Peter Daly, esq. of Lime-park, in Ireland, to Miss Mac Evoy, of Baker-street, Portman-square.

26th. At Bath, Walter Wilkins, jun. esq. of Marslough, co. Radnor, only son of W. W. esq. M. P. for that county, to the hon. Catherine-Eliza-Marianna Devereux, fourth daughter of the late, and sister of the present, viscount Hereford.

Rev. Dr. Clarke, of Jesus college, Cambridge, to Angelica, second daughter of sir William Rush, of Pall Mall.

27th. By special licence, Stephen Tottenham Cassan, esq. of Wexford, to lady Lucy-Anna-Maria Hall, relict of the late Clotworthy H. esq. of the same place.

At Liverpool, the rev. Jos. M. Dickyn, B. A. of Dodleston, co. Chester, to Miss Haliday, daughter of J. H. esq. of Rose-place.

Rev. Herbert Randolph, rector of Lercomb-Basset, Berks, and vicar of Chute, Wilts; to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Benj. Wilson, esq. of Great Russel-street.

29th. C. Magnay, esq. of Clapham, Surrey, to Miss Harriet Burdon.

Lieut.-col. Thomas Powell, of Clifford, co. Hereford, to Mrs. Dew, of Whitney-court, in the same county.

April 1st. John Sympson Jessopp esq. of the Inner Temple, and of Waltham Abbey, Essex, barrister at law, to Miss Eliza Bridger Goodrick, daughter of the late Bridger G. esq. of Bermuda.

2d. Capt. Thomas Prowse, R. N. to Miss Mudge, of Devonshire.

5th. At Westbury, the Rev. Jas. Eyre, son of the late Dr. E. of Whyly, to Penelope, third daughter of the late Thomas Hele Phipps, esq. of Leighton-house, Wilts.

7th. In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, by special licence, Samuel Peach, esq. of Wadden, co. Gloucester, to Amelia, second daughter of the late James Baillie, esq. of Ealing-grove, Middlesex, M. P. for Horsham, Sussex.

Rev. B. F. Fowler, rector of Asterby, co. Linc. to Miss Mary Allison, of Louth.

At Cambridge, Mr. John Marshall, university library-keeper, to Miss Baldrey.

8th. George Henry Crutchley, esq. of Sunning-hill-park, Berks, to Miss Burrell, daughter of the late sir William B. bart.

At Fulford, near York, William Wotton Abney, esq. captain in the royal horse-guards, blue, to Miss Richardson.

9th. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, esq. M. P. to the eldest daughter of sir Foster Cunliffe, bart. of Acton-park, co. Denbigh.

Lately, at York, capt. Samson, son of the late Dr. S. of Beverley, and captain in the 3d West York militia,

militia, to Miss Anne Story, of Bishop-Wearmouth.

At Pontefract, the rev. J. Pym Williamson, of Guisborough, to Miss F. Taylor.

At Brunton, near Scarborough, Richard Smailes, esq. of Troutsdale, captain in the Pickering Lythe volunteers, to Miss Elizabeth Beal, of Birdsall.

Joseph Cornthwaite, esq. of Sion college, to Agnes, second daughter of the rev. Edward Wellaston, rector of Balsham, Cambridgeshire.

9th. Rev. Thomas Newcome, rector of Shenley, Herts, to Miss Charlotte Winter, third daughter of Thomas Bradbury, W. esq. of Shenley-hill.

10th. Ralph Bernal, esq. of Fitzroy-square, to Anne-Elizabeth, only daughter of Richard-Samuel White, esq. of New Ormond-street, Queen-square.

At Sherborne castle, Dorset, prince Bariatinsky to the hon. Miss Dutton, daughter of lord Sherborne.

Thomas Amyot, esq. private secretary to the right hon. William Windham, to Miss Colman, daughter of Mr. C. surgeon, of Norwich.

11th. At St. George's, Hanover square, sir Stephen-Richard-Glynne, bart. of Hawarden castle, in Flintshire, to the hon. Miss Mary Neville, second daughter of lord Braybrook.

14th. By special licence, at Laura chapel, Bath, Wm. Fauquier, esq. of Heath-hall, co. York, to Margaret, seventh daughter of the late J. Fisher, esq. of Malshanger, Hants.

16th. By special licence, by the bishop of Cork, at the house of the archbishop of Tuam, Thomas Hope, esq. of Duchess-street, to Miss

Lousia Beresford, youngest daughter of his grace.

At Lincoln, John Plomer Clarke, esq. of Welton-place, co. Northampton, to Anna-Maria-Charlotte, eldest daughter of the late sir John, and sister to sir Henry Nelthorpe, barts. of Scawby, co. Lincoln.

17th. Capt. Henry Digby, R. N. first cousin to the earl of Digby, to viscountess Andover, widow of the late lord viscount A. and daughter of Thomas Coke, esq. M. P. for the county of Norfolk.

At Clifton, near Bristol, Louis Charles-Peter Bonaventure, Comte de Mesnard, knight of the order of Malta, and of New Quebec-street, Portman-square, to Miss Blundell, of Clifton.

18th. Claude-George Thornton, esq. of Austin-friers, to Frances-Anne, second daughter of Samuel Smith, esq. of Wood-hall-park Herts, M. P. for Leicester.

19th. At Portsmouth, lieutenant Wilson, town adjutant of Portsmouth garrison, to the only daughter of capt. Hebburn, of the royal veteran battalion.

20th. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B. to Miss Pakenham, niece of admiral P.

22d. At Hatfield Broad Oak, James Hamerton, esq. eldest son of James H. esq. of Hellisfield Peel, co. York, to Miss Chamberlayne, daughter of Stanes C. esq. of Ryes, Essex.

At Scopswick, co. Lincoln, Mr. H. Whyers, of Wigtoft, grocer, to Miss Anne Nelson, of Scopswick, niece of lord N.

23d. At Harnford, Hants, the seat of the earl of Clauricarde, Henry-Joseph Tichborne, esq. eldest son

son of sir Henry T. bart. to Miss Burke, daughter of sir Thomas B. bart. of the county of Galway in Ireland, and sister to the countess of Clanricarde.

24th. At St. George's Hanover-square, George Browne, esq. to Jane, youngest daughter of the late colonel Cony, of Walpole, co. Norfolk.

At Guilsfield, co. Montgomery, Richard Hill, esq. son of the rev. Robert H. of Hough, in Cheshire, to the eldest daughter of the late Richard Mytton, esq. barrister at law, of Chester.

William Whiston, esq. of Pishtoff-hall, co. Lincoln, to the youngest daughter of the late major Hart, of Woodstone, Hunts.

John Drummond, esq. banker, Charing-cross, to Miss Barbara Chester, daughter of the late Charles C. esq. of Chicheley, Bucks, one of her majesty's maids of honour.

25th. John Abernethie, esq. of Cumberland-street, to Miss Susan Harris, daughter of the late Richard H. esq. of Sandown-house, Esher, Surrey.

26th. John Coke, esq. of Woodhouse villa, Notts, to Miss Wilmot, of Spondon, co. Derby.

28th. At Huddersfield, co. York. Mr. Godfrey Macklethwaite, aged 84, to Mrs. Anne Booth, aged 80.

29th. At Torrie-house, in Scotland, Jas. Moray, jun. esq. to Miss Erskine, daughter of the late and sister of the present sir William E. bart. of Torrie.

At Beaminster, the rev. George Feaver, to Miss Adney, of Brimley, co. Dorset.

30th. Stephen Morgan, esq. merchant, of Archangel, to Miss Bannister, daughter of John B. esq. of

Gower-street, Bedford-square, the celebrated comedian.

May 1st. At Bath, Benjamin Linthorne, esq. to lady Lester, relict of sir John L.

At Mount Juliet, the seat of the earl of Carrick, by special licence, Francis Savage, esq. M. P. for the county of Down, to lady Harriet Butler, third daughter of the earl of Carrick.

2d. At Mary-la-Bonne church, lord Robert Seymour, to the hon. Miss Chetwynd, sister to lord viscount C.

6th. George Green, esq. of Blackwall, to Miss Unwin, of Bromley.

8th. At the house of lord Henry Fitzgerald, in Stratford-place, Charles Lord Kinnaird, to the lady Cecilia-Olivia Fitzgerald, fifth daughter of the late duke of Leinster.

At Mary-la-Bonne church, Wiloughby Cotton, esq. captain in the 3d regiment of foot-guards, to the hon. Augusta-Margaret Coventry, daughter of lord viscount Deerhurst.

At Chesterfield, the French general D'Henin, to Miss Eleanor-Jane Dickson.

11th. At Stockport, Mr. James Lomax, printer and bookseller, to Miss Clarke, of Gatley-hall, near Stockport.

12th. Francis Witham, esq. of Gray's-inn, to Mrs. Hatton, of East-street, Red Lion-square.

At Canterbury, the rev. William Payler, to Miss Maria Highmore, daughter of the late John H. esq. and grand-daughter of the late Anthony H. esq. of Wincheap, near Canterbury.

Rev. Samuel Hart, vicar of Alton, Cornwall, to Miss A. Cory, of Holsworthy.

At Wandsworth, co. Surrey. Siegmund

Siegmund Rucher, esq. of Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, to Lucy, youngest daughter of Henry Gardner, esq. of Downe-lodge, Wandsworth.

13th. At Camberwell, Surrey, Wm. Curteis, jun. esq. to Miss Hains, of Blackheath.

14th. William Colville, esq. of Dublin, to Miss Eliza Farren, youngest daughter of Charles F. esq. of the same city.

15th. Charles Vardon, esq. of Battersea-rise, Surrey, to Marian, eldest daughter of the late Wm. Patterson, esq. of Jamaica.

At Chester, Robert Foulkes Currie, M. D. to Miss Ravenscroft, daughter of the late Thomas Highlord R. esq. of Davenham, in Cheshire.

17th. The hon. William Herbert, son of the earl of Caernarvon, to the hon. Letitia-Emily-Dorothea Allen, youngest daughter of lord viscount A.

By special licence, the honourable and rev. Pierce Butler, third son of the earl of Carrick, to Miss Maria Sophia Vernon, third daughter of John V. esq. of Clontarf castle, county of Dublin.

19th. At Lambeth palace, by special licence, the hon. Hugh Percy, third son of the earl of Beverley, to Miss Manners Sutton, eldest daughter of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Atkins Edwin Martin Atkins, esq. of Kingston-Lisle, Berks, to Miss Anne Cook, of Upper Wimpole-street.

At St. Bride's church, London, Robert Rashdall, esq. of Boston, county of Lincoln, to Miss Bonner, of the same place.

At Stamford, county of Lincoln, the rev. Peter Geary, B. D. of New-

port, in the Isle of Wight, and fellow of Trinity college, Oxford, to Miss Judd, daughter of the late Samuel J. esq. of St. Martin's, Stamford.

20th. At the earl of Chatham's, in Dover-street, Piccadilly, by special licence, by the archbishop of Cashel, lieutenant-colonel Pringle, to Miss Eliot.

21st. At Great Dalby, county of Leicester, Robert Hall, esq. of the 45th foot, to the only daughter of Samuel Maltby, esq. of Shelton, county of Nottingham.

22d. At Pancras church, the rev. William Belton Champneys, son of the vicar of that parish, to Miss Martha Stable, of the Terrace, Kenish Town.

James Caulfield, esq. of the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, to the hon. Harriet Crofton, daughter of baroness Crofton.

At Mersham, Kent, the reverend Charles Hughes, of Barham, to the eldest daughter of sir Edward Knatchbull, bart.

24th. Ralph Bigland, esq. Norroy King of Arms, to Miss Lorimer, eldest daughter of Mr. L. of Eye, Suffolk.

Lately, at Gibraltar, lieutenant Buchanan, of the Royal Engineers, son of the reverend Dr. B. of Woodmansterne, Surrey, to Miss Harriet Smith, daughter of general Smith, commanding the Royal Artillery there.

24th. By special license, at Clontarf church, Bertram Mitford, esq. youngest son of William Mitford, esq. of Exbury, county of Southampton, and nephew to lord Redesdale, to Frances, second daughter of John Vernon, esq. of Clontarf-castle, county of Dublin.

27th.

27th. George Armstrong, esq. of the 50th foot, to Miss Maria Swymmer, daughter of the late W. S. esq. of Rowberrow-house, county of Somerset.

29th. At Gloucester, Mr. Jabet, banker, of Birmingham, to Miss Bridgens.

June —. At Chelsea, the reverend Thomas Pearson, B. D. vicar of Sparsbolt, county of Berks, to Mrs. Hyde, of Sloane-street.

2d. Henry Mitturne, esq. of St. James's-street, to Miss Honora Calmady Richardson, daughter of John R. esq. of Bridge-end, county of Glamorgan.

Mr. Kirkby, of Horncastle, county of Lincoln, druggist, to Miss Thomasin Beaumont, daughter of the late rev. Thomas B. rector of Raithby, near Spilsby, and one of three sisters born at one birth.

3d. Lieutenant-colonel Birch, assistant quarter-master general, to Ethelred Anne, eldest daughter of J. Reynardson esq. of Holywell, county of Lincoln.

5th. At Hackney, John Dunston, esq. of Old Broad-street, to the eldest daughter of Thomas Warburton, esq.

Rev. Thomas Jones, of Peterhouse, Cambridge, to Miss Tennant, daughter of the reverend C. T. of Samson's-hall, Suffolk.

Henry Harford, of Cavendish-street, to Miss Esther Rycroft, sister of sir Nelson R. bart. of Farnham, Surrey.

At Mary-le-bone church, lieutenant-colonel Rudsdell, lieutenant-governor of Sheerness, to Mrs. Biscoe, of Limpsfield, Surrey.

10th. At St. George's Hanover-square, Osborne Markham, esq. son of the archbishop of York, to

lady Mary Thynne, sister of the marquis of Bath.

At Mary-le-bonne church, Charles Cunningham, esq. son of sir William C. bart. of Robertland, to Frances, youngest daughter of the late sir John Call, bart. of Whiteford.

Rev. John Headlam, rector of Wycliffe, to Maria, youngest daughter of the rev. Thomas Wilson, Morley, of Eastby house, county of Lincoln.

11th. At Streatham, Surrey, W. S. Burnett, esq. merchant, to Miss Hickling, daughter of Thomas H. esq. of the island of St. Michael.

At Edinburgh, Lord Rollo, to Miss Agnes Grieg, daughter of — G. esq. of Gayfield-place.

12th. Major Thomas Weston, of the late 14th garrison battalion, to Miss Cooksedge, of Downing-street, Westminster.

14th. At Long Melford, Suffolk, John Middleton, esq. nephew to sir W. M. bart. of Crowfield, to Miss Mary Burroughs, of Elmore, house, county of Herts.

16th. William Fisher Hulse, esq. of Cossington, major of the Leicestershire militia, to Miss Dora Alexander Cricket, one of the daughters of the late Charles Alexander C. esq. of Smith's-hall, Essex, M. P.

At Aston, Shirley Perkins, esq. of Sutton Coldfield, county of Warwick, barrister at law, to Mrs. Walker, widow of the late capt. W. and eldest daughter of Charles Sharpe, esq. of Hoddam-castle, Dumfriesshire.

Rev. W. C. Cruttenden, of Bury, to Theophila, second daughter of the rev. Edward Mills, lecturer, of St. James's, Bury, and prebendary of Lincoln.

17th. At St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, Fish-street, Mr. Nicholas Charrington, of Mile End, to Miss Nicholls, daughter of John N. esq. of Warnham, Sussex.

At St. Martin's in the Field's; Viscount Fitzharris, eldest son of the Earl of Malmesbury, to the honourable Miss Dashwood, niece to the earl of Effingham.

Colonel Arthur Vansittart, of Shottesbrooke, Berks, M. P. for Windsor, to the honourable Miss Caroline Eden, 4th daughter of lord Auckland.

Thomas Greenwood, jun. esq. of Kentish Town, to Miss Munden, daughter of Mr. M. of Covent-garden theatre.

18th. Rev. James Blenkarne, M. A. vicar of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, to Miss E. S. L'Heureux, of Westham, Essex.

19th. Sir W. Pratt Call, bart. of Whiteford-house, county of Cornwall, to lady Louisa Forbes, sister of the earl of Granard.

John Richard King, esq. of the Navy-office, to Martha, youngest daughter of Vincent Litchfield, esq. of the Council-office.

Mr. Smith, of the Liverpool theatre, to Miss Stevens, of Park-street, late of Drury-lane theatre.

At Bath, lord W. Stuart, son of the marquis of Bute, to the honourable Georgina Maude, sister of viscount Hawarden.

21st. Prince Christian Frederick, of Denmark, to the princess Charlotte, daughter of the reigning duke of Mecklenburg.

Joseph White, esq. late solicitor to the treasury, to the eldest daughter of the late William Chamberlayne, esq. formerly of the treasury, and one of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

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Rev. Henry Barry Domville, to Miss Russel, daughter of William R. esq. of Powick, county of Worcester.

23d. At the earl of Carlisle's house, in Grosvenor-place, by special license, William Sloane, esq. son of col. S. of Harley-street, to lady Gertrude Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle.

At St. George's, Hanover-square, Thomas Parry, esq. to Mrs. Berington, widow of William B. esq. of Moat-hall, county of Salop.

24th. At Hampstead, Robert Smith, esq. of Aylesbury, Bucks, to Mary Susannah, second daughter of sir James Watson, knt. late one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Bengal.

John Goodeve, esq. banker of Gosport, to Miss Hurry, of Yarmouth.

25th. At St. Mary-la-Bonne church, the rev. George Augustus Lamb, son of T. P. L. esq. of Mountsfield-lodge, Rye, Sussex, to Miss Julia Louisa Bancroft, daughter of Dr. B. of Margaret-street, Cavendish-square.

26th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, C. G. Mundy, esq. second son of F. R. C. M. esq. of Mark-eaton, county of Derby, to the only daughter of C. B. Massingberd, esq. of Ormsby, county of Lincoln.

At the chapel of Bromley-palace, Kent, by the bishop of Rochester, and by special license, Andrew Wedderburn, esq. of Upper Grosvenor-street, to the honourable Louisa Eden, fifth daughter of lord Auckland.

27th. At Kesgrave, colonel Thomas Pogson, of Kesgrave house, to Miss Emily Myers, of Woodbridge, Suffolk.

29th. At Westbourn, Sussex, the

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rev.

rev. Thomas De Lacy, M. A. archdeacon of Meath, to Miss Moutray, daughter of the late John M. esq. commissioner of the navy.

39th. Mr. Postle Jackson, of Ipswich, to Miss Burcham, of the same place.

Lately, at Dublin, by special licence, W. Marriot, esq. to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Art. Keene, esq. of Charlemont-street.

At St. James's, Piccadilly, capt. Egan, of the Royal Artillery, to Miss Blaquiére, daughter of the late col. James B. and niece of lord B.

July 1st. At St. Mary-la-Bonne church, and on the same day, by special licence, at the Roman catholic chapel, in King-street, Portman-square, by the bishop of Nantes, Armand Comte de Barde, to Mademoiselle Adela de St. Hermine, youngest daughter of the marquis de St. H. and niece to the duke de Polignac.

2d. At St. George's, Bloomsbury, Mr. C. Kemble, of Covent-garden theatre, to Miss De Camp, of Drury-lane theatre.

At Alresford, the seat of lord Spencer, Chichester, by special licence, and by the honourable and reverend Charles Stewart, the hon. colonel William Bligh, brother to the earl of Darnley, to lady Sophia Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

3d. At the house of the marquis of Wellesley, Hyde-park-corner, William Abdy, esq. to the eldest daughter of the marquis.

5th. William Wadd, esq. of Clifford-street, to Miss Mackenzie, only daughter of John M. esq. of Upper Guildford-street.

Rev. Athanasius Laffer, to Miss Jenkins daughter of Alderman J. of Exeter.

Lately D. Oliphant, esq. second in council at Prince of Wales's Island, to Miss Wedderburne, daughter of sir David Wedderburne, and sister to the lady of Philip Dundas, esq. the governor.

At Dublin, Nathaniel Sneyd, esq. M. P. for the county of Cavan, to Miss Anne Burgh, daughter of Thomas B. esq. commissioner of his majesty's revenue.

At Lochend, in Scotland, lieutenant colonel Dalrymple, of the 10th foot, to the only daughter of the late sir P. Warrender, bart. of Lochend.

Benjamin Cooke Griffinhoose, esq. of Gray's-inn, to Miss Sax, of Hackney.

7th. At Clayworth, Notts, capt. George Acklam, R. N. to Miss Acklom, of Wiseton.

Henry Dunster, esq. of Southwark and the Inner Temple, solicitor, to Mary, second daughter of John Evans, esq. of Hertford.

At Hardlingstone, county of Northampton, Mr. Henry Hughes, of Northampton, solicitor, to Miss A. Smyth, youngest daughter of the rev. Edmund Smyth, late of Great Linford, Bucks, clerk, deceased.

8th. At the house of lord Dundas, in Arlington-street, viscount Milton, only son of earl Fitzwilliam, to the hon. Miss Dundas, daughter of lord Dundas.

Capt. Dalbiac, of the 4th (or Queen's own) regiment of dragoons, to Eleanor, youngest daughter of the late Henry Shelley, esq. of Lewes, Sussex.

Benjamin Edward Hill, esq. to Miss Braithwaite, daughter of Richard B. esq. admiral of the white.

11th. Mr. John Bleadon, of Basinghall-street, to Miss Mead, of the Old Jewry.

12th. At Beddington, Surrey, Thomas

Thomas Read Kemp, esq. to Miss Baring, daughter of Sir Francis B. bart. of Stratton-park, Hants.

Capt. Macgregor, of the 88th foot, to Miss Parry Jones, daughter of Thomas Parry J. esq. of Madrin, county of Carnarvon.

14th. William Dent, junior, esq. of Thirsk, county of York, to Miss Dent, daughter of William D. esq. of Brickendonbury, Herts.

15th. At St. George's Hanover-square, the rev. John Briggs, rector of Little Burstead, Essex, and late fellow of king's college, Cambridge, to Miss Isabella. Ekins, second daughter of the late dean of Carlisle.

At Mary-le-Bonne church, the rev. Robert Stevens, to Miss Mason.

At Stroud, county of Gloucester, J. Hillhouse Wilcox, esq. one of the sheriffs of Bristol, to Miss Margaret Wathen, daughter of sir Samuel W. of Stratford-house, in the same county.

16th. Mr. Mackinlay, bookseller in the Strand, to Miss M. Oates, of Tottenham.

At Southampton, John Baillie, esq. of Sherwood park, to Anne, youngest daughter of the late R. Wilson, esq. of the island of St. Christopher.

Benjamin Bromhead, esq. eldest son of colonel B. of Lincoln, to Miss Hunt, of Pall Mall.

17th. The honourable William Henry Hare, son of lord Ennismore, to the only daughter of Isaac Bough, esq. of Upper Wimpole-street.

At Merton, Surrey, Robert Christie, esq. of Mark-lane, to Miss A. Newton, daughter of J. N. esq. of Merton abbey.

At Hendon, Middlesex, lieutenant colonel P. Carey, of the 28th foot, to the eldest daughter of the late lieutenant-general Hewett.

19th. At Lewisham, Kent, M. F. Hommey, esq. of Charlton, to Miss Henry, of Sydenham, daughter of the late David H. esq.

20th. At Northfleet, Kent, Wm. Ritchie, esq. of Deptford, to Miss Sarah Pitcher, daughter of Thomas P. esq. of Northfleet.

22d. At St. George's, Hanover-square, by the honourable and rev. G. Wellesley, the honourable Mr. Bagot, brother of lord B. to Miss Pole, daughter to the hon. W. P. of Berkeley-square.—Also at the same time and church, Robert Campbell, esq. of Scotland, to Miss Harriet Wynne, of George-street, Hanover-square.

By special licence, by the bishop of London, at his Lordship's chapel, at Fulham, the right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, secretary of the treasury, to the hon. Catharine Eden, second daughter of lord Auckland.

At Sandridge, near St. Alban's, Mr. Joseph Maddox, an eminent wire-worker in Crooked-lane, London, to Miss Elizabeth Welton, eldest daughter of the rev. Robert Welton, vicar of Sandridge.

Henry Plunkett, esq. of the 50th foot, to Miss Newcombe, of Stratton, county of Gloucester.

Rev. Thomas Bowdler, M. A. to Phæbe, second daughter of Joseph Cotton, esq. one of the directors of the East India Company.

Rev. J. D. Haslewood, to Miss Dixon, daughter of the late Marcus D. esq. of Barwell-court, near Kingston.

Philip Mayow, esq. of Gray's Inn, to Miss Elizabeth Deane, of Devonshire-street.

23d. At Burgh castle, Suffolk, Admiral M'Dougall, to the only daughter of Richard Wright, esq. of Harling-hall, Norfolk.

At Lambeth, colonel Thornton, late of Thornville Royal, county of York, to Miss E. Causton, of Munden, Essex.

24th. At St. George's, Hanover-square, the honourable Henry Brand, to Miss Pyne Crosbie, daughter of the honourable and reverend dean C. and niece to the late earl of Glandore.

George Hamilton, esq. of Dublin, to Miss Newman, daughter of John N. esq. of Skinner-street, London.

27th. At Hackney, James Ludlam, esq. of Homerton, to Miss Lyley, of Noble-street.

28th. At Devonshire-house, by special licence, lord Ossulstone, son of the earl of Tankerville, to Mademoiselle De Gramont, daughter of the duke De G. and grand daughter of the duke de Polignac.

Dr. Yelloly, of Finsbury-square, to the only daughter of the late Samuel Tyssen, esq. of Narborough, Norfolk.

At Farringdon, Thomas Goodlake, esq. of Letcombe, to the only daughter of W. Yarnton Mills, esq. of Wadley-house, Berks.

Lord Walpole, to Mrs. Chamberlayne, of Sackville-street.

At St. George's church, Dublin, by special licence, lord viscount Monck, to the lady Francis Trench, fifth daughter of the late earl of Cloncarty.

30th. Rev. H. Davis, vicar of Somerton, to Miss Anna Barrett, of Charlton Adam, county of Somerset.

31st. R. B. Pollard, B. A. of Cadogan-place, Sloane-street, to Miss Frances Crispe, of Snodland, Kent.

Rev. Charles Gardner, D. D. rector of Sutton, Surrey, to Miss Swayne, of Dorking.

At Camberwell, William Loftus, esq. captain in the 16th foot, to Miss Macqueen, of Wyndham-place, Surrey.

At Hereford, the rev. Dr. Morgan, canon-residentiary, to Miss Underwood, daughter of the rev. Mr. U. of Hereford.

At Edinburgh, lord Elphinstone, to lady Carmichael.

At Cholsey, Berks, W. Butler, esq. sole heir of W. B. esq. of Ashbury, Berks, to Miss Bacon, of Henley.

At Glasgow, Dr. James Sanders, president of the Royal Edinburgh medical society, to Miss Hardie, daughter of Henry H. esq. merchant, of Glasgow.

At Southwell church, William Smith, esq. to Miss Pigot, daughter of the late rev. J. P. of Eperstone, Notts.

At Plymouth, admiral Bager, to Mrs. Drake, widow.

Mr. Bush, grocer, of Little Buckingham, to Miss Jones, sister of the rev. Mr. J. of South Brickhill.

Aug. 1st. At Dunglass, in Scotland, sir James Montgomery, bart. to lady Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of the late earl of Selkirk.

At Haverfordwest, in South Wales, George Silk, esq. of Doctor's Commons, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Joseph Fortune, esq. of the former place.

At Coleorton, county of Leices. W. W. Bailey, esq. captain of the Coleorton volunteer infantry, to Miss Mary Hibertson, of Dunmore-hall, Essex.

Mr. Yonge, gentleman commoner of Oxford, to the eldest daughter of Edward Newport, esq. of Keyford-house, Somerset.

5th. At Halifax, Henry Ingram, esq.

esq. to Miss Anne Moore, of Brockwell.

7th. R. B. Dean, esq. of Lincoln's-inn, to Miss S. Owen, daughter of the late Mostyn Owen, esq. of Woodhouse, Salop.

At Wooton-Wawen, county of Warwick, the rev. M. T. Becher, head-master of the royal grammar-school, at Bury, to Mrs. Scott.

9th. William Balston, esq. of Maidstone, in Kent, to Miss Valance, daughter of Thomas V. esq. of Cheapside.

Mr. Patman, bricklayer, to Mrs. Jones, both of Enfield.

At Kilham, county of York, Mr. William Cranswick, to Miss Jane Setterington, youngest daughter of Mr. Anthony S.

11th. At Lambeth-palace, by the archbishop of Canterbury, the hon. Charles Anderson Pelham, son of lord Yarborough, to Miss Simpson, daughter of the honourable John Bridgeman S.

At Stroud, county of Gloucester, Isaac Dighton, esq. of Bristol, to Miss Wathen, daughter of sir Samuel W. of Stratford-house, in the same county.

12th. Rev. Pinkstan Arundel French, rector of Odcombe, county of Somerset, to Miss Smith, of Sydenham.

At Sudbury, the rev. Thomas Brooke, vicar of Mangotsfield, to Miss Isabella Frances Brooke, daughter of the late H. F. B. esq.

13th. Arnold Wainwright, esq. to Louisa, second daughter of John Crooke, esq. of Kempshot park, Hants.

14th. At Mitcham, Surrey, — Brandon, esq. to Miss de Symmonds, daughter of — de S. esq. and niece to the Messieurs Goldsmid.

Rev. G. Malcolm, of Trinity

college, Cambridge, to Miss Helen Little of South-street, Finsbury-square.

16th. Ralph Clarke, esq. of Hauxley, county of Northumberland, to Miss Mount, of Merton, county of Surrey.

17th. At Boyle farm, near Kingston, Surrey, lord Foley, to lady Cecilia Fitzgerald.

18th. At Edgeware, Richard Brown, esq. of Lower Tooting, Surrey, to Miss Williams, daughter of John W. esq. commissioner of his majesty's customs.

19th. At her grace's house, in Portman-square, John Manners, esq. M. P. for Ilchester, and second son of the right honourable Lady Louisa Manners, to her grace the duchess of Roxburgh.

At All Saints, Newcastle-upon Tyne, Mr. Ibbetson, eldest son of the rev. Adam I. vicar of Garton, to Miss Manners, sister of the rev. Moses M. and youngest daughter of the late Mr. Edward M.

At Gormanstown, in Ireland, Richard Caddell, esq. of Harbours-town, county of Meath, to the hon. Miss Southwell, daughter of the late viscount S.

21st. Mr. Robert Fearnley, of Leeds, attorney, to Miss Milner, daughter of the rev. James M. of Hunslet.

At Pitsford, county of Northampton, Richard Clarke, esq. of the 3d or prince of Wales's dragoon guards, to Philippa, only daughter and heiress of the late rev. G. Tymms, of Dallington, near Northampton.

At Hampstead, John Armitage Brown, esq. to Miss Jane E. Mavor.

23d. At Easingwold, lieutenant W. Ogilby Fraser, R. N. and brother to the titular lord Lovat, to Miss Preston.

25th. At Simpson, Bucks, W. Lowndes, esq. of Whaddon-hall, in the same county, to Miss Hammer, daughter of the rev. Graham H. of Simpson.

At Bentworth, Hants, the rev. Francis Filmer, rector of Crundale, Kent, son of sir Edward F. bart. to Mary Anna, second daughter of the late rev. Henry Jackson Close, rector of Bentworth.

At Meopham church, in Kent, Edward Knatchbull, esq. eldest son of sir Edward K. to Miss Honeywood, daughter of the late, and sister of the present sir John H.

26th. At Clifton, Richard Bentley, esq. of Raymill cottage, Berks, to Maria, youngest daughter of the late, and sister of the present sir James Hannam, bart. of Dean's-court, county of Dorset.

John Fisher Barker, esq. of Birmingham, to Miss Watson; also W. Lardner, esq. surgeon, of Birmingham, to Miss Margaretta Watson, daughters of William W. esq. of Borough High-street, Southwark.

At East Stone-house, Devon, Spelman Swaine, esq. captain in the royal navy, to Sophia, eldest daughter of the late rev. Charles Le Grice, of Bury, Suffolk.

27th. At Bath, James Protheroe, esq. of Bristol, to Caroline, eldest daughter of James Choppin, esq. of the island of St. Vincent.

At Castle Huntley, in Perthsire, lieutenant colonel Inglis, of the Edinburgh militia, to Charlotte Elizabeth, second daughter of the late sir Philip Ainslie, of Pitton.

Robert Awsiter, esq. of Southall-green, to Miss Crowther, daughter of the rev. Mr. C. of Islington.

28th. At Exeter, Wintringham Loscombe, esq. captain in the 18th, or royal Irish regiment of foot, to

Catherine, second daughter of Robert Russel, esq. of Exeter.

Rev. T. W. Cogan, vicar of East Deane, Sussex, to Miss S. Parker, daughter of Henry P. esq. of Stoke Newington.

At Hackney, Mr. John Austin, of Cornhill, stockbroker, to Mrs. Collier, widow of William C. esq. of Stoke Newington.

At Canterbury, capt. Charles Sober, of the 1st dragoon guards, to Mrs. Bytheca, relict of the rev. G. B. and daughter of Thomas Kemp, esq. of Coneyborough, near Maidstone, Kent.

30th. Charles Fasset Burnett, esq. of Vauxhall, to Miss Barons, only daughter of Denham B. esq. of Clapham, Surrey.

Sept. 1st. At St. George's Hanover-square, the hon. capt. Herbert, son of the earl of Caernarvon, to Miss Head.

Mr. Judson, writing-master, to Miss Cawdron, only daughter of Mr. C. of Enfield, sheriff's officer.

Rev. Francis Thomas Hammond, rector of Wydford and South Mimms, to Miss Maria Lovelace, of Quideham, Norfolk.

2d. At St. Paul's, Covent-garden, the rev. Mr. Steward, to Miss Alderley.

3d. Rev. J. T. Wilgress, fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, to the eldest daughter of William Scoones, esq. of Tunbridge.

4th. At Lennel-house, in Scotland, the honourable Gibert Elliot, eldest son of lord Minto, to Mary, eldest daughter of Patrick Brydone, esq.

Mr. Thomas Sharpe, of Fenchurch-street, to Frances, eldest daughter of Joseph Sibley, esq. of St. Alban's.

5th. Rev. John Hole, rector of Woolfordisworthy, and Broadwood Kelly,

Kelly, Devon, to Sophia, second daughter of the late Nathaniel Brassey, esq.

6th. At Bath, P. Latouche, jun. esq. to the hon. Miss C. Maude, daughter of the late lord Hawarden.

8th. At Melburn, county of Derby, Henry Walker, esq. eldest son of Joshua W. esq. of Clinton, county of York, to the only daughter of Edward Abney, esq. of King's Newton, Derbyshire.

9th. Lord Marsham, to Miss Pitt.

10th. At St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, Charles Pipon, esq. of the East India Company's service, to Martha, third daughter of Sir John Dumaresq, of Jersey.

11th. Arthur Champernowne, esq. of Darlington, Devon, to the eldest daughter of the late Jn. Bullet, esq. of Morval, Cornwall.

At Finedon, county of Northampton, the rev. Samuel Woodfield Paul, to Charlotte, second daughter of John English Dolben, esq. and grand daughter of Sir W. D. bart.

12th. At Sileby, county of Leicester, Henry Overton, Dawson, esq. son of W. D. esq. of Islington, Middlesex, to Miss Mariell, Paris, daughter of Wm. P. esq. merchant, of Sileby.

13th. Thomas Bowdler, esq. of St. Boniface, in the Isle of Wight, to Mrs. Trevenen, eldest daughter of John Farquharson, esq. and widow of capt. T. who was killed in the moment of victory, while commanding a Russian ship of the line, in the battle with the Swedes, 1791.

14th. At the private chapel in Winchester house, Chelsea, William Gosling, esq. of Roehampton, to the hon. Charlotte De Grey, second daughter of lord Walsingham.

15th. Mr. Daniel Crosthwaite, of Keswick, son of the proprietor of the celebrated museum there, to Miss Westray, of Hadley, Middlesex.

16th. At Oulton, the rev. Samuel Pitman, M. A. to Miss Bell, sole heiress of the late Coulson Bell, esq. of Oulton-hall, Norfolk.

18th. Thomas Savill, esq. jun. of Coleman-street, to Miss Savill, daughter of Wm. S. esq. of Battersea-rise, Surrey.

20th. At Oswestry, Salop, Henry Brooke, esq. of the county of Donegal, in Ireland, to the eldest daughter of Mrs. Macartney Hume, of Lissanoure castle, co. Antrim.

22d. At Margate, Thomas Kynwood Bowyear, esq. major of the Hereford militia, to Miss Le Geyt, of Canterbury.

23d. At Claybrook, the rev. Geo. Clarke, chaplain to the royal military asylum at Chelsea, to the only daughter of Thomas Dicey, esq. of Claybrook-hall.

25th. At Westport-house, in Ireland, Jn. Cator, esq. of Beckenham-place, Kent, to the eldest daughter of Ross Mahon, esq. of Castlegar, co. Galway, and niece to the marquis of Sligo.

27th. Mr. John Cox, of Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, to Jane, only daughter of Mr. Tho. Axtell, of Pentonville.

30th. Mr. James Robinson, of London, surgeon, son of the rev. T. R. vicar of St. Mary's, Leicester, to Miss Chorley.

Oct. 1st. At Waltham abbey, John-Hen. Elvington, esq. captain in the 13th light dragoons, to the only daughter, of James Reed, esq. of Warlies park, Essex.

2d. At Kingston, Surrey, Mr.

Rt. Baldwin, of Lamb's Conduit-street, to Maria, daughter of Henry Baldwin, esq. of Kingston.

Mr. W. F. Chapman, of Dalby terrace, to Miss Zeiltzke, of Pentonville.

3d. At Rattery, sir Henry Carew, bart. of Haccombe, to the only daughter of Walter Palk, esq. of Marley, Devon.

4th. At Langford, J. Dawson, esq. of the 1st royal Surrey militia, to Miss Whitby, of Bath-Hampton-house, Wilts.

6th. At Exmouth. co. Devon, Cheselden Henson, esq. of Bainton-house, co. Northampton, to the only daughter of the rev. Leigh Hoskins Masters, of Derbyshire, late rector of Lympsfield, Surrey.

8th. Richard Teasdale, esq. of the Inner Temple, to Mrs. De la Chaumette, widow, daughter of the late Rawson Aislabie, esq. of Newington, Middlesex.

11th. By special licence, the rev. George Moore, eldest son of the late archbishop of Canterbury, to Miss Harriet-Mary Bridges, youngest daughter of the late sir Brooke B. bart. of Goodnestone, Kent.

13th. At Freeland house, in Perthshire, Wake Hore, esq. of Harperstown, co. Wexford, Ireland, to the hon. Mary-Elizabeth-Thornton Ruthven, daughter of the late James Lord Ruthven.

14th. A. C. Macartney, esq. cap. in the royal artillery, to Miss Woollet; and Samuel Judd, esq. of Stamford, to Miss Lousia-Anne Woollett; daughters of the late Nicholas W. esq. of Sittingbourn, Kent.

Mr. Walker, bookseller, to Mrs. Sael, both of the Strand.

16th. Alexander Maitland, esq. of King's-arms-yard, Coleman-street,

to the eldest daughter of Charles Gordon, esq. of Gower-street.

18th. John Kettle, esq. of Over Seile, co. Leicester, to Miss Mackenzie, daughter of the late captain George M. of the 66th foot.

Stanley Stokes, esq. of Doctor's Commons, to Miss Manton, of Dover-street.

20th. Archibald Gloster, esq. his majesty's attorney-general for the island of Trinidad, to Miss Thompson, of Lower Tooting, Surrey

23d. At Chatham, capt. J. M. Jones, of the royal Denbigh militia, to the eldest daughter of colonel D'Arcy, of the royal engineers.

24th. Mr. P. Builivant, solicitor, of Grantham, to Miss Anne Hussey Coles.

25th. John-Charles Purling, esq. to the second daughter of Nathaniel Middleton, esq. of Townhill, near Southampton.

At Chatham, Kent, Thomas Watherston, esq. surgeon in the royal navy, to Miss Anna Bryant, daughter of the late rev. George B. rector of Wootton-Courney, co. Somerset.

26th. At Godalming, Surrey, John Allen, esq. of Sunbury, to lady Frances Turnour, daughter of the late earl of Winterton.—Also, a short time since, at the same place, F. Remington, M. D. of Guildford, to lady Anne Brown, relict of George Gordon B. esq. of the royal navy, and eldest daughter of the late earl of Winterton.

28th. Richard Frankland, esq. of Ashgrove, co. Cork, to Miss Godfrey, daughter of sir Wm. G. bart. of Bushfield, co. Kerry.

At Braceborough, the rev. Thomas Toller Hurst, M. A. rector of Carlby, and Braceborough, to Miss Smith,

Smith, daughter of Mr. Wm. S. draper, of Stamford, co. Lincoln.

At Ashby St. Leger's, the rev. J. Wilson, of Welton-house, co. Northampton, to Miss Kelsick.

30th. Rev. Francis Pelly, rector of Siston, co. Gloucester, to the only daughter of George Anson Nutt, esq. of Birmingham.

Nov. 1st. Mr. Kerby, bookseller, of Stafford-street, to the only daughter of the late James Billing, esq. of Battersea, Surrey.

William Rawson, jun. esq. of Mill-house, co. York, to the only daughter of the late John Priestly, esq. of Thorpe, near Halifax.—Also, John Rawson, jun. esq. of Halifax, brother to the aforesaid, to Elizabeth, second daughter of Edward Markland, esq. of Leeds.

John Aldington Perry, esq. of the Minories, to Frances, eldest daughter of E. Colebatch, esq. of the same place.

4th. At Liddal-bank, in Scotland, major Malcolm, of the royal marines, to Miss Jane Oliver, fourth daughter; and Archibald Little, esq. of London, to Miss Agnes Oliver, fifth daughter of Wm. O. esq. of Dinlabyth.

James Hook, esq. of Charlotte-street, Bedford-square, to Miss Harriet Horncastle James, daughter of Joseph J. esq.

At Edmonton, Middlesex, the rev. J. Morgan, late chaplain of his majesty's ship San Josef, and secretary to vice-admiral sir Charles Cotton, bart. to the eldest daughter of the late John Freeman, esq. of Newington-green.

6th. At Sandwich, William Boys, esq. of Woodnesborough, to Eliza, fourth daughter of the late Benj. Sayer, esq. of Deal.

7th. At Lambeth church, Mr. William Biven, to Miss Charlotte Hodson.

8th. At St. Mary-la-Bonne church, Joseph Timperton, esq. of Upper Harley-street, to Miss Kyte, daughter of the late rev. Dr. K.

10th. At Nottingham, Mr. Edward Godfrey Smith, solicitor, of Newark, to the eldest daughter of Mark Huish, esq.

11th. At Pewsey, Wilts, W. P. Taunton, esq. of the Middle Temple, barrister at law, to the only daughter of the rev. Joseph Townsend, rector of Pewsey.

12th. At Thornton, co. Leicestershire, Mr. Rowland, an opulent grazier in Hampshire, to Miss Buckley.

13th. At Ruabon, co. Salop, lieut.-col. Shipley, eldest son of the Dean of St. Asaph, to Miss Charlotte Williams Wynn, sister of sir W. W. W. bart.

Charles George, esq. late of St. John's college, Cambridge, to Emma, youngest daughter of Joseph Butcher, esq. of Cambridge.

15th. At Clifton, John Ryley, esq. to Miss Catherine Coxe, daughter of the late gen. C. of Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square.

At Holywell church, Oxford, Mr. Humphry Wightwick, wine-merchant, at Henley, to Miss Mary Turner, second daughter of the late Mr. Robert T. of that city.

16th. At Liverpool, Charles Gustavus Frisk, esq. to Miss R. Davis, daughter of the late Robert D. esq. of Ruthin, North Wales.

17th. At Ashton-under-Line, Mr. William Clark, to Miss Cowdroy, daughter of Mr. Wm. C. printer of the Manchester Gazette.

18th. Sir Walter Brisco, bart. of Crofton

Crofton co. Cumberland, to Miss Lester, eldest daughter of Mrs. Cooper, of Hammersmith.

21st. At Bolton, co. Lancaster, the rev. John Romney, of White-stock-hall, and fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, to Miss Kenal, of Kendal, in Westmoreland.

22d. Mr. William Ludlam, surgeon, of Leicester, to Miss Parker, of Newark.

25th. At Stoke Golding, co. Leicester, Mr. Toulmin, surgeon, of Stanton, to Miss Gallaway, daughter of the late rev. John Cole G. vicar of Hinckley.

27th. At Chelsea, the rev. Wm. Marsh, vicar of Basilden, Bucks, to Miss Maria Chowne Tilson, daughter of the late John T. esq. of Watlington park, co. Oxford.

29th. At St. Mary-la-Bonne, Henry Hawley, esq. eldest son of sir Henry H. bart. of Leybourne grange, co. Kent, to Catherine-Elizabath, eldest daughter of sir John Shaw, bart. of Kenward, in the same county.

At Sandhill park, co. Somerset, capt. Rich, eldest son of sir Charles R. bart. of Shirley-house, co. Hants, to the youngest daughter of sir John Lethbridge, bart.

Dec. 1st. William Forsteen, esq. of Lime-street-square, to Mrs. E. Cotton, reliet of T. J. C. esq. of Sloane-street.

Charles-Nathaniel Eyre, esq. of Ranby-hall, Notts, to Miss Pyke, of Handsworth, co. Warwick.

At Dalkeith-house, in Scotland, William Earl of Ancram, to lady Harriet Montague, youngest daughter of the D. of Buccleugh.

2d. At Great Ness, co. Salop, John Edwards, to the only daughter of the rev. George Martin, grand-

daughter of the late, and niece of the present duke of Athol.

3d. At Buxton-place, Edinburgh, capt. Hastings Dale, in the East India company's service, to Miss Patterson, daughter of col. P. assistant-quarter-master-general of his majesty's forces, and commandant of the royal invalids in the tower garrison.

At Painswick, co. Gloucester, John Little, esq. to Miss Carruthers.

4th. Matthew Wiggins, esq. of King's Langley, Herts, to Miss Morris, niece of Richard Carter, esq. of Esher, Surrey.

5th. Ebenezer-Alexander Whytt, esq. of St. Swithin's-lane, to Miss Gordon, daughter of the late capt. Peter G. of Islington.

6th. Mr. Thomas Jacques, of Bristol, attorney, to Miss Davies, daughter of the late rev. Wm. D. rector of Wootton-Basset, Wilts.

7th. At Enfield, Mr. Fisher, butcher in Newgate market, to Miss Polly Hollinsworth, only daughter of Mr. H. butcher, of that town.

At Gretna-green, lieut. Fisher, of the 3d West York militia, to Maria, 2d daughter of John Forster, esq. of Newton, near Carlisle; whose consent being obtained, they were re-married, on the following day, at St. Mary's church, Carlisle.

8th. Mr. Robert Lax, of Bristol, surgeon, to Miss Sarah Salmon.

9th. At Clifton, the rev. Richard Carrow, rector of Broxholme, co. Lincoln, to Miss Elton daughter of Wm. E. esq. merchant.

Capt. Maxwell, of the 1st foot-guards, and eldest son of sir David M. bart. to the eldest daughter of Samuel

Samuel Martin, esq. of Englefield-green, near Egham, Surrey.

10th. At Woodford, Essex, William Henry Ashurst, esq. eldest son of sir W. H. A. of Waterstock, co. Oxford, to the eldest daughter of the late Oswald Mosley, esq. of Bolesworth castle, in Cheshire, and sister of sir Oswald M. bart. M. P.

11th. At Liverpool, John Clayton, esq. of Enfield Old park, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Charles Buchanan, esq. of Burton-upon-Trent.

At Painswick, co. Gloucester, the rev. J. Williams, curate of Stroud, to Miss Eliza Cooke.

At Taunton, lieut.-col. Prevost, to Henrietta, second daughter of C. Hamilton, esq. of Hainwood, in Ireland.

13th. At Enfield, William Bond, esq. of Elm cottage, Whetstone, Middlesex, to the only daughter of Christopher Pottinger, esq. late of Thurston, Suffolk.

Edward Man, esq. of Harp-lane, Tower-street, to Georgiana, youngest daughter of Henry Desborough, esq. of the post office.

14th. Mr. Pix, of the bank of Messieurs Bellairs and son, at Stamford, co. Lincoln, to Miss Sisson.

15th. Lieut.-col. the hon. S. H. Lumley, to Miss M. H. Tahourdin, daughter of H. T. esq. of Sydenham, Kent.

16. George Caunten, esq. late of Prince of Wales's Island, to Miss Lucy Ellicot, of Collumpton, Devon, sister of capt. E. of the royal navy.

At Grantham, co. Lincoln, Mr. Beaumont Leeson, to Miss Easton, daughter of the rev. Thomas E. vicar of that place.

At Sandbach, co. Chester, Henry Watkinson Whatton, esq. of Os-

maston, co. Derby, to Miss Nancy Daniell, of Hassall-hall, co. Chester.

20th. At Beddington, Surrey, the rev. Philip Laycock Story, second son of the rev. Philip S. of Lockington-hall, co. Leicester, to Miss Lydia Baring, daughter of sir Francis B. bart. of Stratton park, Hants.

21st. Hon. and rev. Mr. Bagot, to lady Harriet Villiers, youngest daughter of the dowager countess of Jersey.

23d. Rev. H. Dawson, of Barbergh-place, Suffolk, to Frances, daughter of the late rev. Jas. Powell, rector of Church Lawford and Newnham, co. Warwick.

25th. Harry Ashby, esq. of St. Andrew's-court, Holborn, to Miss Bell, of Colebrook terrace, Islington.

At Dublin, Nicholas Kirwan, esq. of Tavistock-place, London, to Miss Kelly, of Dublin.

27th. In Dublin, William Darley esq. of York-street, to the eldest daughter of Joseph Farran, esq. of the exchequer-office in that city.

At Worcester, the rev. J. Stafford, rector of St. John's, to Eliza, only daughter of William Thompson, esq. of Henwick-hall, co. Worcester.

At Mary-la-Bonne, T. A. Harvey, esq. to Miss E. Dodd, daughter of R. D. esq. Marine painter, Parliament-street.

George Bramwell, esq. of the Inner Temple, to the eldest daughter of Thomas Bidwell, esq. chief clerk in the office of the secretary of state for foreign affairs.

29th. At Cork, the rev. Richard Dickson, rector of Kilkeedy, in the diocese of Limerick, to the eldest daughter of the late sir James Chatterton, bart. of Cork.

30th. At Camberwell, Mr. Tho. Payne,

Payne, of Upper Thames-street, to Henrietta, second daughter of William Orme, esq. of Dulwich common, Surrey.

At Bolder church, in the New Forest, Hants, John Wilson, esq. of the island of St. Christopher, to the eldest daughter of the late James Irwin, esq. of Haseleigh-hall, Essex, a director of the East India company.

At Fowey, in Cornwall, capt. Graham Eden Hamond, of the royal navy, only son of sir Andrew Snape H. bart. to the eldest daughter of John Kimber, esq. of Fowey.

At Cork, sir Thomas Roberts, bart. to Miss Walton, daughter of Thomas W. esq. of Walton court.

31st. At Edinburgh, Thomas Hodgson, esq. in the East India company's service, to Isabella, youngest daughter of the late Dr. Hamilton, physician in Edinburgh.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1806.

Jan. 21st. Thomas Hislop, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces serving in the Leeward and Windward Charibbee islands, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Trinidad.

24th. Rev. John Kearney, D. D. provost of Trinity college, Dublin, promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, *vice* Hamilton, deceased; rev. George Hall, D. D. to be provost of Trinity college, Dublin, *vice* Kearney.

25th. Hon. Lyndsay Burrell, appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Dresden.

27th. Right hon. Edward lord Ellenborough, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, appointed

chancellor of the exchequer, *vice* Pitt, deceased.

28th. Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, M. A. to be dean of the cathedral church of Chester, *vice* Cotton, deceased.

Right hon. Robert Banks, lord Hawkesbury, appointed constable of Dover castle, warden and keeper of the Cinque ports, &c. &c. *vice* Pitt, deceased.

29th. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, rear-admiral of the Red, and sir Richard-John Strachan, bart. rear-admiral of the Blue, created knights of the Bath; Thomas Masterman Hardy, esq. captain in the royal navy, created a baronet of the United Kingdom.

Feb. 1st. Henry Bentinck, esq. to be lieutenant-governor of the settlements of Demerara and Esse- quibo.

4th. Sir Henry Russell, knt. to be chief justice, and sir William Burroughs, bart. to be one of the puisne judges, of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal.

5th. Henry viscount Sidmouth, sworn keeper of the privy seal, *vice* earl of Westmoreland; right hon. Francis earl of Moira; right hon. Richard Chandos Earl Temple; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; right hon. Charles Grey; and right hon. Charles-James Fox; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council; right hon. George-John earl Spencer, K. G. and right hon. William Windham, sworn two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh; right hon. William lord Auckland (and, in

in his absence, the right hon. Richard Chandos, earl Temple,) appointed president of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, *vice* duke of Montrose and Mr. Rose.

7th. Right hon. Thomas Erskine, created baron Erskine, of Restormel, castle, co. Cornwall.

Right hon. George viscount Morpeth; right hon. John Townshend, commonly called lord John Townshend; right hon. Thomas lord Erskine; and right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council; right hon. Thomas lord Erskine, sworn lord high chancellor of Great Britain, *vice* lord Eldon; right hon. Charles-James Fox, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lord Mulgrave.

William Adam, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, and attorney-general to the prince of Wales, appointed chancellor and keeper of his royal highness's great seal, *vice* lord Erskine; and William Garrow, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, to be his royal highness's attorney-general, *vice* Adam.

Arthur viscount Gosford, created earl Gosford, of Market-hill, co. Armagh; Laurence Parsons Harman, viscount Oxmantown, earl of Ross, with remainder to his nephew, the right hon. sir Laurence Parsons, bart.; Charles viscount Somerton, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Normanton, co. Kilkenny; and Charles-William viscount Charleville, earl of Charleville, of Charleville-forest, King's county; Peter-Isaac Thellusson, esq. created baron Rendlesham, of Rendlesham.

8th. Gen. Francis earl of Moira, appointed master-general of his ma-

jesty's ordnance of the United Kingdom, *vice* earl of Chatham; right hon. gen. Richard Fitzpatrick, to be his majesty's secretary at war, *vice* Mr. W. Dundas.

11th. Right hon. William Wyndham baron Grenville *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty *vice* lord Louvaine; John-Charles Spencer, esq. commonly called viscount Althorpe *vice* lord Fitzharris; right hon. William Wickham *vice* Mr. Long; and John Courtenay, esq. *vice* marquis of Blandford; to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, appointed chancellor and undertreasurer of his majesty's exchequer, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. Charles Grey *vice* lord Barham; sir Philip Stephens, bart. *vice* admiral Gambier; Jn. Markham, esq. rear-admiral of the white *vice* sir Philip Stephens; sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. admiral of the blue *vice* admiral Patten; sir Harry Neale, bart. *vice* sir E. Nepean; William Russell, esq. commonly called lord William Russell *vice* Mr. Dickenson, jun.; and right hon. William lord Kensington, of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland *vice* lord Garlies; to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging; right hon. Gilbert baron Minto *vice* lord Castlereagh; right hon. George-John earl Spencer, K. G. *vice* lord Hawkesbury; right hon. William Windham *vice* lord Mulgrave; right hon. Charles-James Fox, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. William Wyndham baron

baron Grenville *vice* lord Glenber-
vie; right hon. Henry Petty, com-
monly called lord Henry Petty *vice*
Mr. Wallace; right hon. George
Howard, commonly called viscount
Morpeth *vice* lord Dunlo; right hon.
John Hiley Addington and right hon.
John Sullivan; to be his majesty's
commissioners for the management
of the affairs of India; right hon.
Henry earl of Caernarvon, appoint-
ed master of the horse to his ma-
jesty, *vice* the marquis of Hertford.

James Green, esq. to be his ma-
jesty's consul-general in all the do-
minions of the emperor of Morocco.

12th. Arthur Piggott, esq. his
majesty's attorney-general *vice* Mr.
Percival, and Samuel Romilly, esq.
his majesty's solicitor-general *vice*
sir Vicary Gibbs, knighted.

His grace John duke of Bedford,
right hon. Henry earl of Caernarvon
right hon. John-Joshua earl of
Carysfort, right hon. Charles-Aug-
ustus lord Ossulston, right hon. St.
Andrew lord St. John, of Bletsoe,
and right hon. William Elliott,
sworn of his majesty's most hon-
ourable privy council; John duke
of Bedford, declared lieutenant-gen-
eral and general governor of Ire-
land *vice* earl of Hardwicke; right
hon. Edward earl of Derby, sworn
chancellor of the duchy and county-
palatine of Lancaster, *vice* lord
Harrowby; right hon. Francis earl
of Moira, sworn constable of his
majesty's tower of London, and
lord-lieutenant of the tower Ham-
lets, *vice* marquis Cornwallis, dec.

15th. Right hon. Richard Brin-
sley Sheridan, appointed treasurer
of his majesty's navy, *vice* Mr. Can-
ning; John Calcraft, esq. to be
clerk of the ordnance of the united
kingdom; right hon. Robert earl of
Buckinghamshire, and right hon.

John-Joshua earl of Carysfort, K. P.
to be postmaster-general *vice* duke
of Montrose and lord C. Spencer;
right hon. Richard Chandos earl
Temple, and right hon. John Town-
shend, commonly called lord John
Townshend, to be paymaster-gene-
ral of his majesty's forces, *vice* Mr.
Rose and lord C. Somerset; right
hon. Charles Spencer, commonly
called lord Charles Spencer, to be
master and worker of the mint, *vice*
earl Bathurst; Alexander Davison,
esq. to be treasurer of the ordnance
of the united kingdom; Thomas
Anson, esq. created baron Soberton,
of Soberton, co. Southampton, and
viscount Anson, of Shugborough
and Orgrave, co. Stafford; John
Dennis, marquis of Sligo, K. P.
created baron Monteagle, of West-
port, co. Mayo; right hon. Hugh
earl of Eglinton, created baron
Ardrossan, of Ardrossan, co. Ayr;
right hon. James earl of Lauderdale
created baron Lauderdale, of Thir-
lestane, co. Berwick; right hon.
George earl of Granard, created
baron Granard, of Castle Doning-
ton, co. Leicester; John Crewe,
esq. created baron Crewe, of Crewe,
co. Chester; William Lygon, esq.
created baron Beauchamp, of
Powyke, co. Worcester; right hon.
and rev. William Nelson, D. D.
baron Nelson of the Nile, and of
Hilborough, co. Norfolk, viscount
Merton and earl Nelson of Trafal-
gar and of Merton, co. Surrey, and
his issue, permitted and authorised
to bear the honourable augmenta-
tions to their armorial ensigns which
were granted to his brother, Horatio
late viscount and baron Nelson,
with the crest, motto, supporters, &c.

18th. John M'Mahon, esq. ap-
pointed keeper of the stores, ord-
nance, and ammunition of war, of
the

the united kingdom; right hon. Robert Spencer, commonly called lord Robert Spencer, to be surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, parks, forests, and chaces, *vice* lord Glenbervie.

19th. William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden; Thomas Stevens, esq. of Kinnerton, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor, *vice* John Whittaker, esq. of Cascob.

—Right hon. William-Charles earl of Albemarle, appointed master of his majesty's buck-hounds, *vice* earl of Sandwich; right hon. St. Andrew lord St. John, appointed captain of his majesty's band of pensioners, *vice* viscount Falmouth.

25th. Charles Hastings, esq. of Willesley-hall, co. Leicester, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces; Montague Cholmeley, esq. of Easton, co. Lincoln; Thomas Sutton, esq. of Molesey, co. Surrey; and Bysshe Shelley, esq. of Castle Goring, Sussex, created baronets.

March 1st. Francis Gore, esq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada; and John Hodgson, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces, governor of the Bermuda or Somers islands.

5th. Right hon. George Ponsonby, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council; William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, sworn custos rotulorum of the soke of Peterborough; Thomas Jones, esq. of Dolgelly, to be sheriff of the county of Merioneth, *vice* Hugh Jones, sen. esq. of Dolgelly.

8th. Right hon. Nathaniel Bond, appointed advocate-general or judge-

marshal of his majesty's forces, *vice* right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. resigned; Charles Hay, esq. to be a lord of session in Scotland, *vice* David Smyth, esq. deceased; hon. Henry Erskine, advocate, to be his majesty's advocate in Scotland; John Clark, esq. advocate, to be his majesty's solicitor in Scotland; right hon. William Brabazon Ponsonby, created baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly, co. Cork; sir Francis Milman, bart. appointed physician in ordinary to his majesty, *vice* Dr. Thomas Gisborne, deceased.

12th. Right hon. sir John Newport, bart. chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

15th. George Spencer, esq. commonly called marquis of Blandford, summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Spencer, of Wormleighton, co. Warwick.

Edward Smith Godfrey, esq. of Newark, appointed clerk of the peace for the county of Nottingham; and D'Ewes Coke, esq. elected recorder of the borough of Newark; both *vice* Brough, deceased.

Mr. Richard Townend, elected town-clerk of York, *vice* his brother resigned.

Rev. Michael Dupré, B. D. appointed second master of the royal free-school at Berkhamstead, Herts, *vice* Thomas Dupré B. A. appointed head master thereof.

Rev. John Richardson, of Hems-worth, appointed master of the free grammar-school at Old Malton, co. York, *vice* Johnson, deceased.

Right hon. James Shaw, lord mayor, elected president of St. Bartholomew's hospital, London, *vice* Perchard, deceased.

Mr.

Mr. Joseph Wells, elected junior bridge-master of the city of London, *vice* Marriot deceased.

The earl of Hardwicke, elected high steward of the university of Cambridge; right hon. Charles James Fox, elected governor of the Charter-house; and earl Spencer, governor of the Trinity-house company, all *vice* Pitt, deceased.

Mr. Edward Bray, of Great Russell-street, appointed secretary to the trustees of the British Museum.

Rev. John Woodburn, M. A. to be a minor canon of Winchester cathedral, *vice* his father, resigned.

Rev. Henry Phillpotts, vicar of Bishop's Middleham, county of Durham, Stanton-le-street R. in the same county.

Rev. Henry R. Whytehead, B.A. Birdforth perpetual curacy, near Easingwold, *vice* Peirson, deceased.

Rev. E. Gibbs Walford, M. A. Shotteswell V. county of Warwick.

Rev. William Deighton, B. A. Winburgh with Westfield R. Norfolk, *vice* Thomas, resigned.

Rev. Thomas Williams, to be chaplain of Languard fort, county of Essex, *vice* Browne, resigned.

Rev. Edward Seagrave, B. A. Westcote-Barton R. in the diocese of Oxford, *vice* his father deceased.

Rev. John Yeatman, M. A. vicar of East Brent, to a prebendal-stall in the cathedral church of St. Andrew's, in Wells, *vice* Dumaesq, deceased.

Rev. Livingston Booth, Gwenap V. county of Cornwall, *vice* Radford, deceased.

Rev. C. Francis, to the prebend of Lyme and Holstock, in Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Holmes, deceased.

Rev. W. Wilton, M. A. rector of South Stoke, Sussex, Kirdford V. in the same county.

25th. Right hon. George Ponsonby, appointed chancellor and keeper of the great seal of Ireland.

28th. Right hon. William Elliott, appointed by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland his chief secretary.

29th. Lieutenant-general John lord Hutchinson, K. B. appointed governor of Londonderry and Culmore, in Ireland, *vice* Hale, dec.

April 1st. Right hon. Charles viscount Newark, created earl of Manvers.—Right honourable Horatio Baron Walpole, created earl of Orford, county of Suffolk.—Right honourable Charles lord Grey, of Howick, K. B. and general of his majesty's forces, created viscount Howick, county of Northumberland, and earl Grey.—Joseph Scott, esq. of Great Barr, county of Stafford; Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, esq. of Lee and Carnwath; John Morris, esq. of Clasemont, county of Glamorgan; Alexander Ramsay, esq. of Balmain, county of Kincardine; and John Lubbock, esq. of Lamas, county of Norfolk, created baronets.

21st. Right honourable Richard Healy, earl of Donoughmore, and the right honourable Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, appointed post-masters general in Ireland.

22d. The marquis of Bute, the earl of Eglinton, the earl of Cassilis, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Breadalbane, and the earl of Moira; William Adam, esq. counsellor for the duchy of Cornwall; Adam Gillies, esq. advocate for the principality of Scotland; and D. Cathcart, esq. solicitor for the principality of Scotland; appointed (by the prince of Wales) state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

May 1st. The earl of Stair, appointed.

pointed by the prince of Wales) one of his state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

7th. Right honourable Richard Hely, earl of Donoughmore, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

21st. Charles Montague Ormsby, esq. knighted.

30th. Cornelius Baron Lismore, created viscount Lismore, of Shalibally, county of Tipperary; and Robert Edward Baron Erris, created viscount Lorton, of Boyle, county of Roscommon.

31st. His royal highness William Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. from the 6th foot, to be colonel of the 3d regiment of foot guards, *vice* the duke of Argyle deceased.

June 11th. Busick Harwood, esq. M. D. of Emanuel college, Cambridge, professor of anatomy in that university, and of medicine in Downing college, knighted.

18th. Right honourable Alexander Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Robert Hall, esq. B. C. L. of Wadham college, Oxford, elected superior bedel in divinity, *vice* Matthews, deceased; and George Valentine Cox, B. A. of New college, elected superior bedel of law in that university.

16th. William Hulme Bodley, of Queen's college, James Tattersall and Richard Simmons, of Christ Church, masters of arts, were admitted batchelors of physic in the university of Oxford.

Mr. Tallents, elected town-clerk, of Newark, Notts, *vice* Godfrey, resigned.

Rev. E. Crosse, elected master of the free grammar-school at Colchester, *vice* Hewett, resigned.

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Mr. William Wright, elected (by the court of aldermen of London) master of the free grammar-school at Market Harborough, county of Leicester.

Mr. John Drury, of Lincoln, printer and stationer, (at the recommendation of the earl of Buckinghamshire) appointed post-master of that city.

William Saffery, esq. elected registrar and auditor of the Bedford level corporation, *vice* Cole, dec.

Professor Porson, of Cambridge, appointed resident librarian to the New London Institution.

Mr. Richard Teasdale, of Bishopsgate-street, elected clerk to the worshipful company of merchant-tailors, London, *vice* Davis, deceased.

Rev. Thomas Sampson, D. D. Groton R. county of Suffolk.

Rev. Robert Wood, M. A. Cropwell Bishop living, county of Nottingham.

Rev. John Mounsey, B. A. Aulthorpe and Withern RR. county of Lincoln.

Rev. Peploe William Ward, Winsten V. county of Suffolk.

Rev. Thomas Moore, Covington R. county of Huntingdon, *vice* Sanderson, deceased.

Rev. Anthony Lister, M. A. Gargrave V. in Craven, *vice* Croft, deceased.

Rev. William Lade, M. A. Goodnestone R. and Graveney V. (consolidated) Kent, *vice* Stephens, deceased.

Rev. Townley Clarkson, M. A. Swavesey V. county of Cambridge.

Rev. S. Hart, Alternon V. county of Cornwall, *vice* Booth, resigned.

Rev. Duke Yonge, jun. Antony V. county of Cornwall, *vice* Stackhouse, resigned.

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Rev.

Rev. John Watson, M. A. Bradfield and Mistley cum Maningtree R. Essex, *vice* Thompson, dec.

Rev. George Owen, Cambridge, M. A. minister of Twickenham chapel, Middlesex, and prebendary of Ely, Middlesex, archdeaconry, *vice* Eaton, deceased.

Rev. John Barlow Scale, D. D. Anstye R. Herts.

Rev. William Pochin, B. A. Edwardston V. county of Suffolk.

Rev. John Moir, presented by the lord chancellor to Ebrington V. county of Gloucester, and appointed one of his lordship's domestic chaplains. He is well known by his various and valuable literary works; by means of which, and the curacy of St. Dionis Backchurch, London, he has brought up a family of eleven children with credit and respect, and he is now 70 years old.

Rev. Alexander John Scott, of St. John's college, Cambridge, chaplain to the late lord viscount Nelson, admitted D. D. by royal mandate.

Rev. H. Bathurst, LL.B. Ashby and Obey, with Thirne, R. county of Norfolk; *vice* Wordsworth, deceased.

Rev. J. Colman, Swasfield R. and Rev. Francis Edward Arden, Paston V. both county of Norfolk, and both *vice* Meux, deceased.

Rev. J. Jefferson, M. A. vicar of Grettingham, Suffolk, Weeley R. Essex.

Rev. William Mairis, B. A. St. Peter R. Wallingford, Berks, *vice* Bethel, deceased.

Rev. John Brewster, vicar of Stockton, Redmarshal R. county of Durham. His late parishioners, the inhabitants of Stockton, on his taking leave of them, presented him

with a cup, value 100 guineas, as a token of their esteem for his character and labours.

Rev. D. Twining, M. A. Stilton R. county of Huntingdon.

Rev. Nathaniel Humfrey, Thorpe Mandeville R. county of Northampton.

Rev. Vere Isham, Cottesbrook, R. county of Northampton.

Rev. R. Hodges, M. A. Embleton V. county of Northumberland.

Rev. John Bristow, B. D. Cotgrave R. county of Nottingham, with St. Mary V. Nottingham; rev. Dr. Edward Hay Drummond, Ramp-ton prebend, in Southwell collegiate church; and the rev. William Hamerton, Tong perpetual curacy, near Leeds, county of York; all *vice* Haines, deceased.

Rev. J. Carter, M. A. F. A. S. head-master of Lincoln grammar-school, Upton V. county of Lincoln.

Rev. William Tyler, rector of Bratoft, county of Lincoln, Ashby R. near Spilsby, in the same county, *vice* Pearson, deceased.

Rev. C. B. Massingberd, Kettlethorpe R. county of Lincoln, *vice* Craster, deceased.

Rev. William Wood, B. D. Lawford R. Essex, *vice* Whitmore, deceased.

Rev. M. D'Oyley, rector of Buxted, and vicar of Pevensey, Sussex, Lewes archdeaconry; the bishop of Bristol, elected canon-residentary of Chichester cathedral; and the rev. the dean, custos of St. Mary's hospital, Chichester; all *vice* Courtail, deceased.

Rev. J. Jefferson, M. A. vicar of Grettingham, Suffolk, to hold Weeley R. county of Essex.

Rev. John Bristow, B. D. to hold Cotgrave

Cotgrave R. county of Nottingham, with St. Mary V. in the town of Nottingham.

Aug. 2d. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, K. B. and rear-admiral of the red, in consideration of his distinguished services on various and important occasions, and particularly in the glorious and decisive victory off Cape Trafalgar, permitted by his majesty to bear certain honourable augmentations to his armorial ensigns.

20th. Right hon. Henry Richard Lord Holland, and right hon. William lord Auckland, appointed joint commissioners and plenipotentiaries for arranging and finally settling the several matters in discussion between his majesty's government and the government of the United States, with James Monroe, and William Pinkney, esqrs. the commissioners appointed for similar purposes on the part of the said United States; and the hon. William Frederick Elliot Eden, and John Allen, esq. to be secretary and assistant secretary to the said commission.

27th. Right hon. Henry Richard lord Holland; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

30th. Nathan Egerton Garrick, esq. appointed lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, *vice* Philip John Ducarel, esq. resigned.—Philip Lake Godsal, esq. to be lieutenant of the honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Roger Elliot Roberts, resigned.

Sept. 13th. Major-general sir John Stuart, knight, created a knight of the Bath.—Robert Anstruther, esq. appointed conjunct clerk to the bills in the office of his majesty's registers and rolls in Scotland, *vice* sir Robert Anstruther, bart. deceased.

17th. Stephen Sharp, esq. his majesty's consul-general in Russia, knighted.

23d. Major-general sir John Stewart, K. B. permitted to accept the title of Count of Maida, in Calabria, conferred upon him by Ferdinand the Fourth, king of the Two Sicilies.

24th. Right hon. Charles Grey, commonly called lord viscount Howick, appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* Mr. Fox, deceased; and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

27th. Right honourable Thomas Grenville, appointed first lord commissioner of the admiralty, *vice* right honourable lord viscount Howick.

30th. Right honourable George Tierney, appointed first commissioner for the management of the affairs of India, *vice* right hon. Thomas Grenville.

Oct. 6th. The right hon. Charlotte Baroness De Ross, wife of the right honourable Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, and her issue, authorized, out of respect to the ancient family in which the said barony originated, to assume the surname of De Ross, in addition to that of Fitzgerald, and bear the arms of De Ross, in addition to their paternal arms respectively.

8th. Henry viscount Sidmouth, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden, resigned.

10th. William Mackworth Praed, serjeant at law, sir Charles William Rouse Broughton, bart. Francis Percival Elliot, Richard Dawkins, Charles Moore, John Sargent, John Anstey, John Whishow, Philip Deare, and Lewis Jenkins, esqrs.

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appointed

appointed commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

11th. Horatio Nelson Thompson, an infant, authorized to assume and use the surname of Nelson only, in compliance with an injunction contained in a codicil annexed to the last will and testament of the late lord viscount Nelson.

Gilbert Blane, of Cleveland-row, M. D. F. R. S. appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his physicians in ordinary, *vice* Dr. Turton, deceased; and William Fraser, of Lower Grosvenor-street, M. D. and William Saunders, of Russel-square, M. D. to be his royal highness's physicians extraordinary.

14th. Edward Dawson, esq. appointed standard bearer to his majesty's honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Frederick, resigned.

15th. Right hon. Henry Richard lord Holland, sworn keeper of the privy seal.

Right rev. William Cleaver, D.D. bishop of Bangor, recommended by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of St. Asaph, *vice* Dr. Horsley, deceased.—Augusta Murray, (commonly called the right hon. lady Augusta Murray) second daughter of John earl of Dunmore, autho-

rized, out of respect to her descent, from the family of De Ameland, to take and use the surname of De Ameland, instead of her present surname of Murray.

24th. Right honourable Charles Bathurst, appointed master and worker of the mint.

25th. Rev. John Martin, presented to the church and parish of Kirkaldy, in the presbytery of Kirkaldy, and county of Fife, *vice* rev. Dr. Thomas Freeling, promoted to the church and parish of lady Yester, in Edinburgh.

Thomas Francis Fremantle, and William Frankland, esqrs. appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty, *vice* sir Philip Stephens, and sir Charles Pole, resigned; the former on a pension*, the latter to have a command in the Channel fleet.

29th. Sir George Hilario Barlow, bart. appointed one of the knights companions of the Order of the Bath.

Sir Philip Francis, invested with the Order of the Bath.

Nov. 4th. Right hon. Alexander Hamilton (commonly called marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale) summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron of Dutton, county

* Mr. T. Grenville, first lord of the admiralty, laid before his majesty, at the levee, on Friday, October 24, the resignation of sir Philip Stephens, as a lord of the admiralty, who retires on account of old age. He likewise laid before his majesty a memorial from sir Philip, praying for a pension. It stated that he was a clerk in the Navy Office several years in the reign of George II. from which he was removed, in 1751, to be the senior clerk of the Admiralty; in which situation he continued till 1759, when he was appointed second secretary, under Mr. Cleveland; and upon his death, in 1763, he was appointed sole secretary, which situation he held twenty years. In 1795 he was made one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty; and, in the whole, had been employed 61 years in the public service; and, being now 83 years of age, he found himself too infirm to execute the duties of his office with satisfaction to himself. His majesty, under these peculiar circumstances, was pleased to order him a pension of 1500*l.* per annum net. This is the first instance of a lord of the admiralty being allowed a pension upon retiring from office.

county of Chester.—Right hon. Archibald earl of Cassilis, created baron Ailsa, of Ailsa, county of Ayr.—Right hon. John earl of Breadalbane, created baron Breadalbane, of Taymouth-castle, county of Perth.

7th. Right hon. and rev. William Nelson, D. D. baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, county of Norfolk, viscount Merton, and earl Nelson of Trafalgar, and of Merton, county of Surrey, permitted to succeed to the title of duke of Bronte, in the kingdom of Farther Sicily, granted by his Sicilian majesty to his late brother Horatio viscount and baron Nelson, duke of Bronte, &c. &c. deceased.

11th. William Frazer, esq. of Leadclune, county of Inverness, created a baronet; also George Nugent, esq. of Waddesdon, county of Bucks, lieutenant general of his majesty's forces; sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, knight, of Hartsbourne, manor-place, county of Herts, captain in the royal navy, and comptroller of the navy; sir Edward Berry, knight, of Catton, county of Norfolk, captain in the royal navy; James Sibbald, esq. of Sittwood-park, county of Berks, with remainder to his nephew, David Scott, esq. of Dunninald, county of Forfar; and Hugh Bateman, esq. of Hartington-hall, county of Derby, with remainders severally to the first of every other son and sons successively, of Catherine Juliana Bateman, eldest daughter of the said Hugh Bateman, esq. and of Anne Amelia Bateman, another of his daughters.

15th. Right hon. Alan lord Gardner, created baron Gardner, of Uttoxeter, county of Stafford.

19th. Right hon. sir John Au-

struther, bart. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

25th. Dugald Stewart, esq. appointed his majesty's writer, printer, and publisher, of the Edinburgh Gazette.

Dec. 13th. Right rev. John Randolph, D. D. bishop of Oxford, recommended by *conge d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Bangor, *vice* Dr. Cleaver, translated to the see of St. Asaph.

James Kempthorn, esq. Samson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Henry Frankland, esq. Arthur Phillip, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knight, and sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

20th. Rev. Henry Fitzroy, commonly called lord Henry Fitzroy, M. A. to be a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter Westminster, *vice* the rev. sir Richard Cope, bart. D. D. deceased.—Rev. Henry William Champneys, M. A. presented to the vicarage of Welton, county of York, *vice* rev. Nicholas Simon, resigned.

Rev. Mr. Ramsden, fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, appointed, by the bishop of Landaff, his deputy professor of divinity in that university, *vice* Dr. Barlow Seale, resigned.

Rev. James Landon, B. D. of Oriel college, Oxford, appointed keeper of the statutes, &c. belonging to that university.

Rev. H. Harvey Baber, vice principal of St. Mary-hall, Oxford, appointed extra assistant librarian of the British Museum.

Mr. G. C. Grojan, elected clerk of the court of requests for the city of Westminster, *vice* his father deceased.

George Cox, B. A. appointed master of New College school, Oxford, *vice* the rev. John Slatter resigned.

William Elias Taunton, esq. deputy recorder of Oxford, elected recorder thereof, *vice* the right hon. Charles Abbot, speaker of the house of commons, resigned.

Rev. Mr. Hume, canon-residentary of Salisbury cathedral, appointed treasurer thereof, *vice* Dods-worth, deceased.

Rev. John Wooll, master of Midhurst school, elected head master of Rugby school.

Rev. B. Lumley, Dalby R. county of York, *vice* Thomas Lumley, deceased.

Rev. W. Gilpin, Church-Pulverbach R. county of Salop.

Rev. Robert Porten Beachcroft, M. A. Blunham R. county of Bedford, *vice* Lawry, deceased.

Rev. George Swayne, vicar of Pucklechurch, county of Gloucester, Dirham R. in the same county.

Rev. W. Mavor, LL.D. vicar of Hurley, Berks, Stonesfield R. county of Oxford.

Rev. James Thomas Hand, rector of Cheveley, Ousden R. county of Suffolk, *vice* Adams, deceased.

Rev. Benjamin Richardson, Eg-ton and Glaisdale perpetual curacies, county of York, *vice* Robinson deceased.

Rev. J. M. George Lefroy, Compton R. Surrey, with Ashe R. Hants.

Rev. Whitfield Curties, M. A. Burwash R. county of Sussex.

Rev. Thomas Marshall, M. A. Osmotherley V. in the diocese of York.

Rev. Edward Hulton, vicar of Nether Wallop, Hants, Mundesley and Gaywood RR. Norfolk.

Rev. Mr. Boycatt, rector of Wheatacre-Burgh, Beeston St. Andrew R. in the diocese of Norwich.

Rev. C. H. Wollaston, M. A. East Dereham V. Norfolk.

Rev. John Luxmoore, D. D. dean of Gloucester, rector of St. George the Martyr, Queen-square, &c. St. Andrew R. on Holborn-hill, *vice* Barton, deceased.

Rev. John Leigh Bennet, M. A. Lechlade V. county of Gloucester.

Rev. W. Hocken, jun. M. A. rector of St. Mewan, county of Cornwall, Lantagloss by Fowey V. in the same county.

Rev. George Birch, curate of Wybunbury, near Nantwich, in Cheshire, Great Woolstone R. Bucks.

Rev. John Dymoke, rector of Scrivelsby, county of Lincoln, Sancte Crucis prebend, in Lincoln cathedral, *vice* Craster, deceased.

Rev. B. Pope, B. A. appointed chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford.

Rev. J. Vye, B. D. fellow of Exeter college, Oxford, Wotton V. Notts, *pro tempore*, until the contest between him and the rev. John Lea Heyes, another fellow of that college, in regard to their respective right to the living, is determined by the lord chancellor.

Rev. John Lea Heyes, B. D. Merton V. county of Oxford, *vice* Hart, resigned.

Rev. Thomas Henry Cave Orme, S. C. L. of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, South Scarle V. near Newark, Notts.

Rev. Thomas Jee, lecturer of Wethersfield, Essex, Thaxted V. in the same county, *vice* Maynard, deceased.

Rev. Archdeacon Young, of Swaffham, Norfolk, brother to the countess Nelson, presented by earl Nelson,

Nelson, to Hilborough R. Norfolk, in the gift of the Nelson family.

Rev. John Mauby, M. A. Lancaster V. *vice* White, dec.

Rev. James Stuart, Mackenzie, M. A. Quiddenham R. Norfolk.

Rev. Evelyn Levett Sutton, Hal-den R. in Kent. and St. Alphage and St. Mary Northgate R. in Canter-bury.

Rev. J. Constantine, Cooke, Swilland V. co. Suffolk.

Rev. David Jones, Kilgerran R. co. Pembroke.

Rev. Charles-Robert Marshall, B. D. Exning V. near Newmarket.

Rev. Henry Bate Dudley, chan-cellor of the cathedral of Ferns, &c. Killglass R. *vice* Warburton, re-signed.

Hon. and Rev. Thomas De Grey, second son of lord Walsingham, Fawley R. Hants, *vice* Drummond, deceased.

Rev. John Martin Butt, M. A. Oddingley R. co. Worcester, *vice* Parker, deceased.

Rev. Montague Pennington, M. A. Northborne cum Shoulden V. co. Kent, *vice* Barker deceased.

Rev. Frederick Valentine Le Grice, Penzance, perpetual curacy, Cornwall, *vice* Corryngton, re-signed.

Rev. John Norcross, M. A. Sax-thorpe V. co. Norfolk.

Rev. G. Boldero, B. A. Ixworth curacy, co. Norfolk.

Rev. J. Watson, M. A. rector of Mistley, Radwinter V. Essex.

Rev. William Preston, jun. Bul-mer R. and Whenby V. co. York.

Rev. Wm. Ralfe, Maulden R. co. Bedford.

Rev. H. Franklin, B. A. Barford R. Norfolk.

Rev. Cooper Willyams, M. A. of Exning, to hold Kingston R. with

Stourmouth R. both co. Kent; the former in the patronage of Samuel Egerton Bridges, esq. of Denton court; and the latter in that of the bishop of Rochester; in exchange for the living of Hardress, to which he had been previously presented by lord chancellor Eldon.

Rev. Wm. Hett, M. A. preben-dary of Lincoln, to hold Mavis-Enderby R. with Thorpe-on-the-Hill R. both co. Lincoln.

Rev. W. Scott, to hold Brough-ton R. co. Oxford, with Willersley R. co. Gloucester.

Rev. T. Welles, D. D. to hold Badgworth living (and the chapel of Shurdington annexed,) with Prest-bury V. co. Gloucester.

Rev. John Hughes, M. A. to hold North Tidworth R. co. Wilts, with Fifield R. co. Southampton.

Rev. H. Quartley, M. A. to hold Wicken R. co. Northampton, with Woolverton V. co. Bucks.

DEATHS in the Year 1806.

Jan. 1st. This morning a meet-ing took place, in a piece of ground in the parish of Basford, between ensign Browne, of the 36th foot, and lieut. Butler, of the 83d, on the recruiting service at Nottingham. The parties fired together, by signal, when, unfortunately, ensign Browne was shot through the heart, and in-stantly expired, without uttering a word. Lieut. Butler and the se-conds immediately withdrew. The body of the deceased was taken to Basford church, by some persons who were attracted to the spot by the report of the pistols; and a ver-dict of wilful murder was returned by the coroner's jury who sat upon it. Ensign Browne was a promising

young officer, of a very respectable family in Ireland, and had only just attained his 17th year. He and Lieut. Butler belonged lately to the same regiment; but, from a serious disagreement which took place between them, the commander in chief ordered them to be placed in different corps. On their meeting at Nottingham, however, the embers of animosity rekindled, and the unhappy result has proved the loss to society of a valuable and much-respected young member.

Burnt to death, Mrs. Gooch, of Sloane-square, mother to the lady of the bishop of Bath and Wells.

2d. At Cawthorne, near Barnsley, in her 18th year, Martha Mellor, who was shot by Samuel Ibbotson, a boy 12 years old. Having gone into the house where the girl was, he took up a gun, but was desired to lay it down immediately, which he did; but shortly afterwards took it up again, and, seeing the girl in another room, said he would shoot her, which, shocking to relate! he immediately did. Verdict, manslaughter. He was committed to York castle.

At Drogheda, in Ireland, Miss Brúnton, of Dublin, a handsome young lady; who was on a visit to capt. Gooden, of the Sligo militia. She got up in her sleep, went to the window of her bed-room, which was two stories high, threw up the sash, fell into the street, and was almost immediately taken up lifeless. Before she reached the ground, she fell on the top of a shop-window under her room, and then screamed so violently as to awaken capt. Gooden. It is conjectured that at that moment she awoke, and recovered her senses only to know that she was then about to lose her life.

3d. In Stanhope-street, Mayfair, after a short illness, lady Van-deput, widow of sir George V. who died in 1781, and who was famous for his contest for Westminster in 1748.

At a farm-house in the parish of St Dogmell, co. Pembroke, Joshua Lewis, farmer. A quarrel arose between him and John Owens, master of a trading vessel from Cardigan, respecting a young woman; blows followed; and Lewis was wounded with a knife in six different parts of his body, which shortly occasioned his death.

4th. At Clifton, near Bristol, Mrs. Barbara Turville, wife of Francis Fortescue T. esq. of Husband Bosworth-hall, co. Leicester. She was daughter of Charles Talbot (brother to George the last earl of Shaftesbury,) and was married April 9, 1780.

Rev. Matthew Thompson, rector of Bradfield and Mistley, Essex, and in the commission of the peace for that county. He was invited, with a party, to dine with col. Rigby, at Mistley; when the company were informed that dinner was ready, Mr. Thompson, in the act of rising to go into the dining-room, fell down, and expired immediately, leaving a wife and eleven children.

Drowned, alongside the Victory, at Chatham, while endeavouring to get hold of a lighter, a serjeant of marines, belonging to that ship, and a waterman, named Jn. Eldon. The serjeant missed his hold, and caught the waterman by the collar; but the tide running very strong, they both disappeared before assistance could arrive.

Aged 65, Mr. Samuel Patch, formerly judge-advocate at Jamaica, but who had for some time resided at

at Stamford, co. Lincoln, under the pressure of the most indigent circumstances. He has left an unprotected idiot daughter, whose only inheritance is the poor-house and the beneficence of her fellow-creatures.

At his seat at Benham, near Newbury, Berks, after an illness of only three days, his serene highness Christian-Frederick Charles - Alexander, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, and Bayreuth, duke of Prussia, count of Sagn, &c. &c. born February 24th 1736. He was nearly allied to our present royal family, his highness's grandmother, by his mother's side, having been a princess of England, and his great aunt was queen Caroline, wife to George the second. His mother was sister to Frederick II. of Prussia. His highness was married, first, to a princess of the house of Saxe-Cobourg, and secondly, in 1791, to Elizabeth, widow of the late lord Craven, and daughter of the late, and sister of the present, earl of Berkeley, who survives him, and by neither of whom had he any issue. He chose rather to live like a private gentleman in England than to rule as an absolute prince in Germany. Shortly after his marriage with lady Craven he sold his principality, with all its territory, revenue, and inhabitants, to the king of Prussia. Having thus relinquished all his power, importance, and rank, he came and spent the rest of his life in a country where he could have but a mere nominal title, without any one civil or political privilege. His goodness of heart and extreme affability endeared him to all ranks of people who knew him, either as a sovereign or an individual. His remains were interred, in a sumptuous and splendid

manner, the procession being very numerous and grand, in the church of Speen, near Newbury. The Margravine, so well known, acquires a personal property of near 150,000*l.* sterling by the death of the margrave.

7th. At his chambers in Lincoln's-inn, aged 68, Bennet Combe, esq. This singular man, though possessed of large property, led a single life at his chambers in Lincoln's-inn, with two servants, and was a constant frequenter of Will's coffee-house, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

8th. At his house at Canonbury, Islington, Robert Wilkinson, esq. formerly partner in the house of Garsed, Meyrick, and Garsed, of Goldsmith-street, Wood-street, Cheapside, ribbon weavers. He married the only surviving daughter of the elder (John) Garsed, who died at Canonbury in 1786; leaving the bulk of his considerable fortune between her and her mother, an ample share of which Mr. W. acquired by this marriage. On the death of both the Garseds, he took into partnership Mr. Dowell, who married the eldest daughter of the late Mr. Longman, bookseller, of Paternoster-row, to whom he has left the stock and a handsome legacy. To the Foundling-hospital, of which he was a governor, 500*l.* to the humane society 100*l.*; to the philanthropic society 100*l.*; to the charity-schools of Islington 50*l.*; to the widow of a brother who died in the East Indies 200*l.* per annum; to two nieces of Mr. Garsed 1000*l.* each; and legacies to the same or half the amount to sundry persons; and the residue to James Garsed and Joseph Green, youngest son of his partner, Mr. Green, of Guildford-street, who agreeably to his will, has taken
the

the name of Wilkinson. He possessed property to the amount of 150,000*l*.

In Holborn, where he had resided upwards of 40 years, aged 65, Mr. Cornelius Paas, a native of Germany, and engraver to his majesty.

During the funeral procession of lord Nelson's remains on the river, a lady of the name of Bayne, related to the late capt. William Bayne, who lost his life in the West Indies under lord Rodney, was so affected at the scene, that she fell into hystericks, and died in a few minutes.

At Gate-house, Edinburgh; aged 73, James Davitts, esq. one of the oldest inhabitants thereof. He ordered a cheese, which he had kept for 40 years, to be broken on the day of his funeral.

9th. Carried out of St. Paul's, in consequence of having had an apoplectic fit, capt. Richard Whitford, who had been many years in the Jamaica trade; and, though medical assistance was immediately obtained, both in the cathedral and after he had been conveyed home to his apartments in Great Queen-street, he died about 12 o'clock at night.

10th. A man named Tattersal, well known (by the appellation of the doctor) to the visitors of Bright-helmstone, where he had long been one of the principal male-bathers, fell over the Groyne, and was drowned, while endeavouring to fill a bucket with salt water.

At Ipswich, aged 73, universally respected, Mrs. Anne Mason. She was the only daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Morris, of Melton Mowbray, co. Leicester, where she was born in January, 1733; married, at Hampstead, in 1777 (after a court-

ship of more than a quarter of a century,) to William Mason, of Garthorpe, gent. who died, without issue, April 14, 1779.

11th. Mr. Houghton, shoemaker, in the butter-market at Bury St. Edmund's. He was in apparent good health, chopping a faggot, the same afternoon, when he accidentally cut one of his fingers, and, on his wife's expressing a wish to dress it, he said, "Never mind, my dear; what is this wound compared to lord Nelson's?" and immediately fell down in an apoplectic fit, from which he never recovered to utter another sentence.

12th. At Cockermouth, aged 61 years, 51 of which he had been in the occupation of a huntsman, Mr. George Topping.

At Cracomb-house, in his 66th year, George Perrott, esq. in the commission of the peace for the county of Worcester, formerly in the civil service of the East India company at Bombay, and nephew of the late hon. George Perrott, one of the barons of the exchequer.

At Hackney, where he had been long confined in a state of derangement, aged 75, sir Wolstan Dixie, bart. of Bosworth, co. Leicester, fifth baronet of that family, who were thus rewarded for the loyalty of sir Wolstan in the civil wars, when he gave his majesty, among the gentry of the county, 1835*l*. for which he had a warrant for a baronet's patent, not taken out till after the restoration. He died in 1682, aged 80, and was succeeded by his eldest son, sir Beaumont; he by his eldest son, sir Wolstan; and he by his eldest son of the same name, who died in 1766, leaving his only son and namesake, the subject of this article, born 1737.

15th. In

15th. In Bond-street, Miss Elizabeth Butler, a young woman of respectability, who resided at Somers-town. She had been at the house of a friend in Hamilton-street, Piccadilly, where she dined and drank tea, and, on her return home, was observed by a gentleman from Harrow leaning against a post, apparently very ill, at the corner of Burlington Garden. Mr. Tibbs, a chemist in Bond-street, was applied to for assistance, but, on examination, she appeared quite dead, having burst a blood-vessel.

16th. At Lisbon, where he went for the recovery of his health, sir John Hales, bart. of Coventry, who succeeded his father, sir Christopher, in 1777; by whose death the title is extinct.

17th. Aged 80, Elizabeth Searle, of Peterborough, widow. In a fit of insanity she got out of her chamber-window and fell into the street, whereby she received so much injury as to cause her death in a few hours.

At Fern-house, Wilts, the seat of Thomas Grove, esq. Miss Mary-Anne Grove, his fourth daughter, a fine young lady, aged 13. On the 15th, by some accident, her muslin dress caught fire, when there was no one in the apartment with her except a younger sister, who was incapable of assisting her. Terrified by her alarming situation, Miss G. ran out of the house; but, unfortunately, no one was at that instant on the spot; and when she again entered, and flew to an apartment in which Mr. Bankes of Salisbury was on business, she was entirely enveloped in flames; and though Mr. B. used every exertion, with the assistance of two servants, to extinguish them, and were much burnt,

their efforts were unavailing, till her cloaths were nearly consumed. She bore her sufferings with fortitude and resignation till this morning; when she was happily released from them by death.

20th. Mr. Davis of the bank of Messrs. Miles, Vaughan, and co. of Bristol.

21st. In Chatham-place, in his 77th year, Peter Perchard, esq. an ancient member of the company of goldsmiths. He was a native of Guernsey; and coming early in life to London, under the patronage of a wealthy uncle, he engaged in the respectable profession of money-agent for the inhabitants of that island. He was many years in the common council for the ward of Candlewick; and, in 1798, was unanimously elected their alderman, after having served the office of sheriff in 1793. He filled the office of lord mayor last year, with great credit to himself and satisfaction to his fellow-citizens.

At Lichfield, in an advanced age, Andrew Newton, esq. brother of the late learned and pious Dr. Thomas Newton, bishop of Bristol. The property of this gentleman, which was considerable, was employed, to a liberal extent, in private acts of charity and beneficence, known only to the immediate objects of his kindness. In a more public and more lasting point of view, the noble institution which he founded some years ago at Lichfield, for the widows of clergymen, and for their unmarried daughters above the age of 50, will sufficiently distinguish his name and perpetuate his memory. He gave, for the purpose above-mentioned, the sum of 20,000*l.* during his life!

23d. At his house at Putney, Surrey

Surrey, in his 47th year, the right hon. William Pitt, first lord of the treasury; chancellor of the exchequer, a lord of trade and plantations, a commissioner for the affairs of India, constable of Dover castle, warden, keeper, and admiral of the cinque ports, master of the Trinity-house, governor of the Charter-house, high steward of, and M.P. for, the university of Cambridge, and F.R.S. He was of a delicate constitution, and had long been complaining. The illness which he had in the summer of 1802 shook him very much; and he does not appear to have afterwards effectually recovered from it; and that illness which was the immediate cause of his death originated in an extreme debility, brought on by excessive anxiety and unwearied attention to business. By this debility his whole nervous system was so deranged that, for weeks together, he was unable to sleep; and this privation of rest augmented the cause, so as to lead to a general breaking-up of his constitution. An hereditary gout completed the whole, producing, according to its ordinary effect on a debilitated system, water in the chest, and such a weakness of stomach that he could neither admit nor retain sustenance. The unfortunate issue of the war on the continent, no doubt, contributed largely to hasten his death; and the failure of a plan for the deliverance of Europe, which his genius had formed and matured, must have been to him a source of great anxiety and mortification. By a solemn vote of the house of commons (on the 27th instant,) he had a public funeral and monument in Westminster Abbey, at the national expence.

26th. At Paris, in her 70th year, Maria-Theresa Reboul, wife of Vieu, the senator and painter. She was received a member of the former academy of painting in 1757. Most of her works, which are highly esteemed, are in the cabinet of the emperor of Russia.

At Autun, aged 63, M. de Fontanges, archbishop of Autun, and formerly archbishop of Toulon.

The infant son of Mr. Bubb, of Martley court co. Gloucester, a remarkably fine child, about three years old. He fell a victim to the negligence of the servant-maid, who had put him in the window of an upper room, through the casement of which he fell into the court below, and was so dreadfully bruised that he almost instantly expired.

29th. In the parish of Cottachy, in Scotland, James Gordon, a native of the north of Scotland, who had lived by begging for a number of years. On searching his house, there were found 18*l.* sterling in silver, and 1*l.* sterling in copper coin, wrapped up in old stockings, and hid in holes in the wall.

30th. At his house in Aldersgate-street, aged 69, Thomas Skinner, esq. alderman of Queenhithe ward, to which office he was elected in 1785, on the decease of alderman Bates, who held the office for a short period after the death of alderman Bull. This very respectable citizen was born at Brentford, Jan. 14, 1737; received his education at Ealing, and served an apprenticeship to Mr. Williams, an upholster in Newgate-street. He used to seem happy when relating from what a small beginning he raised himself, by an honourable course of industry, to the splendid fortune of which he

he died possessed. In 1757 he began business for himself in Aldersgate-street, and married an amiable woman, Miss White, daughter of a gentleman in extensive business. Mr. S. served the office of sheriff in 1784, the commencement of Mr. Pitt's career. On that occasion, though the whig principles of Mr. Skinner were perfectly well known, and that his intimate friend Mr. Byng, candidate for the county, and Mr. Sawbridge for the city, were most violently opposed, Mr. Skinner conducted himself as sheriff with such clear integrity as to draw from the enemies of his known opinions the most unequivocal approbation. He was elected lord mayor at Michaelmas 1794, and went through the mayoralty with much honour and reputation. Though warmly attached to the party at that time in opposition, he never suffered his political sentiments to interfere in the smallest degree with his duty as a magistrate, and purposely refrained from all attendance on public meetings connected with party during his mayoralty. This also was a memorable year, on account of the state trials, when the ministry, from their apprehension of riots, were most earnest with the lord mayor to permit a body of regular troops into the city to assist the police. Mr. Skinner positively refused, and shewed them that a vigilant and constitutional first magistrate of the city could, in the most difficult times, preserve its peace by the civil power alone; and declared, that, while he sat in the chair, no military force should be employed. He fulfilled his promise of keeping the peace effectually. As a magistrate, he has been indefatigable in his ser-

vices to the city, and at all times with the most disinterested spirit; for, though repeatedly urged to take the representation of the city, or to participate in some of their lucrative posts, he always rejected places as well as titles. He gave the corporation all the benefit of his able advice and assistance in the improvement of their estates, and particularly of those set apart for charitable purposes; and to him, more than any other member, are they indebted for the improvements that have taken place. His company (the haberdashers) particularly benefited by his sagacity, and their estates have accordingly been greatly advanced. In his own profession he has shewn what wonderful things may be done by ability and perseverance. When he began the business of an auctioneer, he was scarcely known. It was thought discreditable to bring estates or goods to sale in the country; but to such a height has it arisen under his auspices, that the auction-duty paid to government last year amounted to the sum of 300,000*l*. Mr. Dyke, who came to be with him in 1763, has for a long time discharged all the active parts of the business, which allowed him to spend much of his time at Collier's wood, a beautiful seat, which he purchased, near Merton, in Surrey, but which he has never truly enjoyed since the death of his wife, about five years ago. Alderman Skinner was a man of strong natural sense and considerable knowledge of the world. He conducted a large concern in business with much skill and credit; and has left two sons, one in the firm of Goodwyn, Skinner, and Thornton (formerly Parsons's brewhouse,) and the

the other in the army; and five daughters, of which one only was unmarried.

30th. At Tarporley, in Cheshire, in a very advanced age, Mrs. Frances Fitzherbert, a lady of exemplary virtue and piety. She was unmarried, and the only surviving sister of the late Richard F. esq. of Somersal-Herbert, in Derbyshire; who was the last representative, in the male line, of the eldest protestant branch of that ancient family; which has been settled in Derbyshire since the beginning of the 12th century, and was allied to the Baronial family of the Fitzherberts of Deane: two of whom made a conspicuous figure in king John's wars; and are amongst the subscribers to Magna Charta. The Fitzherberts of Tis-sington, in Derbyshire, now represented by sir Henry Fitzherbert, bart. were a younger branch of this family of Somersal-Herbert; from which they separated in the reign of king Henry VI.

In his 76th year, at Hatley St. George, co. Cambridge, Thomas Quintin, esq. in the commission of the peace for that county, for which he served the office of high sheriff a few years ago. He was originally of Newcastle, and one of the agents in the glass-works belonging to the late John Williams, esq. whence he went to London, where, by industry and attention, he acquired a fortune of nearly 200,000*l.* which he has bequeathed to his only son by his first wife, the daughter of the late capt. Whitby, of Newcastle.

At his house in St. Andrew's square, Edinburgh, the hon. David Smith, of Methven, one of the senators of the college of justice.

31st. John Sikes, esq. of Little Distaff-lane, sugar-refiner, and one

of the common council of Bread-street ward.

At Hailsham barracks, major Hansard, of the royal Glamorgan militia.

Aged 113, John Tucker, fisherman, at Itching ferry, Southampton; who followed his usual occupation till within a few weeks of his death.

Lately, at St Petersburg, count Alexander Woronzoff. This eminent statesman was in the possession of shining talents, and distinguishing peculiarities, not generally understood. During the reign of the great Catherine, he was president of the college of commerce; and in this important department evinced a superior knowledge, not only in the trading interest of Russia, but of Europe in general. Assiduous and indefatigable in business, he was easy of access; but could not divest himself of a certain stiffness of deportment, which in the eyes of strangers gave him the appearance of haughtiness. Though ardent in friendship, his enmity was remote from implacability; and amongst his greatest enjoyments he estimated an accidental meeting with an old acquaintance, to whom he could familiarly discourse of past occurrences. His negotiations with lord St. Helen's and lord Whitworth, upon the subject of a commercial treaty, infused a suspicion that he was rather inimical to the interests of this country, a prejudice which was reported to have originated from some personal offence he had formerly experienced during a residence here. This bias, however, by no means operated unfavourably; for when count Woronzoff became chancellor of the empire, and prime minister, under Alexander, his mind rose to its natural elevation; he discarded all per-
sonal

sional piques, and, by his wise and energetic counsels, proved himself the steady friend of England, and the firm supporter of the general cause of Europe. With dignified resentment he reprobated the ambitious systems and tyrannical schemes of Buonaparte. The licentious excesses of the French revolution were sincerely lamented by Woronzoff; and he had predicted the fatal consequences with the same prophetic fidelity which inspired the celebrated Edmund Burke. He had a great respect and the warmest and sincerest affection for his brother count Simeon, the ambassador, to whose opinions and advice he paid the utmost deference. The decease of this truly great man, if not immediately owing to, was no doubt accelerated by the same stroke which hastened the earthly dissolution of the minister Pitt, viz. the disastrous termination of the continental coalition. About two years since, count Alexander Woronzoff, advanced in life, being upwards of 70, and afflicted with a scorbutic complaint, retired to Moscow. In private, he was temperate in his habits, and delivered his sentiments with unrestrained freedom. Detesting parties and intrigue, he was revered as a true patriot, and regarded as almost the only great man remaining from the time of Catherine. He spoke German and French with the fluency and propriety of a native, and excelled in all the fashionable accomplishments of his day. In reward for his shining talents, and the eminent services he had rendered his country, count Woronzoff had the following distinguished titles conferred upon him: chancellor of the Empire, actual privy counsellor of the first class, senator, minister for

foreign affairs, actual chamberlain, knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of Alexander Refsky, and of St. Anne and Wooldimer, of the first class.

At Madrid, the celebrated admiral and captain-general of the Spanish navy, Don Juan De Langara, who was taken prisoner by the late admiral Rodney, 1780. In consequence of his disregard of his private interest, he died poor, and his widow was in the greatest embarrassment how to provide a funeral adequate to his rank. The prince of peace, being informed of this, wrote a letter to Madame De L. in which he expressed his regret at the decease of such a meritorious officer, and at the same time informed her that he would defray the expenses of the funeral, which was performed with the utmost magnificence and splendour.

Feb. 1st. At Stoke Newington, at the very advanced age of nearly 98, by a placid expiration of the vital powers, without a single sigh or groan, Mrs. Sarah Woollaston, for more than 40 years the relict of Israel W. esq. Mrs. Woollaston was quite a character; but a respectable one, and respectably connected. She was remarkable in her person; rather short and thin, and by some accident had been deprived of one of her eyes; and was very long a frequenter of Lincoln's-inn-gardens, with her lap-dog Psyche on her arm; and it was remarked by the young ladies of her acquaintance, that, having a succession of such pensioners, and having left Psyche a weekly pension for her life; when the first pensioner died, a new will was made, to establish the validity of that legacy, lest the executors should dispute, and question the identity

identity of the legatee. Old Dr. Sibthorpe used sometimes to visit her; as also sir Thomas Fowke and Mrs. Sturt, the heiress of the families of Pitfield of Hoxton and Solomon Astley. After the death of her husband, she removed to a small house in Leytonstone, Essex, which was one night beset, and plundered of every thing valuable, one of the robbers, supposed in collusion with some of her servants, sitting on her bed, and not suffering her to stir. In 1779 or 1780, a few years after this robbery, she removed to Newington, opposite the west end of Mr. Aistlabie's premises, in the house which was the first resort of the celebrated Mr. Howard, when he left his old master Mr. Newnham, grocer, in Watling-street. Here she spent the remainder of her life, in a secluded sequestered state. Among a considerable number of valuable trinkets, pearls, and diamonds (which she has distributed among her various friends) was an excellent miniature picture of her husband, in a beautiful white wig, containing 100 curls, and remembered, by a person dead 20 years, to be the faithful likeness of the original, when a member of Dr. Calamy's meeting-house at Westminster about 1730.

Aged 73, Mr. Wm. Seaton, of Sweepwash farm, Washingborough, co. Lincoln.

6th. At Ormerod-house, Lancashire, in the bloom of life, Mrs. Hargreaves, wife of John H. esq. only daughter and sole heiress of the late Lawrence Ormerod, of Ormerod, esq. by his wife, the only daughter of the late Riv. Ashburnam Legh, of Golburn Parks, sister to the late Thomas Peter Legh, esq. of Lyme in Cheshire; colonel of the Prince of Wales's or Lancashire

regiment of fencible cavalry, and M. P. for Newton in the Willows, first cousin to the right hon. earl of Wilton, in whose regiment Mr. Hargreaves served as a captain during the whole of the late war.

7th. By cutting his throat, Mr. Dupree, a poulterer in St. James's market, in a very reputable way of business. While the servant maid was toasting bread for breakfast in the kitchen, he was shaving himself; and, on her leaving the room, he perpetrated the shocking act. The razor went through the jugular vein, and the deceased bled to death. It appeared by the testimony of credible witnesses, that the unfortunate man had laboured under fits of melancholy above two years.

At Paddington, Mr. Sykes, a farmer, who resided near Stamford, Lincolnshire. Having spent the evening with a party at the house of a friend, he fell over a banister, in his way down stairs, and fractured his skull. Verdict accidental death.

19th. At her lodgings in Clarges-street, Piccadilly, in her 89th year, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Nicholas Carter, D. D. rector of Woodchurch, 1755; rector of Ham, 1734; vicar of Tilmanstone, 1730—1755; curate of Deal chapel from 1718 to his death, Oct. 23, 1774; a lady who has for a long time enjoyed a very distinguished pre-eminence in the literary world. She very early in life discovered the superior cultivation which her mind had received from the superintendence of her worthy parent. Her only brother, Henry, received his classical education from her before he went to Canterbury school; from which he was admitted of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge; 1757; and proceeded B. A. 1760,

M. A. 1763 ; and was presented, by sir George Oxendon, to the rectory of Wittenham, Berks. She has published all the works of Epictetus, which are now extant ; consisting of his discourses, preserved by Arrian, in four books, the Enchiridion, and fragments, translated from the original Greek, with an introduction and notes by the translator ; one volume, quarto, 1758, by subscription, and it was honoured with a long list of very distinguished names. The learning and ability which the authoress displayed in the execution of her task are well known, and have received that high applause which is so justly their due ; the work may with safety be pronounced to do honour to her sex and to her country. It was reprinted, subsequently, in two volumes, duodecimo, and before at Dublin, 1754, octavo. Poems on several occasions ; one volume, octavo, 1762 (reprinted in duodecimo). The poems were published at the desire of the late earl of Bath ; also in Dodsley's miscellanies, v. 309, vi. 227. and are celebrated among the verses of lord Lyttleton, who had read them in manuscript. The first of them was written before the authoress had completed her eighteenth year. As compositions, their merit and beauty cannot be too highly applauded. Sublime simplicity of sentiment, melodious sweetness of expression, and morality the most amiable, grace them in every page ; while, notwithstanding her previous appearance as the translator of Epictetus, the fine sensibility, the serene dignity, and the lofty imagination, which she displayed on this occasion, proved her the genuine disciple of Plato. Mrs. Car-

ter was also the contributor of two papers to " the Rambler," which, we are told by Mrs. Piozzi, had much of Dr. Johnson's esteem. They are, No. 44, which consists of an allegory, where religion and superstition are delineated in a masterly manner ; and No. 100, which is an excellent letter on modish pleasures, bearing the signature of CHARISSA. — In addition to the above account, we have received the following affectionate and sincere effusions of the heart from a respectable lady, whose correspondence would be an honour to any work : " My much honoured and very dear friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter has, long been well known and highly respected for her superior understanding, extensive knowledge, scientific and familiar, from the highest researches in philosophy to the commonest useful acquirements. She was qualified for the society of the first scholars by her intimacy with the learned languages, as was evinced by her translation of Epictetus from the Greek original. She possessed a masculine understanding ; while she was invested with such innate modesty, that her superior acquirements never intruded into company. Her heart was open to the keenest sensibility for all distresses of the afflicted ; and her mind piously resigned to meet with fortitude the changes and chances of life ; while her firm faith in the christian religion strengthened in her the performance of every duty ; and it may be truly said, that, with all her very rare endowments, goodness of heart, mildness of temper, and suavity of manners, were predominant in all her conduct, as also in the placid serenity of her interesting countenance.

Above half a century has elapsed since the happy commencement of my acquaintance with Mrs. C.; having early in life been indulged with the honour and the pleasure of an intimacy with her; and a regular correspondence has subsisted between us ever since, much to my edification and delight, till her advanced life and interrupted health rendered writing painful to her."

13th. At Lewes, Sussex, Charles Ward, esq. barrack-master of that place. He was the representative of one of the most ancient families in Great Britain, who were of considerable note in the days of Egbert, from which remote period Mr. Ward (as he supposed) had manuscripts in his possession at the time of his death. Early in life he was appointed a captain in the militia of his native county, Warwick, in which he possessed a handsome patrimonial property. He served in America, as an officer in the 60th regiment, and distinguished himself on various occasions by his gallantry and intrepidity during the war with that country. At Pensacola, when that place was besieged by the Spaniards, under the command of Don Galvis, he received a severe wound in the head, and was left for dead; but Mr. Ramsey, then surgeon of the 16th regiment and now on the staff in England, resolved on performing the operation of trepanning, notwithstanding most of the other gentlemen of the faculty were of opinion that it was best to let him die in peace. Mr. Ramsey's exertions happily succeeded, and he had the satisfaction to see his friend survive nearly 30 years, the effects of his skill and judgment. On his return home, he was appointed to the invalids at Fort George, in

North Britain, where he remained several years, esteemed and respected by all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood. The beginning of last war he received an appointment from the barrack board, and was sent to Plymouth to superintend the building of the new barracks in that quarter, on the completion of which, he was removed to Lewes, where he continued until his death. His remains were interred with military honours, followed to the grave by the 35th regiment; and all the officers of the garrison, every one anxious to shew their last mark of respect to the memory of a worthy veteran, the whole of whose life had been devoted to the service of his king and country.

14th. At Berlin, of apoplexy, lieut.-gen. Von Gotz, commandant of that city.

18th. At her father's house in Piccadilly, in her 29th year, very much regretted, lady Louisa Fitzroy, third daughter of his grace the duke of Grafton.

At Taunton, Devonshire, at an advanced age, Mr. John Clitsome, who, for a number of years past, carried on a very extensive trade in the braziers line, with great success, dying worth near 20,000*l*. Among several other charitable donations, is the interest of 500*l*. for ever, to Paul's meeting-house; to Gray's alms-house, 10*l*. per annum; to a servant, Edward Hays, who worked for him the last 30 years (now infirm) he has bequeathed 20*l*. per annum, for life: and to his other servants and apprentices, annual legacies for life.

At Bologna, the celebrated Madame Banti. She caught cold on her return from the Carnival at Venice,

Venice, which occasioned a fever, of which she died after a few days illness. Her death is sincerely lamented by the genuine amateurs of music in every country. Her talents were most uncommon ; since, without the aid of science, she made an impression on her audience which it is the perfection, and ought to be the object, of science to attain. Her voice came purely from the breast ; and, by the fullness, sweetness, and simplicity of the tone, excited the most powerful sympathy in the heart of the hearer. She had acquired a very competent fortune by her talents, and has left a considerable estate in the vicinity of Bologna to her children.

At his brother's house at Kintbury, co. Berks, Charles Fowles, esq. of Kensington-place, barrister at law, and major-commandant of the Hungerford volunteer corps of infantry.

21st. At his house in the Adelphi, aged 76, and very rich, John Cator, esq. of Beckenham, Kent. In April, 1784, he was elected M. P. for Ipswich ; but a petition being presented to the house of commons, the election was set aside, and the late A. Crickitt, esq. chosen in his stead.

22d. At his house in Rose-street, Edinburgh, in the 83d year of his age, the venerable and respected Dr. George Chapman, formerly rector of the grammar-school of Dumfries, and afterwards of the academy of Bamf, both which seminaries he advanced to the most flourishing state.

In the gaol of Berwick-upon-Tweed, under confinement on mesne process for debt, Thomas Smith, esq. husband of the justly celebrated

Mrs. Charlotte Smith, authoress of sonnets and other works.

At the house of Joseph Bonomi, esq. artist, in Tichfield-street, Mary-la-bonne, in consequence of a paralytic stroke which he had experienced about 10 days before, James Barry, esq, an eminent painter. He was born at Cork, and introduced to the notice of the world under the auspices and generous patronage of the right hon. Edmund Burke. After an education of considerable length in France and Italy, he returned to England. In 1772 he published, in reply to the celebrated Abbé Winkelman, "An enquiry into the real and imaginary obstructions to the acquisition of the arts in England." Thé Abbé followed Abbé Du Bos and president Montesquieu, in giving limits to the genius of the English, and pretending to point out a certain appropriate character of heaviness and want of fancy, deduced from certain physical causes. It is a system of clear and manly argument, which ably confutes such ignorant and impotent observations of foreigners with respect to some essential parts of our national character. The principal monument of his fame is his series of six pictures, representing the progress of society and civilization among mankind, in the great room of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in the Adelphi. The occasion of painting these pictures was as follows : an offer had been made, in 1772, by sir Joshua Reynolds and nine other eminent painters, including Mr. Barry, to adorn the cathedral of St. Paul with religious paintings, in the manner of the cathedrals of Italy.

This proposition was rejected, on the ground that such ornaments were inconsistent with the genius of the protestant religion. Disappointed in this, Mr. Barry offered, by himself, to adorn the great room of the society of arts with a series of allegorical paintings applicable to the purposes of that society. The two largest pictures are 42 feet each in length; and the work is altogether, perhaps, the most considerable that ever was undertaken by any single artist of his own motion, or without the hope of reward. The work was seven years in executing, and was exhibited at the room in the Adelphi in the year 1783 and 1784, for his benefit, and he published an octavo volume, explanatory of the series. He published, 1793, a letter to the above society, "the object of which was to publish a few personal explanations, to advertise engravings of the above-mentioned pictures, and to throw together some admirable thoughts on that branch of public instruction which regards the influence of religion and of the arts on human culture and national glory." Besides these pieces, Mr. B. published a "letter to the Dilettanti Society," printed in the supplement to the new edition of Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, 1798, chiefly on the subject of empiricism in picture-cleaning, and giving an account of an excellent practice, relative to the perservation of pictures, which he found in use at Rome. In Mr B's productions, as well of the pencil as of the pen, there are generally to be found certain eccentricities, both in sentiment and expression; but he has long been known to the public, not only as a practical painter of the first merit, distinguished by the classical

taste and antique purity of his designs, but also as a literary theorist, important for his profound knowledge of art, and respectable for the lofty merit which he ever laboured to inculcate as the severe duty of artists, and the highest embellishment of their productions. Preferring independence with bread and water to the most splendid appointment associated with a control of the will of its possessor, he so effectually circumscribed his wants, that few men could support themselves on so little. A professed republican in principle, he felt no concern to disguise his sentiments; he is said, even in public lectures on a royal foundation, to descant frequently with admiration on the encouragement afforded the fine arts under a republican compared with a monarchical government. This licence frequently alarmed his brethren of the Royal Academy; nor did he stop here, but scrutinized, and often severely censured, their conduct in the affairs of the institution." See memoirs of living authors, second edition. Mr. Barry was some years professor of painting to the royal academy; and had very lately undertaken to paint a whole-length portrait of the late lamented lord Nelson, for the society of arts.

24th. At Romely, co. Derby, Dr. Thomas Gisbone, F. R. S. senior fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge; B. A. 1747, M. A. 1751, M. D. 1758; physician to the king; a fellow, and for some years president, of the college of physicians.

Suddenly, Mrs. Alice Mayor, who had dined with Mrs. Wilsdon, in the Islington road, and, while drinking tea, some jocular conversation

sation passed among the company, which excited laughter, and Mrs. M. was seized with a cough, proceeding from the tea flying into her lungs, which was so violent that she burst a blood-vessel, and soon expired; leaving a family to lament the misfortune.

Suddenly, at his house, the sign of the load of hay, near Hampstead, Middlesex, the eccentric Joe Davis, known by the appellation of "The host of Haverstock-hill." The public are well acquainted with the character and eccentricities of this *huge* man, whose caricature has long figured in the windows of most of the print-shops in the metropolis. He used to offer copious libations to Bacchus early in the morning, and continue in a state of intoxication the whole of the day. It was in these happy moments that he amused his company by his eccentricities, clad in a gorgeous court-dress. His house was frequented by strangers of all descriptions, whom curiosity led thither; and it was not uncommon to see the carriages of noblemen and gentlemen drawn up at the door, for the visitants to gratify their curiosity with a view of the *celebrated* host. He died as he had lived, in the arms of the jolly god; for, having spent another of his happy days, he at night threw himself prostrate in the bar, and, this being no novelty, remained there, unnoticed, till bed-time, when he was found dead.

Edmund lord viscount Pery. His lordship was born in April, 1719; married, first, June 11, 1756, Patty, youngest daughter of John Martin, esq. who died without issue; and, secondly, Oct. 27, 1762, Elizabeth Vesey, eldest daughter of John Denny, lord Knapton (by

Elizabeth eldest daughter of William Brownlow, esq. by the lady Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of James the sixth earl of Abercorn), and sister of Thomas the first viscount de Vesci, and had issue two daughters viz. Diana-Jane, born Oct. 27, 1764; married, June 2, 1784, Thomas Knox, eldest son of Thomas viscount Northland; and Frances, married, in January, 1789, Nicholas Calvert. His lordship was the eldest son of the rev. Stackpole Pery, and grandson of Edmund Pery, esq. of Stackpole court, in the county of Clare, whose family came originally from lower Britany. His lordship was chosen speaker of the house of commons of Ireland in three successive parliaments, viz. March 7, 1771, June 8, 1776, and Oct. 14, 1783. He resigned his high office Sept. 4, 1785, owing to his increasing infirmities, with a farewell address, and received the thanks of the house of commons, who unanimously moved an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to confer on him some signal mark of his favour, in return for his long and faithful services. His majesty was pleased to grant him a pension of 3000*l.* per annum, and raise him to the peerage, by the title of viscount Pery, of Newton Pery, in the county of Limerick. His lordship dying without issue-male, the title becomes extinct; his personal and acquired property devolves to his two daughters and co-heiresses; but the family-estate, amounting to 8000*l.* per annum, descends to his nephew, the earl of Limerick. He was born in Limerick, in 1719, of an ancient family; and, applying himself to the practice of the law, soon arrived at the

the head of his profession, a situation which he maintained till he was called to the chair of the house of commons, in the year 1771. The dignity with which he filled that important post for many years, his profound knowledge of the constitution, his temper, his firmness, the mildness of his deportment, his urbanity, his independent spirit, and, above all his scrupulous impartiality, are still remembered with gratitude and admiration for a legislator and a statesman, in which capacities he also distinguished himself.

27th. This afternoon, Mr. Barrett, rope-maker, of Poplar, took a boat for himself, his wife, two sons, and a daughter, to go to Woolwich. When near Greenwich Reach, a sudden squall of wind upset the boat, and Mr. B. the three children, and the waterman, were unfortunately drowned. Mrs. B. was saved, being picked up by a boat near the spot, but died the next night at her house at Poplar.

28th. Capt. Pringle, of the ship Providence. Going on board, off Bell-wharf tier, he fell between two ships, and was drowned before assistance could be got.

At Melberby, in Cumberland, aged 84, Mr. John Slee, father of the rev. Mr. Slee, of the same place. He possessed a most intrepid mind; and his exploits, though they will not, perhaps, be recorded in the page of history, yet, in his native place, have been long looked upon by the honest rustic, with more admiration than the achievements of those in more exalted spheres. In the rebellion of 1745, our hero greatly distinguished himself. Being at that period one of the trained bands for the county, then lying at Carlisle, he volunteered to go and reconnoitre

the rebels, who were approaching Carlisle; having discovered their advanced party, below Longtown, he was the very person that took quarter-master Brand, and brought him prisoner to Carlisle. After the city was surrendered to the enemy, the train-bands were escorted by the rebels to Low Hesket, where Mr. Slee proposed to his companions, unarmed, to fall upon the rebels, and take them prisoners; which proposition, however, they would not agree to. He, therefore, made his escape to Penrith, where he remained until the return of the rebels; and the morning after the action on Clifton Moor, he, with a party of thirteen, agreed to go and view the scene of action. On their way thither, they discovered three of the rebels wandering in the fields, whom they resolved to take; but, on a nearer approach their courage failed them; in the mean time the enemy had fled. Mr. Slee immediately pursued them alone, with no other arms than an old sword. The rebels, seeing whom they had to contend with, made a stand, and all of them snapped their pieces at him. Wonderful to relate! they all missed fire. Mr. Slee still advancing, rushed in amongst them, made them all prisoners, and brought them to the Moot-hall, at Penrith. But Mr. Slee's generosity was equal to his courage; he promised to protect them with his life; and actually fought three battles in their defence. The fame of this circumstance soon reached the ears of the brave duke of Cumberland, who sent for him, and presented him with an appointment in the duke of Montague's troopers (a very valuable situation at that time) where he continued till the regiment was disbanded.

ed. While this corps was lying at York, the subject of our humble narrative, frequently did duty over the rebel prisoners there. Amongst them was one of the men whom he took prisoner, as mentioned before; this man was very remarkable for always crying out, when he saw our hero, "Oh! mon, if it had na been for you, I'd no been here."

March 2d. Aged 50, Robert Watkin Wynn, esq; of Plasnewydd, county of Denbigh.

At the Pears, near Horton-Shield, county of Northumberland, much respected, Mrs. John Hunter. The manner of her death was truly affecting. In the morning she proposed that the servant, with the rest of the family should go to church, and that she would, contrary to her usual custom, stay at home, and make the necessary preparations for dinner. Her little boy staid with her; and when she was in the act of making a pudding, she fell down and expired. The fortitude displayed by the boy was wonderful; and, when all his feeble efforts to restore his mother had failed, he ran out for other assistance, the next house being at least half a mile off. The poor little fellow has been in a most distressed condition ever since; though, at the time, he says, he could have done any thing!

3d. At his house at Greenwich, aged 81, Isaiah Millington, esq. The spacious iron wharf, with the ancient mansion, now belonging to the earl of Ashburnham, and in the occupation of Mr. M. were purchased, in 1704, of sir Ambrose Crowley, alderman of London, and was for some time the residence of that family. Their great iron-works are at Newcastle, where sir

Ambrose had a colony of 1000 men, to make all the anchors for the use of government, who allowed him to pay them in a coin of his own; and he died worth 300,000l. leaving a sum of money to put out apprentices to his trade. This factory, under the name of Abraham Crowley, occurs in the common-council books of Newcastle, at Swallowwell, in the vicinity of Newcastle, 1694, which must have begun at least three years before. (Brand's Newcastle, II. 501.) Mr. Lysons (Environ, III. 493.) refers, for an authentic account of it, to Hutchinson's history of Durham.

At Exeter, aged 17, the hon. Miss Trefusis, eldest daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Lord Clinton, of Cross, Devon.

4th. The son of sir Lionel Copley, bart. He had ascended the ladder of his father's library, from which he fell, and broke his leg in so shocking a manner, that the bone stuck in the floor. A fever ensued, which terminated his life.

Lieutenant-colonel Bagwell, of the 6th dragoon guards, son of John B. esq. M. P. for Tipperary, and brother to the M. P. for the borough of Clonmell, in Ireland. Riding on a party of pleasure with some officers of his acquaintance, on the road between Exeter and Exmouth, at that part where the roads from Clyst and Newcourt join that between Topsham and Topsham-bridge, his horse suddenly took fright, and, galloping off with great fury, threw his rider with such force as to fracture his skull most dreadfully, and kill him on the spot. He was in the prime of life, beloved and esteemed by the whole regiment, and all who knew him.

5th. In Great George-street, Westminster, Havilland Le Mesurier, esq. younger brother, and surviving partner, of the late alderman Le M. commissary-general of the army, &c. He was born in Guernsey in 1758, and received a liberal education at Winchester-school. He was, during some years, in a mercantile connexion with his father and eldest brothers, the two late governors of Alderney. He married, in 1782, Miss Eliza Dobrée, of Guernsey, and soon afterwards removed to Havre de Grace, where he joined the firm of a very considerable commercial house; thence he came to England, and established himself as a merchant in London; but, suffering under the commercial disasters of the fatal year, 1793, he accepted of a commissariat commission in the army of the British allies in Flanders, of which Mr. Watson, (now sir Brook W.) was then commissary-general. He was soon raised to the ascending progressive ranks of assistant-commissary-general, deputy commissary-general, and acting commissary-general; in which capacity he attended and provided for the armies in their celebrated retreat through the disastrous severities of a German winter, in the severe season of 1794-5, with the peculiar approbation of generals Dundas and Walmoden. Upon his return to England, when our troops were withdrawn from the continent, he joined in partnership with his brother, the late worthy alderman; and in the spring of 1797, upon the expectation of the threatened invasion, he was appointed commissary-general of the southern district of England, comprehending the important home

counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, upon a plan of supply by stationary depôts of provisions, stores, and forage; a plan the most excellent, effective, and economical, ever yet devised, and which was brought forward and perfected under the immediate approbation of general sir Charles (now lord Grey), who commanded the district. In the summer of 1799, the appointment of commissary-general of all England was first created in favour of Mr. Brook Watson, which Mr. Le M. conceived to be placing him in the secondary rank, against which he had specifically stipulated; a spirited difference arose, the consequence of which was the resignation of Mr. Le M. in June 1800, and the almost immediate reduction of all officers serving under him, as well as a total alteration of his plan. The causes, effects, and bearings, of this circumstance, he has given to the world in a most dispassionate and sensible pamphlet, lately published. He was, however, upon a change of administration, in 1801, again appointed commissary-general, upon the decease of Mr. Motz (an alien!) in Egypt, to the army then preparing to return to England, upon the conclusion of the peace of Amiens: the difficulties which arose upon the articles of that peace, protracted the term of Mr. Le M.'s service considerably, and extended it to Malta, Naples, &c. and gave him the opportunity for new exertions of his talents, zeal, and disinterested integrity; all of which he again demonstrated to a degree almost unparalleled. He had published, in 1799, "The British Commissary," dedicating it to generals Walmoden and Dundas,

his

his military patrons and eulogists. This is a work of great theoretic and practical utility, and the only one published in the language, which gives any display of this most essential, important, and expensive branch of national service. Truth, it has long been proverbially said, is not always nor every where welcome! and the publication just mentioned, had a different effect *with those whom it concerned* than might have been expected; it having probably been the occasion of the author being passed over in the promotion which followed the retirement of sir B. Watson at Christmas last, and to which, by professional rank, he stood entitled; in consequence of which he published, about a month before his death, "Two letters to the commissioners of army accounts," of the abuses in the commissariat, in which he has "a round unvarnished tale delivered," that may be fairly expected to become a subject of public enquiry by the present rulers. How far the death of the author may have obscured the requisite evidence and testimonials, time alone must determine.—Mr. Le M. has left one daughter and four sons; the eldest is a captain in the army; the second a lieutenant in the Blenheim, now in the East Indies, and the two others are youths. Mr. Le M. joined to a profound knowledge of business the warmest feelings of friendship, and the fullest demonstrated conviction of the truths of christianity, by the precepts of which his whole life was regulated.

6th. At Bath, Elizabeth dowager lady Bradford, of Veston, co. Stafford. She was daughter and heiress of John Simpson, esq. married, 1755, to George earl of Bradford,

who died in 1800, and by whom she had, besides several children who died infants, Orlando, the present earl; John, who took the name and arms of Simpson; George, rector of Wigān; Anne-Charlotte, deceased, married Henry Greswold Lewis, esq. of Malvern-hall, co. Warwick; Elizabeth-Diana, married George-William Gunning, esq.; Diana, married John Sawbridge, esq. of Olantigh, in Kent.

10th. At Paris, M. Tronchet, the last surviving counsel of the ill-fated Louis XVI. king of France. He was a member of the senate, and had a great share in the formation of the new civil code.

At Vienna, of an inflammatory fever, in his 69th year, count Francis Colloredo, knight of the golden fleece, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen, late principal chamberlain, private state and conference minister, and president of the court and state chancery. At his death, eight persons were ill in his hotel; among whom were his lady, in imminent danger, and his only daughter. He has left two sons by a former marriage; and above 100,000 florins yearly revenue. During his illness their imperial majesties, and the whole imperial family, whose education he had superintended, manifested their concern by daily enquiries respecting his health.

11th. At Dean's-court, co. Dorset, aged 80, the rev. sir James Hanham, bart. He was rector of Winterborn Zelston, co. Dorset, and of Pimperne, in the same county, 1800; succeeded his nephew in the title and estate in 1776; and married Jane, daughter of Edward Philips, of Wimborne, co. Dorset.

12th. Richard Dugdale, esq. of Blythe hall, co. Warwick; great
great

great grandson of that eminent antiquary sir William D. Garter king of arms ; into whose family the manor passed by purchase, in the first year of king Charles I. from sir Walter (afterwards lord) Aston of Forfar, to sir William's father John Dugdale of Shustoke (in which parish it lies,) only son of John D. of Clithero, co. Lancaster, which his son sold, and took a lease for 60 years of the impropriate rectory of Shustoke, and rebuilt the house, which is engraved in the second edition of the history of Warwickshire, inscribed to John Dugdale, esq. his great grandson. Sir William had one son, John, who was created Norroy king of arms, and died 1700, leaving William, who died 1714, having married Judith sister of sir Henry Gough, of Perry hall in Staffordshire, knt. by whom he had two sons, William and John, who both died single, the latter 1749, and four daughters, the third of whom, Jane, married Richard Geast, esq. by whom she had a son named Richard, the subject of this article, who married Penelope-Bate, eldest of the four daughters and coheirs of Francis Stratford, of Merevale, esq. and in 1799 (out of respect to Garter Dugdale) took, by royal licence, the name and arms of Dugdale only ; and, by the same licence, his only surviving son (who is now M. P. for the county of Warwick) assumed the name of Stratford-Dugdale. — Mr. D. had also four daughters : 1. Penelope is mar-

ried to Charles-James Packe, esq. of Hanthorpe house, co. Lincoln ; 2. Louisa-Anne, to the late William Dilke, esq. of Maxtoke castle ; 3. Francis, died an infant ; 4. Emma, unmarried.

16th. At Portsmouth, aged 91, captain James Halls, of the army. He was surgeon's mate of the Centurion, and went round the world with lord Anson, in the year 1740, when the Manilla galleon, Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, was taken. She was the richest prize ever taken, having near a million and a half of dollars on-board, and was larger and of more force than the Centurion. Mr. Halls came home surgeon of her. It was after this voyage, which lasted three years and nine months, that lord Anson, when he landed at Portsmouth, fell upon his knees, and offered an ejaculatory prayer to him who had preserved him from such imminent dangers. Captain Fortescue is now supposed to be the only person living who went that voyage.*

17th. At his house in Saville-row, William Rowley, M. D. an eminent physician and medical writer. He died of a typhus fever, a sacrifice to the anxious performance of his professional duties ; and was attended in his last moments by his friends Drs. Kennedy and Moseley.

At his seat at Bunny park, Notts, aged 77, sir Thomas Parkyns, bart. born 1728 ; married, 1747, Jane, sole daughter and heiress of the grandson of sir Thomas P. the second

* In a recent publication (biographical index to the house of commons) sir P. Stephens is mentioned as the only surviving person who went round the world in the Centurion. This is perfectly erroneous. Sir P. Stephens was not with lord A. till after the return of the latter from his circumnavigation.

cond baronet of that family; by whom he left Thomas Boothby Parkyns, the late lord Raneliffe, so created (and father of George-Augustus-Henry-Anne, the present lord) in 1795. By two succeeding wives he has also issue.

19th. At Dr. Watson's academy, Shooter's-hill, co. Kent, a young gentleman of the name of Harvey, aged 18, after having loaded a musket with which he had been accustomed to go through the manual exercise, left the house on pretence of going to shoot sparrows; but, instead thereof, went into an out-house, and, the more effectually to complete his purpose, tied the trigger of the musket to his foot, then placing his head on the muzzle, instantly blew out his brains. No cause can be assigned for the rash action, having been liberally treated by his friends, and just received an appointment as a cadet to India. Verdict, lunacy.

20th. At Guildford, Surrey, after an illness of three months, Miss Anne Russell, eldest daughter of the late John R. gent. one of the magistrates of that town. She was seized with an apoplexy and palsy on the 23d of December last, when to appearance, in good health, which reduced her to a weak state, like an infant; but her speech and understanding were not affected till a day or two before she died. During the whole of her illness she gave a decided testimony to the truth of Christianity, by which she was greatly supported; and with a perfect resignation looked forward with a hope full of immortality to her last moment.

22d. This morning a duel was fought on Galleywood common, near Chelmsford, Essex, between

lieutenant Torrens and surgeon Fisher, both of the 6th regiment of foot, in barracks there. The parties, with their seconds, arrived on the spot appointed for the encounter at day-break, when, the preliminaries having been settled, they took a short distance, and, turning round, fired at the same instant. The lieutenant received his antagonist's ball in the groin, and immediately fell; on which Mr. F. went up and took him by the hand, expressing much regret at the lamentable consequence that had ensued; as, from the nature of the wound, he was apprehensive it would prove mortal. Assistance having been procured, lieutenant T. was removed to a windmill at a short distance, and thence, as soon as possible, conveyed to his apartments in the barracks, where every attention was rendered that his unfortunate situation could require. The ball, having lodged on the side opposite to which it entered, was extracted by Dr. Welch, at 4 o'clock the same afternoon, but he expired between 9 and 10 the following morning. Coroner's verdict, wilful murder against Mr. F. and the two seconds, one of whom is under arrest; but Mr. F. and the other have absconded.

At his lordship's house in Hume-street, Dublin, the most noble Charles marquis of Ely, earl of Ely, viscount and baron Loftus, of Loftus-hall, in Ireland, and an English peer, by the title of baron Loftus of Long Loftus, in Yorkshire, knight of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, governor and custos rotulorum of the county of Wexford, one of his majesty's privy counselors, and joint postmaster-general of Ireland. The marquis was born Jan. 23, 1738; married June 23, 1766,

1766, Jane, eldest daughter and coheiress of Robert Myhill, esq. by whom he has left issue two sons: 1. John viscount Loftus, born Feb. 15, 1770, colonel of the Wexford militia, and knight of the shire for the county of Wexford, now marquis of Ely; 2. Lord Robert, born Sept. 5, 1773, lord bishop of Kilaloe. The marquis was the eldest son of sir John Tottenham, bart. by Elizabeth Loftus, sister of Henry earl of Ely, who died, without issue, in 1783, leaving his estates to his nephew. The family of Loftus settled in Ireland in the reign of queen Elizabeth, since which it has been ennobled in three branches, and produced two lord chancellors. The family of Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor of Ireland in 1630, is extinct; as is also the family of Loftus, viscount Lisburne; which latter title became extinct in 1691. The first of the family in Ireland was Adam Loftus, lord chancellor of Ireland and archbishop of Dublin. He was the son of Edward Loftus, esq. of Swinhead, in Yorkshire, whose family had flourished there from the reign of king Alfred, as appears by the archives of York minster, in which were registered various donations of lands given to the church and religious houses in that reign, and in several subsequent reigns, by the family of Lofthouse, the ancient mode of spelling the name.

24th. At Swafeld, near North Waltham, co. Norfolk, aged 68, the rev. Thomas Meux, rector of that place, to which he was presented by the king, as duke of Lancaster, 1772, and vicar of Paston and Berney; and only brother of Richard M. esq. the eminent London porter-brewer; son of T. M.; and B. C. L.

of St. John's college, Oxford, 1765. His death was occasioned by a dreadful cancer on the face and throat; the severe pain of which he for several years endured with such fortitude and resignation as could only be the effect of a pious mind and good conscience.

Found dead in the passage of the house where he lodged, in Fetter-lane, whence he could not and would not be removed, having come home late at night, in a state of intoxication, Jas. Bruce, a clergyman!

27th. At Gilmorton, co. Leicester, aged 85, Anne Wood, widow of the late William W.; mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother of 116 children; and who had practised midwifery upwards of 50 years.

At Spring-grove, near Bewdley, in the 47th year of his age, after an illness of only four days, Samuel Skey, esq. He was twice married, first to Miss Divett, of Twickenham, by whom he has left three daughters; afterwards to Miss Bicknell, the daughter of Charles B. esq. solicitor to the admiralty, by whom he has left two infant sons. Mr. Skey's father was a general merchant, trading to all parts of Europe; he likewise carried on extensive chemical works about two miles from his house, for manufacturing oil of vitriol; by which he acquired a considerable fortune. Mr. Skey, as well as his father, worked mules instead of horses, both in their carriages and for the purposes of agriculture.—Those which they used in their carriages were milk white.

30th. This morning, at half-past three o'clock, at Devonshire house, in Piccadilly, in the 49th year of her age, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

shire. The disorder which terminated so fatally to this distinguished personage was an abscess on the liver, the attack of which was first perceived about three months since, while she sat at the table of the marquis of Stafford; and which from that period so increased its feverish progress, as eventually to resist all the efforts of the first medical skill. Her grace was the eldest daughter of John earl Spencer; was born June 9, 1757, and married to William, the present duke of Devonshire, June 6, 1774, by whom she had issue now living, 1. lady Georgiana, now viscountess Morpeth; 2. lady Elizabeth-Henrietta Cavendish; and 3. the marquis of Hartington, who was born at Paris in 1790. The character of her grace is not to be classed with any of the ordinary ranks of fashion. Her qualities were of a rare and superior kind. Possessing a mind gracefully modelled as her person, she had stored it with many useful, as well as ornamental endowments. She was well read in the history and polity of all countries; but the *Belles Lettres* had principally attracted her attention, which she has enriched with some compositions of poesy, that demonstrate a fanciful imagination, and an elegant taste. Though forced into female supremacy by that general admiration which a felicitous combination of charms had excited, and so long remained unrivalled, her grace of Devonshire found leisure for the systematic exercise of a natural benevolence, which yielding irresistibly, and perhaps too indiscriminately, to the supplications of distress, subjected her to embarrassments that the world sometimes imputed to causes less amiable and meritorious.

In a word, she had a heart, which the flattering blandishments of fashion might sometimes beguile, but could never corrupt. The prince of Wales, who had the highest friendship and respect for her, when he heard of her death, exclaimed, "Then we have lost the most amiable and best-bred woman in England!!!" Her remains were interred, with great funeral pomp, in the family-vault at St. Stephen's church, Derby. The hearse was met three miles from Derby by the whole of the country nobility, and the duke's tenantry residing there, who conducted it to the place of interment.

31st. At his house in Curzon-street, May Fair, the right hon. George Macartney, earl Macartney, vicount Dervock, baron Macartney of Lissanouwe, in Ireland, baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in England, knight of the military order of the bath, knight of the Polish order of the white eagle, one of his majesty's privy counsellors in Great Britain and Ireland, *custos rotulorum* of the county of Antrim, trustee of the linen manufacture for Ulster, and late ambassador to the court of China. The earl was born in 1737; and married, Feb. 1. 1768, the lady Jane Stuart, second daughter of John earl of Bute, by Mary only daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, by lady Mary Pierrepont, daughter of Evelyn duke of Kingston; but dying without issue, the titles become extinct. His lordship was descended from the ancient family of Macartney of Auchinleck, in Scotland, who settled in Ireland in 1649, though the ancient estate of Auchinleck continued unalienated, and belonged to the late earl at the time of his decease. He was educa-
ted

ted at Trinity college, Dublin, and proceeded M. A. there in 1759; appointed envoy-extraordinary to the empress of Russia, August 22, 1764. In June, 1766, the most ancient and royal order of the white eagle was conferred on him by the king of Poland; appointed, Nov. 20, 1767, envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to the court of St. Petersburg; principal secretary of Ireland, under lord Townshend, Jan. 1, 1769; and sworn of the privy council there, March 30, following; nominated a knight of the Bath, June, 1772, and installed at Westminster, by proxy, on the 15th of that month; governor-in-chief, and captain-general of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, in December, 1775; governor and president of Fort St. George, in December, 1780; governor-general of Bengal, February 1785, which he declined accepting, and the East India Company settled on him 1500*l.* per annum. May 3, 1792, appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China; and the same day sworn of his majesty's privy-council at St. James's. He was chosen member for Cockermouth, in the British parliament, in April 1767; and for Armagh, in the Irish parliament, July following; in October, 1774, member in the British parliament for the boroughs of Air, Irwin, Rothsay, Campbelltown, and Inverary; created lord Macartney, baron of Lissanoeve, by patent dated July 19, 1776; chosen member for Beralstone, in Devonshire, September, 1780; advanced to the dignity of earl of Macartney, and viscount Dervock, August 1, 1792; and created an English peer, June 8, 1796, by the

title of baron Macartney of Parkhurst, in the county of Surrey. His lordship's remains were interred at Chiswick, quite privately, in compliance with his will. The Account of his Embassy, by sir George Staunton, was printed, 1797, in three volume, 4to, with plates, and afterwards in four volumes, 8vo.—Earl Macartney was indebted for his elevation in the world to lord Holland, the father of Mr. Fox. He was originally intended for physic, and was travelling abroad to improve himself in that science, when he formed an intimacy with Mr. Stephen Fox, the elder brother of the late secretary of state for the foreign department, and father of the present lord Holland. At this time Mr. Macartney rendered his friend some very essential service; what it was we do not pretend to state, but it was of a nature to awaken the most grateful sentiments of the then lord Holland, who, though he was not popular as a public character, had many private virtues; and among them may be numbered a never failing spirit of remuneration for good offices to himself, or any branch of his family. He, therefore, became the warm patron and friend of Mr. Macartney, whose qualities and talents justified that partiality which invited him to leave the pursuit of medicine for that of politics. At this time it was thought adviseable to send a Minister to St. Petersburg, whose personal qualifications might render him agreeable to the empress Catherine, and Mr. Macartney was accordingly appointed to succeed the earl of Buckinghamshire at that court. What his personal favour might have been, we are not exactly qualified to mention; but in the negotiation

ciation of a commercial treaty between the two countries, which was attended with uncommon difficulties, he gave great satisfaction to the British merchants and government, and thereby acquired that political reputation, which occasioned his being afterwards employed in offices of great trust and importance, all of which he executed with so much understanding and ability, as successively to be honoured with the order of the Bath, a peerage of Ireland, and, at length, with a peerage of Great Britain. But these titles are now extinct. A cenotaph is to be erected in Lissanoure church, county of Antrim, to his memory, by his niece, and sole heir of his estates, Mrs. Elizabeth Hume, relict of the late rev. Dr. Hume. The following inscription for it, is from the elegant and classical pen of the rev. G. H. Glasse.

“ P. M. S.

GEORGI comitis de MACARTNEY ;
Vice-Comitis de Dervock ;

Baronis de Lissanoune et Parkhurst ;

A Rege Sarmatiæ,

(Ipse dum regno stabat incolumis,) Equestri Ordine Aquilæ Argenteæ ;

Necnon apud suos,

Ordine Balnei honoratissimo donati, Britanniarum Regis è consiliis, &c.

“ Illum ad Ladogæ paludem,
Illum ad Occidentales Cycladas,
Illum in sacrati Gangis peninsulâ,
Illum in Imperii Iovis Hammonis
Finibus,

Quid plura ? Illum inter extremos
Seras,

Cæteris Mortalibus jam tum non
divisos,

Pro Rege, pro Patriâ, pro totius
Orbis emolumento,

Strenuè, piè, graviter, se gerentem,
Sua ipsius admirata est ætas ;

Mirantes commemorabunt posteri.

“ Tali tantoque viro,
Post indefessos labores,
Urbe Londini mortuo, suburbanis
sepulto,

ELIZABETHA HUME,
Consanguinitate neptis,
Amore et adoptione filia,
Hoc cenotaphium, P. C.”

29th. At Dummer, near Basingstoke, Hants, of the dropsy, Mary Holmes, who had been tapped 60 times, from July 1799, to Jan. 11, 1806, and from whom had been drawn 4153 pints of water.

April 1st. At Berlin, his royal highness prince Frederick Julius Ferdinand Leopold, youngest son of the king of Prussia.

3d. At Bath, in his 63d year, William Byam Martin, esq. late of White Knights, Berks. He was the third son of Samuel M. esq. of the island of Antigua, and brother to the late Samuel M. esq. who was secretary to the treasury during lord Bute's administration ; and to sir Henry M. bart. late comptroller of the navy. He went early in life to India, and in Bengal filled different civil appointments with great honour and credit ; and returned to England about the year 1780, with a very handsome fortune, and most unblemished character.

5th. At Paddington, in his 42d year, William Garthshore, esq. M. P. for Weymouth, and late one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty ; only son of Dr. Maxwell G. physician in London. For a considerable time before his death, he had been in a melancholy state of mind, so as to render an application to the court of chancery, and a commission of lunacy, necessary. By his marriage with a daughter of the late Mr. John Chalie, wine-merchant, he acquired a very considerable property ; and the death of his
wife,

wife, which took place a few days after that of her father, is supposed to have brought on Mr. G.'s disorder. Mr. G. was formerly a tutor at Christ-church college, Oxford; and accompanied the present earl of Dalkeith on his tour to the continent.

8th. After a few days illness, in his 21st year, at the seat of John Tooker, esq. near Rotherham, in Yorkshire, where he was on a visit, Henry lord viscount Neville, of Birling, county of Kent, eldest son of the earl of Abergavenny. His lordship's second son, Ralph, now lord viscount Neville, was with lord Nelson on board the Victory, in the late glorious battle of Trafalgar, and is now a lieutenant on board admiral lord Collingwood's flag-ship.

9th. At Cork, sir James Chatterton, bart. his majesty's second serjeant at law, and keeper of the state papers in Ireland, and formerly representative for the borough of Donevaile. He was created a baronet of the united kingdom, August 3, 1801; in which title he is succeeded by his eldest son, sir William.

At Brunswick, in his 58th year, his serene highness the late stadtholder, William V. prince of Nassau Dietz; born March 8, 1748. His successor in the government of the principality of Nassau Dietz, is his son, William Frederick, the reigning prince of Fulda.

11th. Without a groan, at his seat at Oughtington, near Lymne, in Cheshire, aged 76, John Leigh, esq. one of his majesty's justices of peace for the said county. He married Miss Susan Trafford, daughter of alderman Trafford, of Liverpool, an eminent merchant, and mayor

thereof in 1742, and has survived her only a few years. By her, his only wife, he has left two sons and four daughters to lament his loss, amongst a numerous list of friends. Mr. Leigh was, in his youth, brought up to the law, and studied in the Temple; in due time he was called to the bar, and made several circuits with the judges, but on the death of his father, George L. esq. who died Sept. 21, 1761, aged 55, he quitted this profession, and retired to the enjoyment of his patrimony, and became a most active, upright, and independent magistrate. His family is one of the most ancient in the county, originally of West Hall, and have resided at Oughtington, in Cheshire, for many generations, between 3 and 400 years, as may more particularly be known, by those who wish it, on consulting sir Peter Leicester's antiquities of Cheshire, p. 308. His eldest son (now living), Trafford Leigh, in 1794, married Henrietta Broughton, one of the daughters of the rev. sir Thomas B. bart. of Doddington castle, Cheshire; and by her he has several children. His other son, the rev. George L. in 1798 married Miss Elizabeth Phillips, one of the daughters of John P. esq. of Bank, near Stockport, in the same county, where he has a living, and has also issue. Mr. Trafford Leigh, on the death of his mother's brother, which took place some years back, became heir to his fortune and estate, and assumed the name and arms of the family, viz. Trafford Trafford; he now resides at Kinderton, near Middlewich, formerly the residence of one of the Cheshire barons, viz. Vernon, baron of Kinderton.

15th. In his 71st year, J. Turton, M. D.

M.D. in the university of Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. in 1759, and that of doctor in 1767, for which last he went out grand compounder. He was formerly one of the travelling fellows on Dr. Radcliffe's foundation; and for many years before his death had been physician to the king, to the queen, and to the prince of Wales. The bulk of his great fortune, upwards of 8000*l.* a-year (a great part of it landed property in Yorkshire) he has bequeathed, after the death of his wife, to her royal highness the princess Mary, their majesties' fourth daughter.

25th. Interred together this day, aged about ninety years each, Joseph and Jane Martin, of Ardbirn, near Banbridge, in the North of Ireland. They were born in one year, had lived together 62 years, were each distinguishable for a good share of natural understanding, have left their family in respectable circumstances, by their industry, and will be long remembered as peaceable and kind neighbours.

26th. At the hotel de la Patrie, at Rennes, in France, on his way to Paris, admiral Villeneuve, commander of the French fleet in the battle off Trafalgar. He is known to have been landed at Morlaix, in the night between the 22d and 23d, from a small boat, which our port-admiral would have dissuaded him from taking; but his reason was, that a large vessel could not be admitted into that port, which therefore followed, and kept him in sight till he landed. It is said he stabbed himself; but the motive that induced him to commit an act of suicide is unknown. He was found in his chamber quite undressed, and with five wounds, given by

a knife, in his left side. According to the position of his body at the time, it is supposed that, after he had stabbed himself, he threw himself upon the bed, pressing himself upon the handle of the knife, which still remained in his body, to hasten his dissolution. History will record, that the three admirals, English, Spanish, and French, engaged in that glorious and ever-memorable battle, have all lost their lives. The English admiral was killed outright; admiral Gravina died of the wounds he had received in the battle; and admiral Villeneuve finished his mortal career with his own hand. We believe this to be a true state of the case; it having been so stated by an English gentleman, one of a small number lately returned from Verdun, and who is now in London, who was at Rennes, and at the same hotel, the day after the death of admiral V. He saw the admiral's servant, and others who knew the whole of the melancholy transaction, and there is no doubt that the admiral killed himself in a fit of derangement, of which he had exhibited symptoms for some days before. Pistols, &c. had been carefully kept out of his way, but he contrived to secrete a knife; and on breaking open his chamber door he was found dead, with the handle of the knife in his hand, and the point of it in his heart. It may be proper, however, to state, that it has been suggested that he, like Pichegru and Wright, fell by foul means. A circumstance which is considered as expressive of Bonaparte's knowledge of this transaction, and of his wish to remove suspicion from himself, is, that on the evening after the murder, a letter reached Rennes, from the minister of marine, addressed to admiral

miral Villeneuve, and announcing to him, that although Napoleon, deceived by false reports, had entertained displeasure towards him, yet that he was now ready to do every possible justice to his bravery and talents. It is also said, that, being refused the audience which he solicited from Bonaparte, he foresaw the consequences, which he chose to prevent by this desperate proceeding. The different reception given to two of his captains who were in the same engagement, will justify this conjecture.

27th. At Rystock, in Devonshire, aged 65, Mrs. Kensington, widow of John K. esq. formerly a banker in London, and mother of John Pooley, Edward, and Henry K. esqrs. and of the lady of Edward Divett, esq. of Rystock, and of Lansdown-place, Bloomsbury. Her remains were interred at Walthamstow, in Essex.

At Allenhead, co. Northumberland, in his 60th year, the rev. Joseph Car, B. D. a clergyman whose unwearied application to his studies was never suffered to interfere with the duties of his profession. Obscure in his situation in the church, his conduct was uniformly, through life, unassuming and unambitious. Of his various learning, that which chiefly distinguished him was to be derived from the old and new Testament. To understand these books in their original language he had long and diligently laboured, and not without success, having left, in the possession of his widow, a work (nearly finished) on sacred geography; which the writer of this article would willingly undertake to revise and publish, if he could presume to believe himself competent to the task.

30th. At Lamberhust, in Kent, aged 27, Mrs. Herring, wife of Mr. Rose H. surgeon on board his majesty's frigate *Magicienne*, stationed under admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, in the late successful West India squadron. Her remains were interred at Chidingly, attended to the grave by her ten brothers and sisters, and eight first cousins, all of the name of Lashmar.

At Mossat, George Buchanan, esq. of Mackcanstone, in Scotland.

Lately, at Cape Breton, in America, Mr. W. Woodfall, chief justice of that place, son of the late Mr. W. W. printer, well known for his private worth and literary powers, and a young man of very respectable character. His talents and professional attainments well qualified him for the situation he held; and a work which he published, on the law concerning landlord and tenant, fully proves that he might have risen to considerable repute if he had remained in this country. He fell a sacrifice to the climate, and his anxiety to discharge his duty; for, though labouring under severe infirmity, he would often be carried into court, where he has fainted during his official exertions. He has left a widow and three infant children.

Murdered, by a banditti, as he was proceeding with dispatches from Constantinople, Mr. Wood, one of his majesty's messengers.

After a few hours illness, aged 45, the rev. John Flamanke, vicar of Saxthorpe, co. Norfolk; of Trinity college, Oxford; B. A. 1773.

At Kingsbury, Berks, the rev. Thomas Fowle, rector of Hampstead-Marshall, in the same county, and of Allington, Wilts.

May 3d. At his house in Sloane-street,

street Chelsea, after a few days illness, in his 48th year, sir Richard Ford, knt. chief magistrate of the Bow-street Police-office, also of the Police of the county of Middlesex, and acting magistrate for the secretary of state's office; to the former of which he was appointed about six years ago, on the resignation of sir William Addington. He was taken ill on the 19th of April; but was not confined to his bed, till the 28th. His disorder was a fever; and his medical friends did not consider him in imminent danger till the 1st instant, when his disorder took a very unfavourable turn. His remains were interred at St. Luke's, Chelsea, on the 10th.

4th. At his house in Brompton-row, Chelsea, Mr. T. Collins, of the theatre royal Drury-lane, a favourite performer, and a very promising genius in his line of acting. He was the son of Mr. C. proprietor of the theatres at Portsmouth, Southampton, &c. and at an early age was placed under Mr Brooks, leader of the orchestras at the theatre royal, Bath, and at Vauxhall, for three years, and then enlisted in the dramatic corps. Mr. Cherry, author of "The Soldiers Daughter," on making Mr. Collins a present of his own likeness, wrote upon the back of the portrait the following lines:

"Honest Tim, when this you view,
Remember who created you.
Not man, nor mortal, sage or saint,
Hath made you, Tim, but nature,
QUAINT."

Mrs. C. died March 6.

5th. While sitting in his chair, preparing to receive some friends, the members of a book society, of which he was secretary, in his 61st

year, John Burton, esq. clerk of the survey in his majesty's dock-yard at Chatham, in Kent; and author of a valuable work intituled "Lectures on female education and manners," printed at the Rochester press in 1793, in two volumes, 8vo, which has since gone through a second edition.

This day a duel was fought in Foster avenue, Dublin, between two young gentlemen of the Barrack-office there, and intimate friends, upon occasion of a tavern-quarrel the preceding evening. On the first fire, at the distance of 11 paces, both parties fell; the one, Mr. Rogers, received a ball through his heart, and of course died instantly; the other, Mr. Long, was shot through both his thighs, and is also since dead.

8th. At Melksham, Wilts, where she had some time resided, Mrs. Anne Yearsley, well known in the poetical world as a self-instructed votary of the muses, under the name of "The milkwoman of Bristol." She possessed an extraordinary degree of genius, and an extensive and rare information and abilities, seldom found in the obscure path of life in which she originally moved.

11th. At Enfield Chace-side, aged 73, John Buckley, formerly a watch-maker in London. He was the last of the followers of Muggleton. "The Muggletonians were the followers of Ludovic Muggleton, a journeyman-tailor, who, with his companion Reeves (a person of equal obscurity), set up for great prophets in the turbulent times of Cromwell. They pretended to absolve or condemn whom they pleased; and gave out that they were the two last witnesses spoken

of in the Revelations, who were to appear previous to the final destruction of the world. Like other secretaries, who derive their name from their respective founders, they were mere ephemeral productions, who just appeared and then passed away."

19th. By a blood-vessel bursting in his head, while he was driving his niece in a gig, much regretted, the rev. William Butts, rector of little Wilbraham, and vicar of Granchester, both in Cambridge-shire, and in the patronage of C. C. college in that university, of which Mr. B. was admitted 1763, B. A. 1768, M. A. and fellow 1771. It is remarkable that both his father and grandfather died in the same way.

Suddenly, at the admiralty, in his 58th year, sir Michael le Fleming, bart. It appeared from the evidence of lord Howick, and several gentlemen at the Admiralty, before the Coroners inquest, the next day, that the deceased, who was member of parliament for the county of Westmoreland, visited lord Howick to solicit the preferment of a *protégé* of his, an officer in the Navy, and at the moment of repeating "We are apt to speak well of those we are partial to," he fell, and, in an instant, expired, without a groan. Mr. Andrews, a surgeon of eminence, who was called in, after feeling the pulse and examining the body, pronounced the deceased past recovery; assigning the cause of his death to be an effusion of blood upon the brain. The late worthy baronet succeeded his father, sir William; and married Diana, only child of Thomas Howard, late earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, by whom he had two daughters;

and dying without male-issue, the title devolves on Daniel (eldest son of the late Roger Fleming, esq. of Whitehaven), now sir Daniel le Fleming, bart.

In Seymour-place, the right hon. lord Monson. His lordship was in the 53d year of his age. His grandfather was created a baron in 1728, by his majesty Geo. II. The late lord married the hon. Miss Capel, daughter of the earl of Essex; and has left issue John-George, who succeeds to the title, and two daughters.

27th. Suddenly, at his house at Highbury place, near Islington, aged 70, John Ford, M. D. formerly an eminent accoucheur in the Old Jewry, and physician to the charity for delivering poor married women at their own houses; but, about 20 years ago, he retired from practice with an ample fortune; and, having married a rich widow, has since resided in Highbury-place. He was, from principle, a methodist; and, for a considerable time past, has been in the habit of occasionally preaching at some of the principal chapels in the connexion of the late Mr. Wesley. He was a man of learning, and much respected.

30th. At the house of her mother, lady Bagot, in Upper Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the hon. Mrs. Pagot, lady of the hon. gen. P. son of the earl of Uxbridge.

In his 79th year, Mr. Thomas Lambert, of College-str. Westminster; well known to the inhabitants, but more particularly to those of the parish of St. John, where he had filled on official situation, for 28 years, with such exemplary faith and regularity as to cause the gentlemen of that parish, in his decline of life, to withdraw him from their

their employ, with a suitable provision during its remainder. He assisted as an attendant at Westminster abbey on the coronation of his majesty ; and had lived upwards of 49 years in one house. Perhaps few persons were possessed of more genuine integrity ; none have died better beloved by his children and relatives, or more esteemed by his friends.

June 1st. In the prime of life, greatly and deservedly lamented by a numerous and respectable acquaintance, Mr. John Marriott, of Manchester ; a gentleman of a highly-cultivated and independent mind, a sound understanding, and inflexible integrity. His premature death was occasioned by the overturning of the Bath mail-coach near Langley-Broom, whilst he was unfortunately riding on the box, the body of the coach falling on his head, caused instant death.

At Rotherhithe, in Surrey, James Hunt, a bird-fancier ; who unfortunately lost his life (as appeared before the coroner) by his own gun going off, the whole contents of which lodged just under the rim of his belly, and occasioned instant death.

In Ireland, Dr. Fisher, once well known in this country, formerly a proprietor of Covent-garden theatre. He married Signora Storace many years ago at Vienna ; but a disagreement happening very soon after the nuptial ceremony, they separated, and the lady has ever since resumed her maiden name.

4th. Aged 71, the rev. Antony Trollope, formerly of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, B. A. 1758, M. A. 1761 ; rector of Cottered with Bradfield annexed, formerly in the gift of the Forester family, and vicar of

Rushden, in the gift of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, all near Baldock, Herts ; youngest son of the late sir Thomas T. bart. and uncle to the present baronet, sir John T. of Caswick, near Stamford, co. Lincoln. He married, in 1767, the second daughter of Adolphus Metkerke, esq. of Julians in Rushden, who died several years since, leaving a son, in the law, and three daughters, married, 1. to Thomas Partington, esq. barrister at law ; 2. to — Trollope, esq. her cousin ; 3. to the rev. Mr. Ellis, of Hertfordshire.

7th. At Wimbleton, Surrey, the seat of his son, Andrew Bernard, esq. Thomas Bernard, lord bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c. His lordship was born in 1726 ; appointed dean of Derry in 1768 ; consecrated bishop of Killaloe in 1780 ; and translated to the bishoprick of Limerick in 1794, on the death of the right hon. and rev. lord Glentworth. His lordship married, first, the daughter of Wm. Browne, esq. of Browne's-hill, co. Carlow ; and secondly, in 1803. Jane Ross-Lewin, daughter of John Ross-Lewin, esq. of Fort Fergus, co. Clare. His lordship has left issue an only son, Andrew Bernard, esq. married to the lady Anne Lindsay, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Balcarras, and sister of Elizabeth countess of Hardwicke. The venerable prelate was a member of most literary societies in the united kingdom ; but particularly of the club composed of Garrick, Johnson, Burke, sir Joshua Reynolds, Cumberland, Goldsmith, &c. &c. ; and was dean of Derry when the latter wrote his poem of "Retaliation," in which he is thus noticed :

M m 3

"Our

"Our Dean shall be vension, just fresh
from the plains."

He was then a new member of the
society ; and, supposing him dead,
the poet goes on :

"Here lies the good Dean, re-united to
earth,
Who mix'd reason with pleasure, and
wisdom with mirth ;
If he had any faults, he has left us in
doubt,
At least in six weeks I could not find
'em out ;
Yet some have declar'd, and it can't be
deny'd them,
That slyboots was cursedly cunning to
hide 'em."

At Aberdeen, Mr. Jn. Barnet,
bookseller.

8th. Thomas Velley, esq. F. L. S.
late lieutenant-colonel of the Ox-
fordshire militia, and long a resident
in Bath. Travelling in a double-
bodied stage-coach, between 9 and
10 o'clock of the night of the 6th,
it stopped at the Castle-inn, Read-
ing, and while the coachman was
gone in to refresh himself, the horses
set off without him ; and Mr. Vel-
ley, alarmed at his situation, jump-
ed out, and fell with the back part
of his head so violently on the
ground, as to occasion a concussion
of the brain. He languished in a
state of insensibility, till this even-
ing, when he expired. Mrs. V. on
her way from Bath, with medical
assistance for her unfortunate hus-
band, was stopped by three foot-
pads on her entrance into Reading
in a post-chaise, between 11 and 12
the next night ; but, just as she was
about to deliver her money, a coach
came up, and the villains made off
over the fields without effecting their
purpose.

At Richmond, Surrey, Edward
John Astly, esq. formerly colonel
in the 1st regiment of foot-guards,
and eight years equerry to the late
duke of Cumberland. He was se-
cond son of the late sir Edward
A. of Melton-constable, Norfolk.

10th. In Queen-square, Bloomsbury,
aged 73, Cornelius Donovan, esq.
brother-in-law to lady Skeffington ;
and also related to the Mr. Skef-
fington, so noted for his dress.

13th. At Spital, near Chesterfield, in
his 75th year, the rev. John Bourne,
M. A. rector of Sutton, and vicar
of South Wingfield, co. Derby. He
was born Feb. 14, 1729-30 ; mar-
ried, first, Anne Blaxidge, who died
Feb. 15, 1769, s. p. ; secondly,
Dec. 18, 1769, Anna-Katharina,
only daughter of the late truly ve-
nerable Samuel Pegge, L. L. D.
rector of Whittington ; by whom
(who still survives him) he had one
son, Henry, born 1771, who died
young, 2. Elizabeth, married to
Robert Jennings, of Hull, esq. who
in 1804, died s. p. leaving her a
widow ; 3. Jane, wife of Benjamin
Thompson, esq. of Nottingham,
translator of "The German the-
atre," by whom she has three chil-
dren. He was of Peterhouse,
Cambridge ; B. A. 1754, M. A.
1757.

14th. At Orenden, near Halifax, aged
48, John Wheler Collington, esq.
late a captain in the 33d foot, in
which regiment he had served 30
years. He was twice wounded in
America, being there with the regi-
ment nearly the whole of that war.
His remains were attended to the
grave by all the officers in the town
and neighbourhood of Halifax ;
and three excellent volleys were
fired over the grave by a detach-
ment of the Halifax volunteers.

At Cheltenham, in his 43d year, sir Wilfred Lawson, bart. of Brayton-house and Isel-hall, both co. Cumberland; the last of the male line of one of the most ancient families in that county. Dying without issue, the title becomes extinct.

16th. In his 66th year, the rev. John Wills, D.D. warden of Wadham college, Oxford. He was born at Seaborough, co. Somerset, of which he was rector, and of Tydd St. Mary, Lincoln, in the gift of the crown; M. A. 1765, July 13, the same day with his predecessor in the wardenship, Dr. Gerard, whom he succeeded in 1783; and served the office of vice-chancellor from 1792 to 1796. The rectory of Seaborough is in the gift of the Martin family; of whom Adam M. esq. of the Exchequer, F. A. S. who died 1783, presented Mr. Wills 1779, who rebuilt the parsonage 1784, as is commemorated by an inscription on its South front. He was also a considerable benefactor to his college, as will appear from the following account of his benefactions and legacies: 400l. a year in addition to the wardenship, with his books and furniture to his successor; 1000l. to improve the warden's lodgings; two exhibitions, of 100l. each, annually, to two fellows of the college, students in law and physic; and two exhibitions, of 20l. each, annually, to two scholars, students in the same professions; 31l. 10s. a year to the Divinity lecturer of the college, to read lectures on the thirty-nine articles; to one superannuated fellow, not having property of his own to the amount of 75l. per annum, an annual exhibition of 75l.; to one other superannuated fellow,

not having property of his own to the amount of 100l. per annum, an annual exhibition of 50l.; 5l. or 6l. value in books per annum to the best reader of the lessons in chapel; an estate in Tydd St. Giles, in Lincolnshire, worth about 150l. per annum, to the vice-chancellor for the time being, in aid of the great burthens of his office; 100l. per annum to the senior Bodleian librarian; 100l. per annum to the theatre; 1000l. stock, 3 per cents. to the Infirmary. The residue of his fortune, exclusive of private legacies to relations, friends, and servants, he has bequeathed to the college, to establish a fund to accumulate for the purpose of purchasing or benefiting livings for that college.

17th. In his 73d year, James Round, esq. of Birch-hall, near Colchester, and upwards of 40 years in the commission of the peace for the county of Essex.

In Hans-place, Sloane-street, Chelsea, aged about 60, Henry Holland, esq. in the commission of the peace for the county of Middlesex, architect and surveyor to the East India company, in which he is succeeded by Samuel P. Cockerell, esq.

At Wimbledon-house, Surrey, Mrs. Basil Montagu, eldest daughter of sir Wm. Rush.

18th. At the George-inn, Bridgewater, in his 50th year, in consequence of the fracture he received in his leg by the breaking-down of the hustings at the nomination of a member for the county, on the 9th instant, Samuel Day, esq. of Burnett, and of Charter-house-Hinton, co. Somerset. Mr. D. was a most active magistrate, humane, upright, hospitable, and pious.

19th. In Russell-place, Fitzroy-square, in his 66th year, Robert M'Ghie, esq. formerly of Jamaica.

At his house at Muswell-hill, near Hornsey, Middlesex, John Champion, esq. formerly of Upper Thames-street.

21st. Of a fever of very short continuance, at his seat at Lees Court, in Kent, in his 53d year, Lewis-Thomas, lord Sondes. He married Mary, daughter of Richard Milles, esq. of Nackington, co. Kent, by whom he has left four sons and two daughters. He is succeeded in title and estate by his son, Lewis-Richard.

At his apartments in Dean-street, Soho, at the advanced age of 82, Mr. Robert Lawless, who, for considerably more than half a century, had been so well known to, and much distinguished by, the notice and regard of many of the most eminent literary characters of his time, as one of the principal assistants to Mr. Andrew Millar, formerly bookseller in the Strand; afterwards to his successor, the late Mr. Alderman Cadell; and since, till very lately, to Messrs. Cadell and Davies, the present conductors of that extensive business. Mr. L. was a native of Dublin, and related, not very distantly, to the respectable and recently-ennobled family of the same name, as well as to the Barnewalls and Aylmers. He was a Roman catholic, and strictly observant of the duties and obligations of his religion, yet perfectly free from the bigotry and uncharitableness which, have, on too many occasions, marked the conduct of members of the Romish church. In his character were united the soundest integrity of mind with a simplicity of manners rarely equal-

led. His reading had been extensive; his judgment was remarkably correct; his memory uncommonly strong; and the anecdotes with which it was stored often afforded gratification to his friends, who delighted to draw him into conversation. One remarkable instance of his singleness of heart we can add on the most indisputable authority. Not very long before Mr. Cadell obtained the scarlet gown, on taking stock at the end of the year, *honest Robin* very seriously applied to his master, to ask a favour of him. Mr. Cadell, of course, expected that it was somewhat that might be beneficial to the applicant. But great indeed was his surprise to find that the purport of the request was, that his annual salary might be *lowered*, as the year's account was not *so good* as the preceding one; and Lawless really feared that his master could not *afford* to pay him such very high wages. On retiring from business, the benevolent master had a picture of the faithful servant painted by sir William Beechey, which he always shewed to his friends as one of the principal ornaments of his drawing-room.

26th. At Chifton, near Bristol, of a decline, the eldest daughter of sir George Rumbold, bart.

30th. At High Halden in Kent, the rev. Daniel Wilcox, rector of that parish, and vicar of Bettisden, in the same county. He was of Clare-hall, Cambridge; B. A. 1771, M. A. 1774.

At Berlin, M. Frederick-Henry Stubenrach, director of the regency of the order of St. John, and of the domain-chamber of his royal highness prince Ferdinand of Prussia. Among others, the 612 colonial establishments, in the district
of

of Warteburch, comprising nearly 300,000 acres of arable land, are indebted to him for their original settlement.

At the alms-houses at Skirbeck, near Boston, aged 98, John Custelow.

Mr. Francis Bissill, of Knipton, co. Leicester. Returning home, in perfect health, from his friends at Redmile, he fell from his horse, and died immediately, supposed in a fit of apoplexy.

At Gainsborough, in an advanced age, Mrs. Dorothy Fisher, late of London.

Mrs. Berry, wife of the rev. Butler B. vicar of Triplow.

June 4th. Aged 69, and on the anniversary of his birth, sir Charles Davers, bart. of Rushbrooke-hall, near Bury, Suffolk, of which borough he was the faithful representative during five successive parliaments, elected since the year 1774, and his family during the greatest part of the period from the revolution in 1688, being ever strenuously attached to true Whig principles. At the last general election, in 1802, he retired into private life, and received the unanimous thanks of the corporation for his steady and upright conduct during the several sessions he represented them. At his own express desire, his remains were very privately interred in the family-vault at Rushbrooke. The title is become extinct.

Mr. T. Lloyd, second lieutenant of the Dreadnoughtman of war, lying at Portsmouth, accompanied some brother-officers to Kingston; where, after taking a few glasses of wine, the joke went merrily round, and Mr. L. in the height of good humour, wishing his companions to go with him to the church-yard, as

he had a particularly desire to fix on a spot where he should like his body to be buried. His wish was complied with; and, after having pointed out a spot of ground, all the officers returned on board; soon after which, Mr. L. was taken ill of a pain in his bowels, and went to bed, having taken some warm nourishment. The next morning he was found dead in his bed; and the body was this day interred in Kingstons church-yard, agreeably to his wishes when alive.

11th. At Buxton, aged 70, Andrew Douglas, esq. of Ednam-house, in Roxburghshire. After a medical education at Edinburgh, he was appointed, in 1756, a surgeon of the royal navy, and served for several years with reputation in that capacity. Settling, afterwards, as a surgeon at Deal, he there married Miss Carter, a younger sister of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, of learned memory; and continued to practise there till the year 1775, when he quitted Deal, and went to Edinburgh, and was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Physic in that University; on which occasion he defended a thesis, "De Variolæ Insitione." Fixing, soon after this, in London, he became a licentiate of the college of physicians; and for several years was one of the physicians of the charity for delivering poor married women at their own habitations. It was in the course of his practice at this institution that he met with a case which he supposed to be an instance of a rupture of the uterus, and which he made the subject of a pamphlet published in 1785, and enlarged in a subsequent edition, under the title of "Observations on the Rupture of the Gravid Uterus," 8vo. 1789. He

1789. He was likewise the author of some papers in the fifth and sixth volumes of "Medical Observations and Inquiries;" and was for some time physician to the Asylum. His wife died in 1790; and, the year following, he married Mrs. Beauvoir, widow of the rev. Dr. Osmond B. Being now in the possession of a considerable fortune, acquired by this marriage, he retired from the medical profession, and, with his wife, visited, in 1792, the continent of Europe, and remained there till 1796, when they obtained permission from the directory to return home through France. About the year 1800 he took possession of a house (Ednam-house) he had just before purchased at Kelso, and was on his way from thence to London when he was taken ill at Buxton, and, after a very short illness, died. He was a sensible, well-informed man, of a mild and friendly disposition, and his death is much regretted.

14th. At Newcastle, aged 81, Ninian Walker, who had visited most parts of the globe, and had been engaged in many perilous adventures. He was a native of Fife-shire; was pressed in 1745; and, on board the *Happy Jennet*, of 20 guns, was in pursuit of the pretender in most of the creeks of Scotland. He afterwards served on board the Cambridge man of war eight years, without ever being on-shore; was at the capture of Guadaloupe, in 1758, and at the memorable siege of the Havannah, in 1761, when the Cambridge lost 125 men in 20 minutes, before the Moro castle. He had the yellow fever, with several others of his ship, and was the only one that recovered. At the peace he entered into the merchants'

service, in which he at length got lamed; and then maintained himself and his second wife, who was bed-ridden for 12 years, by selling small wares about the country, refusing relief from the parish, although offered it; till at last being unable to travel, and reduced to a mere skeleton, he was obliged to receive some small assistance.

21st. At Dresden, in his 76th year, his royal highness Francis Xavier, prince-royal of Poland, duke of Saxony, and uncle of the reigning elector, during whose minority he acted as regent of the electoral states.

24th. At Oddingly, county of Worcester, of which he was rector, the rev. George Parker. He was in the habit of going daily to the field where he was inhumanly murdered, at five in the evening, and driving home his cows to be milked; and the perpetrator of the wicked deed appears to have for some days meditated his diabolical purpose, by repeatedly going there to watch a favourable opportunity, as the ground behind the hedge, whence the fatal shot was fired, was exceedingly beaten down, particularly opposite a stile. It appears, however, that after the unfortunate gentleman received the contents of the murderer's gun, he had resolution enough to pursue the wretch over the hedge into the field whence he fired, when the inhuman monster, with the butt-end of his musket, completed the murder. The marks on the ground are still visible in two places, where the scull, by the force of the blows, had indented the earth. The wadding of the piece had set fire to the poor gentleman's clothes, and there remained on the spot singed remnants of them. On the culprit's running,

running away, he was observed to be in great haste by a man who knew him well, who interrogating him as to the cause of his speed (as he was a remarkable fast runner) and whether he was then running a race, was answered, "there are two men in pursuit of me, but you must not say which way I am gone." The person, concluding he was pursued by bailiffs, suffered him to pass. The suspected murderer, for whose apprehension a reward of 100 guineas is offered, has hitherto eluded the vigilance of the police, though it is conjectured he is still in the neighbourhood. Mr. Parker was a native of Cumberland, in which county he received his education. After quitting school, he resided with the late Mr. Fowler, of St. John's academy, in Warwick, for several years, as classical assistant. In 1793 he was presented, by his friend and patron, the duke of Norfolk, to the rectory of Oddingley, where he resided till his death. He has left a wife and family.

25th. At Bradford, county of York, after a lingering illness, aged 61, John Hardy, esq. an indulgent father, affectionate brother, and kind friend. He practised many years as an attorney in that town, with great reputation; and about six years ago retired from business. He had filled the important situations of law-agent to the proprietors of the Aire and Calder navigation, and the Leeds and Liverpool canal, with great credit to himself, and advantage to those undertakings. He was a joint proprietor of extensive iron-works, at Low Moor, near Bradford. A considerable fortune, the reward of his industry, devolves on his two sons.

William Gardiner, a lieutenant-general in the army, colonel of the 60th regiment of foot, commander of the forces in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and dependencies, and governor of Kinsale; second son of the right hon. Charles Gardiner, and brother of the late lord viscount Mountjoy. General Gardiner was born Oct. 23, 1748, married in 1777, Mary Wrottesley, youngest daughter of the rev. sir Richard W. of Wrottesley, county of Stafford, (by Mary, second daughter of John lord Gower, by Evelyn, youngest daughter of Evelyn Pierpoint, duke of Kingston), and sister of the duchess of Grafton; by whom he had issue, 1. Charles, a captain in the army; 2. Gertrude Florinda, married, first, Charles John Clarke, esq. of Hitchin priory, Hertfordshire, and secondly, Charles Mannors, esq. of Edmondthorpe-hall, county of Leicester; 3. Harriet, married to Robert Patrick, esq. of Ayrshire, Scotland; 4. Frances; 5. Mary.

J. Jones, esq. of the ordnance department at Languard Fort, Essex.

July 2d. At Stanlake, county of Oxford, after a short but severe illness, sincerely lamented, and in his 49th year, the rev. Arthur Homer, D.D. rector of that parish, and formerly fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, in whose gift the living is, and of which he proceeded M. A. 1781, B. D. 1790, and D. D. 1797.

Suddenly, at her house at Kensington-Gore, in her 70th year, the hon. Mary Leigh, only surviving sister and heiress of Edward lord Leigh, of Stonleigh-abbey, county of Warwick, which title became extinct

extinct at his death. About three o'clock she rang the bell, and ordered the cook to bring up the bill of fare, and, while in the act of examining it, and informing the cook that some private friends were coming to dine with her, he observed a manifest change in her whole countenance; when she retired to her chair, and in a few minutes after expired without a groan. By her decease, one of the finest estates in England comes to the heir at law, not less, at the present rents, than 17,000*l.* a-year, in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire. But what makes this estate of immense value is, that the rents have not been raised these sixty years, the good old lady not wishing to raise them; as her brother had adopted that line of conduct; and at this moment, if re-let, it is supposed the annual revenue would not be less than 50,000*l.* The late lord Leigh died insane; and the worthy lady, whose death we now record, was not unmarked in her character by some eccentricity; but it was of the most harmless nature, and always turned on the humane and benevolent part of her disposition. Her munificence was immense, she having been known to give, what she called her four years' savings (20,000*l.*) away at one time, to a distant connexion. Her charities were very extensive; and, upon the whole, her loss will be long felt in the little circle in which she moved. Her funeral, attended by a numerous and respectable tenantry, proceeded from Stonleigh-abbey, to the place of interment, in the family vault at Stonleigh church, on the 14th inst. when an appropriate sermon was delivered on the occasion,

by the rev. Mr. Thomas vicar of the parish. She had always requested that she might be buried in the same cloaths she should have on at the time she died. This request of course has been rigidly attended to, and she was buried in a hoop, which she was at all times accustomed to wear, a very handsome silk gown, a beautiful cap, which has on it a profusion of remarkably rich lace, and other articles of dress of considerable value.

4th. At Forest-house, Leyton, Essex, in his 63d year, Samuel Bosanquet, esq. His whole time and talents were devoted to the service of others. Though never engaged in business upon his own account, he made the commercial interests of his country his particular study from a very early age. To the trade of the Levant company, of which he was deputy-governor, he devoted a large portion of his time. To the concerns of the Bank of England, of which he was for many years a director, his attention was unremitting, and his opinion upon commercial subjects was frequently resorted to by those who held the highest situations in the state. The duties of a magistrate in the country he discharged with the same activity, and the same advantage to his neighbourhood.

5th. At Newcastle, aged 85, the rev. Hugh Moises, M. A. head master of the grammar-school, there; in which situation he contributed not a little to the formation of some of the first characters of the country, lord Eldon, lord Collingwood, sir William Scott, &c. &c.

At his house in George-street, Portman-square, Arthur Richard Dillon, archbishop and duke of Narbonne,

Narbonne, primate of the Gaúls, president of the states of Languedoc, and commander of the order of the Holy Ghost. This venerable prelate, who was eminently distinguished for his knowledge, talents, and eloquence, was the youngest brother of Henry the eleventh lord viscount Dillon, of Ireland, and son of the honourable Arthur Dillon, third son of Theobald seventh viscount Dillon, a marshal-de-camp, and lieutenant-general in the French service. He was born at St. Germain-en-Laye, 1721; ordained bishop of Evreux, Oct. 28, 1753; archbishop of Thoulouse, 1758; archbishop of Narbonne, 1762; and commander of the order of the Holy Ghost, 1776. When the revolution took place in France, which was a total subversion of every principle that all good men hold dear and sacred, he retired to this country, where he has since constantly resided, preferring the sacrifice of his high rank and situation, to a dereliction of those principles of duty and honour which uniformly guided his conduct through a long and meritorious life. At half after nine in the morning of the 11th, all that remains in England of the ancient royal family and nobility of France, began to assemble at the French Catholic chapel, in Little George-street, King-street, Portman-square, to do honour to his obsequies. M. M. Colbert, bishop of Rhodes, performed the service in his full pontificals, in the presence of all the other emigrant French bishops now in London, and a great number of the most distinguished of the French nobility, with the crosses and ribbons of the different orders to which they belong. After the usual

prayers and anthems, the body was removed in a hearse and six, followed by four mourning-coaches, lord Dillon's, lord Trimblestown's, and a private gentleman's carriage, to St. Pancras church-yard, where prayers were again read by the bishop of Rhodes. In the carriages were several bishops and other ecclesiastics, as well as his relations and friends.

At Coburg, in his 53d year, of an inflammation of the lungs, prince Lewis-Charles-Frederick of Saxe-Coburg, brother of the reigning duke of that name, and lieutenant-general in the service of the emperor of Austria.

7th. At Stansted-Bury, Herts, sincerely lamented by his family and friends; in his 82d year, captain Jocelyn, of the royal navy. He was son of lieutenant-colonel J. and descended, in the same degree of relationship with the late earl of Roden, from sir Robert J. bart. of Hyde-hall, near Sawbridgeworth, Herts. He married Elizabeth daughter and sole heiress of John Salusbury, esq. of Brynbarcutt, co. Denbigh; by whom he had two sons and two daughters; the eldest a captain in the 58th foot, now in Sicily; the youngest, a youth of great promise, who was a lieutenant in the same regiment, fell, in his 18th year, in Egypt, on the ever-memorable 21st of March, 1801, when the brave Abercrombie received his death-wound. Captain J. was entered in the navy at a very early age, and for a long series of years faithfully served his king and country. He was lord Anson's first lieutenant in the Royal George, and acquitted himself with great credit, and the acknowledged satisfaction of his noble commander, who expressed

pressed much pleasure in the opportunity of serving him. He commanded his majesty's ship *Lenox*, of 74 guns, at the taking of the *Manillas*, where he was entrusted with the care of the disembarkation; and, to use the words of the gazette upon that occasion, "did every thing that could be expected from a diligent good officer." He lost a considerable share of prize-money by a peace being concluded before the account of the capture arrived; and government not espousing the cause of the captors. He was also unfortunate in being, with a long list of brave officers, deprived of his rank by the unprecedented promotion of the late lord Howe, and put upon a superannuated list created by his lordship for unrewarded valour. He was a man of the strictest honour and integrity; a cool, active, intrepid officer; and conscientiously discharged the duties of husband, parent, and friend. He was remarkably temperate, having been often heard to declare that he never was intoxicated but once in his life; and, what may appear as remarkable to those who were not acquainted with his excellent temper, he was never heard to swear or utter an oath, and that he severely punished those sins on board his ship.

Mr. Farmer, bailiff to lady Webster, of Battle Abbey, Sussex. Returning to Battle from Pevensy fair, on the 5th, he agreed, for a trifling wager, to ride a race along the road with a neighbour; in the course of which Mr. F. was thrown from his horse into a ditch by the road-side, and was so terribly hurt that he languished till this morning, when he died without having uttered a syllable.

8th. At his apartments at Haynesford, in the county of Norfolk, in his 58th year, sir Charles Playters, bart. He is succeeded in title by his half brother, William, now abroad.

13th. This day a party, consisting of Mr. Bradford (of the firm of M'Call, Bradford, and co.), Mr. Phillips (of the firm of Keogh and Phillips,) Mr. John Orr, Mr. Evans (of the firm of J. and E. Evans,) Mr. Francis Casey (of the house of M'Call and co.), and Mr. Thomas Casey, his brother, with a boatman of the name of Roberts, went in a pleasure-boat on an excursion down the river at Liverpool. They were returning about eight in the evening, and in the act of tacking to make George's dock basin, when a sudden and violent squall came on while the boat was in stays; the boatman, terrified at the apparent danger, and intent only on his own safety, imprudently quitted the helm, and grasped a loose board lying at the bottom of the boat. The consequence was, the boat upset, and sunk instantly. All were plunged into the water, but being good swimmers, some made for a brig, then under sail, which most inhumanly passed within a few yards of them, without making any effort to extricate them from their perilous situation, though it was the opinion of the numerous spectators on shore that they might have saved all of them. Three boats put off from the ship, and make every exertion to save as many as they could, in which they were partly successful. Mr. Orr, Mr. Evans, Mr. F. Casey, and the boatman, were taken up, when nearly exhausted; but Mr. Bradford, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Thomas Casey, were drowned. Their friend

friends and society have sustained a severe loss in their untimely end ; the two former were in the prime of life, and endeared to their numerous friends by their virtues and merits ; the latter was in the bloom of youth, only 16 years of age, and gave the most flattering promises of an estimable manhood.

18th. At Oundle, aged 87, William Walcot, M. D. who acted many years as a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant for Northamptonshire. He was formerly of Jesus college, Cambridge; M. B. 1742, M. D. 1747. To his housekeeper and footman he has bequeathed 50*l.* a year each ; to his coachman, 20*l.* a year; and 100*l.* in cash to each of them ; to his gardeuer, 200*l.* ; to his servant-maids, who lately entered his service, 10*l.* each, and a double mourning ; to his barber, 5*l.* ; to his tailor, 10*l.* ; to his blacksmith, 10*l.* ; and to several servants who had formerly lived with him, 5*l.* each.

21st. At Tunbridge-wells, in his 50th year, sir John Chardin Musgrave, bart. of Eden-hall, co. Cumberland. He is succeeded by his eldest son, now a minor.

23d. Miss Postlethwaite, daughter of William P. esq. of Fleckney, co. Leicester.

At Leith fort, col. W. P. Smith, commanding the royal artillery in Scotland.

24th. Samuel Barnes, a soldier belonging the 3d regiment of guards, who lost his life by falling into the main sewer in South Moulton-street. He was employed, with about 12 other labourers, to clear away a quantity of rubbish formed by the bursting of the main sewer in a yard between South Moulton and Davies-streets, Oxford-street. It was

thought expedient by the foreman of Mr. Rowles, the contractor for keeping the sewers in repair, to call the men from their work in the afternoon, their situation being dangerous from the quantity of water which inundated the lower parts of the houses around them. After the workmen had retired, one of them, as it appeared, who had drank rather freely while at work, had left his jacket, and the deceased went for it. Another person went with him; and as he was attempting to reach with a stick the jacket, which was on the other side of the sewer, the ground gave way, and he was precipitated into the torrent of water, which was very strong, and about six feet in depth. Several persons went down the sewer as soon as the water had gone off, as far as Elliot's brew-house, Pimlico, from whence the shore lies open. The body was found by two of Mr. Elliot's men, on Thursday morning, July 31, floating on the water opposite the middle of Milbank. Verdict accidental death. An affecting scene followed the inquest. The wife of the deceased, a young woman of very interesting appearance, with two children, and herself again pregnant, followed the corpse of her husband to the grave, in front of the company of guards to which her husband belonged. The common sewer which crosses Oxford-street, near South Moulton and Davies-streets, was originally a small stream that ran down from Hampstead-hill. When Mary-le-bone parish was about to be built upon, it was found necessary to extend the bed through which this small current flowed, both in order to form a land-drain for the marshy ground, and with a view to form a general channel through

through which the common sewers of that part of the town might pass. The stream was by this means increased to a rivulet, which, after rain, has as strong a current as that which is necessary to turn a common-sized mill. It is remarkably well arched over; and, had it not been for the two uncommonly violent floods which came shortly after each other, it might have stood for years. It emptied, as most of our common-sewers do, into the Thames.

27th. At his house at Sutton, near Dublin, George Molyneux, esq. second son of the late right honourable sir Capel Molyneux, bart. of Castle Dillon, co. Armagh. He was called to the bar in 1780, and returned to parliament for the borough of Granard. He married Miss Gore, sister of William Gore, esq. by whom he has left no issue.

29th. At Portsmouth, master Mowbray. He went to Portsdown fair, under the immediate care of his mother, and a lady, the neighbour and friend of the family, and in company with his sister, and several other children. After taking tea, the party were walking in the broad path, called the Running-walk, where no danger was ever apprehended, it never having been known that a carriage of any kind, or horse, entered that part of the fair. Unfortunately, a heavy cart, with two horses, that had brought some articles of refreshment to the booth at the top of the walk, had been left near the booth by the driver, and some person having thoughtlessly leaped upon the fore horse, he took fright, and both horses set off at full gallop down the walk, which is a steep hill. The party running to get out of the way, master Mowbray

fell, and some of the other children fell over him. The cart went over his breast; one of the children, daughter of the lady above alluded to, had part of her dress torn off by the wheel; and the sister of the deceased was dragged, by an officer belonging to the German Legion (at Hilsca,) from before the wheel, so much at his own hazard, that the wheel actually grazed her head. The boy was instantly bled by the surgeon of one of the German regiments, and visited by Mr. Soaper, surgeon, of Southwick; but both declared he could scarcely survive to be conveyed home, and he died on the road. He was perfectly sensible, and complained little, but of thirst; he said he should be better when he got home to his father's bed; and a little before he expired, he raised himself, and putting his arms round his mother's neck, kissed her. He did not speak afterwards, but expired in the easiest manner. He was an only son, eight years and a half old; a remarkably fine boy, of a frank and manly spirit, and was justly beloved and admired.

30th. At Swansea, Francis earl of Landaff, viscount and baron of Thomastown, governor and custos rotulorum of the county of Tipperary. His lordship was born in 1738; and married, Sept. 6, 1764, Elisha, second daughter of James Smyth, esq. of Tinney park, co. Wicklow, sister of the right hon. sir Edward Skeffington Smyth, bart. and grand-daughter of Edward Smyth, lord bishop of Down and Connor; by whom he had issue, 1. Francis-James, born Jan. 20, 1768, now earl of Landaff, married, July 10, 1797, Cecilia, daughter and co-heiress of John Latouche, esq. of Harristown; 2. Montague, born August

August 18, 1773, a colonel in the army; 3. George, born July 1779; 4. the lady Elizabeth. His lordship married, secondly, June 1784, the lady Catharine, second daughter of Clotworthy Skeffington, earl of Massereene, who died without issue Feb. 9, 1796. The earl of Landaff was descended from a family of great antiquity, originally resident at Rader in Glamorganshire, and possessed of the town of Landaff, where, in the cathedral church, are many ancient monuments to the Mathew family, particularly one of David Mathew the Great, standard-bearer to Edward IV. (see Willis's *Landaff*.) By intermarriage with the house of Ormond, his lordship's ancestors became possessed of large estates in Ireland, where, for nearly two centuries, they have resided at Thomas-town, in Tipperary, formerly reckoned the most magnificent demesne in Ireland. A curious account of the splendid manner of living of an ancestor of this noble family at Thomas-town, may be seen in Sheridan's life of Swift. The late earl was a nobleman of the most amiable and conciliating manners, and possessed, in an eminent degree, the united advantages of captivating address and personal beauty.

31st. At his house in Wells, Richard Jenkyns, esq. an eminent attorney.

Aug. 4th. Baroness Pfeilitzer, niece of Wm. Mauduit, esq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields, and only sister of Lucas Garvey, esq. of the island of St. Christopher.

12th. At Beckenham, in Kent, the dowager lady Dacre, widow of Thomas Barrett Lennard, lord Dacre, of Belhouse, Essex, and sister to the late earl Camden.

14th. After a long illness, at her

house in Percy-street, aged 82, Dame Elizabeth Gosling, widow of sir Francis G. knt. who was elected alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without in 1756; sheriff in 1758; and died Dec. 29, 1768. She was one of the ladies mentioned by Mrs. Barbauld in her life of Richardson, under the name of "Miss M. afterwards lady G."

17th. At Tunbridge-wells, Sophia countess of Mount-Edgcombe, third daughter and coheirress of John earl of Buckinghamshire; born March 26, 1768; and married, Feb. 25, 1789, to Richard earl of Mount-Edgcombe, who, with five children, three sons and two daughters, have suffered, by her death, an irreparable loss. She was beautiful in her person; an exemplary mother; her heart was tender and benevolent; her manners amiable, gentle, and unassuming.

19th. At Islington, in his 42d year, Mr. John Biggerstaff, many years joint vestry-clerk of that parish with his father, and who has since been thus honourably noticed on a tablet of white marble in the chancel of Islington church:

"To the memory of
Mr. JOHN BIGGERSTAFF, Sen.,
late vestry clerk of this parish;
who died the 29th of Decr. 1804,
in the 73d year of his age;

After serving his office with great integrity and ability upwards of 37 years, so truly esteemed and so sincerely lamented by the parishioners,
that they voted

unanimously, on Easter Tuesday
1805,

for the erection of this tablet."

20th. Rev. John Weddred, vicar of St. John the Baptist, in Peterborough, and minor canon of that cathedral, both of which are in the
N n gift

gift of the bishop of the diocese. He was also a magistrate for the soke of Peterborough. He was of Trinity college Cambridge, S. T. P. 1797, and had been vicar of Northborough, near Peterborough.

23d. At Worthing, Sussex, of a fit of apoplexy, in his 54th year, being born in 1752, the honourable William Henry Bouverie, of Betchworth-house, Surrey, second son of Jacob late earl of Radnor, brother of the present earl, and in the last parliament representative for the city of Salisbury. Mr. B. was a member of University college, Oxford; and married 1777, the lady Bridget Douglas, daughter of James late earl of Morton (and sister of the present earl,) by whom he had issue a son, now a captain in the army, and three daughters, who, having been educated under the immediate eye of a most affectionate father, and with the brightest example before them of every conjugal and maternal excellence in their truly amiable mother, are deservedly ranked among the most elegant and accomplished young ladies in England.

25th. At his house, at Brompton, in his 73d year, Francis Grojan, esq. an eminent attorney in Vine-street, Piccadilly, clerk to the commissioners of the court of requests, and many years deputy high bailiff of the city and liberty of Westminster.

At his house in Conduit-street, Hanover-square, aged 73, James Robson, esq. formerly an eminent bookseller in New Bond-street, and many years high bailiff of Westminster. Mr. R. was in the commission of the peace; and to considerable classical acquirements had added the advantages of travel.

After a long illness, in his 47th

year, Mr. John Gregory, many years the able, worthy, and independent editor of the Leicester journal (as his father, by whom it was begun, had been before him.)

26th. Mr. Whittel, one of his majesty's cooks, who has left upwards of 12,000*l.* in property, without any relative to inherit it.

At his house, near Emanuel college, in Cambridge, aged 72, the rev. James Goodwin, vicar of Lewesden, co. Northampton, and formerly fellow of King's college, in whose patronage the living is; B. A. 1756, M. A. 1759.

27th. At Moorgate, near Rotherham in Yorkshire, in consequence of a fall from his horse on the preceding day, the rev. John Holden, senior fellow and tutor of Sidney Sussex college, Cambridge; formerly deputy-chaplain to the military hospital at Chelsea. He entered Cambridge as a student in 1780, and soon obtained a scholarship by his assiduity. In 1784, he took a very distinguishing degree of A. B. in the Senate-house, being second Wrangler and second Smith's prizeman, of that year: and regularly proceeded A. M. in 1787, and S. T. B. in 1794. In 1797, he was nominated Scrutator, conjointly with the rev. William Wood, of St. John's college. He was, also, an honorary preacher at St. Mary's, and one of the twelve Whitehall preachers from Cambridge appointed by the bishop of London.

28th. At Barbadoes, aged 50, on the day which had been appointed for the swearing him in as president and commander in chief of that island, the honourable John Ince, a faithful, indefatigable, and zealous officer of that colonial government, and

and a valuable member of the community. His death was occasioned by an accident of a negro driving a horse furiously (a practice which it is wonderful has not been more frequently attended with like fatal effects) against him 14 days before, just as he had mounted his own, from which he was precipitated, and received such a contusion generally throughout his frame, as to occasion his death.

Sept. 2d. In a very advanced age, Mr. Stageldoir, formerly, and for many years, property-man of Drury-lane theatre.

In Norfolk, in consequence of the accident which recently happened to him (a fall from his horse,) sir Jacob Henry Astley, bart. M. P. for that county. He was third son of the late sir Jacob by his first wife, daughter of sir Francis Blake Delaval.

5th. At Cheltenham, aged 55, Clement Archer, M. D. husband of lady Clonbrooke, niece to lord Norbury. No gentleman stood higher in the profession, or in private life was more respected and regarded. He was joint state-surgeon in Ireland with surgeon Hume, father to Dr. H. of Grosvenor-street, now sole state-surgeon.

8th. At Richmond, Surrey, advanced in age, the rev. William Affleck, rector of North Luffenham, co. Rutland, and vicar of Potton, co. Bedford. He was of Emanuel college, Cambridge; B. A. 1736; M. A. 1740; S. T. B. 1747.

9th. Suddenly, in consequence of an apoplectic fit, aged 61, John Lloyd, esq. of Berth-hall, co. Denbigh, chief justice of the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Denbigh, and a king's counsel. He was very eminent as a practical lawyer; but of very close and parsimonious

habits, homely in his speech, and plain in his manners. He was the intimate friend of the late venerable and much-lamented lord Thurlow, who, as will appear hereafter, survived him but three days. Mr. L. had lately returned from the circuit; and during the whole course of his tour, and when he left Cardigan, the last town in rotation, he appeared in perfect health; and in that state arrived at his town-house, where he was taken ill, and expired as above stated.

11th. At his rectorial house, at St. Mary-at-hill, London, aged about 63, the rev. John Brand, M. A. rector of the united parishes of St. Mary Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard, in the city of London, and resident secretary of the society of antiquaries. He was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and, Oct. 6, 1774, (being at that time B. A. of Lincoln college, Oxford), he was presented by Matthew Ridley, esq. of Heaton (patron *pro hac vice*), to the curacy of Cramlington, a chapel of ease to St. Nicholas, at Newcastle, from which it is distant about eight miles. While a bachelor of arts at the university, he published a very pretty poem on "Illicit Love, 1775," 8vo. supposed to be written among the ruins of Godstow nunnery. He was admitted F. S. A. in 1777, and published in that year, his "Observations on Popular Antiquities, including the whole of Mr. Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, with Addenda to every chapter of that work; as also an Appendix, containing such articles on the subject, as have been omitted by that author," 8vo. dated from Westgate-street, Tyne, 1776. For an enlarged edition of this book, he had long been collecting materials.

rials. After he took orders he was admitted into the family of the late duke of Northumberland, at Northumberland-house, by whom he was presented* to the rectory of St. Mary-at-Hill, on the death of the rev. Dr. Griffith, 1784; in which year he was also elected secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, on the death of Dr. Morell. In 1789 he published "The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," 2 vols. 4to. embellished with views of the public buildings; engraved by Fittler, at an expence of 500*l*. "This is a splendid work, and Mr. Brand spared no pains in amassing his materials, and has preserved the historical detail with uninterrupted exactness. The low price at which this work has been since sold is supposed to be owing to the great number of copies which were printed, and to the death of the bookseller at whose expence it was published; the whole impression was sold, on the latter occasion, at a very low price, which has probably caused a valuable book to be slightly regarded." See New Catalogue of English Living Authors, p. 304. The compiler of that catalogue ascribes to him an historical essay on the principles of political associations in a state (with an application of those principles,) 1796, 8vo. a pamphlet; and another, "A defence of the pamphlet ascribed to J. Reeves, esq. and intitled Thoughts on the English Government," 8vo. But these, and all others in the *political* line, were

the work of another clergyman, B. A. in the university of Cambridge. The compiler before-mentioned celebrates Mr. B.'s "degree of learning and extent of enquiry, which, in a nobler field of historical research, might have crowned his labours with more than common approbation." He was twice troubled for non-residence, having let his excellent personage; but performed all the parochial duties with the most exemplary punctuality, being regular in his attendance on duty weekly, as well as on Sundays, walking from Somerset-place for that purpose. Since the late regulations, however, respecting residence, Mr. Brand, who before that period lived entirely in the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries, at Somerset-place, had been in the constant habit of sleeping at the rectory. He always took much exercise; and, on the day before his death, had a long ramble with two much-valued friends; with whom he parted in the evening, apparently in perfect health. He rose next morning about 7 o'clock, his usual hour, and went into his study, where his female servant took him an egg, which he usually ate before he went to Somerset-place. She afterwards went into an adjoining room, as she had been accustomed, and to which he generally came, after having eaten his egg, to have his coat brushed, or his shoes tied. She waited a considerable time, and at last went into his study, where she discovered him lying on the floor lifeless, with a wound

* The duke has the alternate presentation to the living, the other belonging to the parish, who purchased it of the then owner, some years ago. It is vested in 16 trustees, which number should be filled up when reduced to 6. In April last the number was reduced to 2, and directions were given to prepare a conveyance so as to complete the number, but it was not executed when Mr. Brand died.

wound in his head, which he had received in falling. A surgeon was immediately sent for; but all his attempts to restore animation proved ineffectual. He died unmarried, leaving no relation, except an aunt, who is between 80 and 90 years of age. He was buried in the chancel of his church on Sept. 24th.—In him the Society of Antiquaries have sustained a very great loss; able, attentive, indefatigable, he was always alive to their business, of which he was a perfect master, and which he executed not merely as a duty but as a pleasure. He was also an occasional contributor to their “*Archæologia*.” His explanation of a Roman altar and tablet found at Tinmouth castle 1783, appeared in their vol. VIII. p. 326; and in vol. XV. he communicated “An Inventory and Appraisalment of the Plate in the Lower Jewel House in the Tower, anno 1649,” from the original MS. in his possession (p. 271.) His personal friends have lost a cheerful, pleasant companion, ever willing to communicate information, and to assist their researches after scarce and valuable books and prints, of which he had a thorough knowledge. His collection of both is of great value. In it are some copies of rare portraits, drawn by himself, in a manner that perhaps renders them little less valuable than the originals; and never was he happier than when he had an opportunity of making a present either of a scarce pamphlet or print to any intimate friend to whom he knew it would be particularly acceptable. A small silhouette likeness of him is in the frontispiece to his history of Newcastle.

12th. At Brighthelmstone after an illness of two days, in the 71st

year of his age, Edward Lord Thurlow, baron of Ashfield, &c. He was born in 1735, and was son of the rev. Thomas Thurlow, rector of Ashfield, Suffolk, who died 1762, by his wife Elizabeth Smith, and brother to Thomas late bishop of Durham, who died in 1791. After remaining some time at Cambridge, which the *vivacity* of his conduct obliged him to leave, he came to London to pursue the profession of the law, with whose studies he blended the gay and sensual amusements of the metropolis. He was called to the bar in 1758, and rose into professional notice by a circumstance not generally known. Sir Fletcher Norton (at that time, and perhaps at any time, the first *nisi prius* lawyer,) who not only made the bar but the bench tremble, was, in a solemn argument, opposed, beat down, and overpowered, by the manly resolution and intrepid spirit of the young lawyer. This circumstance made a great noise at the time; and his prowess rendered him an object not only of applause but of wonder. Indeed, it was a principle of his early life, that to act with confidence was to win regard, and to display courage was half the battle. He pursued this notion, as it might serve his purpose, to the end of his days. The able manner in which he pleaded the Douglas cause obtained him the silk gown. He was certainly one of the soundest lawyers of the age in which he lived, and reached the highest honour of his profession. He was in May 1770 appointed solicitor general, and in 1771 succeeded sir William de Grey first lord Walsingham, as attorney general; and was chosen member for Tamworth. At first he made little or no figure in the senate, but, at

the commencement of the American disputes, he burst forth to the support of the then minister, lord North, in a manner which soon gave him not only the lead amongst the lawyers of the house, but raised him to the first rank of parliamentary orators. In June 1778 he was created a peer, by the style and title of lord Thurlow, baron of Ashfield in Suffolk, and next day was constituted lord high chancellor of Great Britain. He continued in this situation till the year 1783, when, upon the success of the Coalition ministry, he was ejected from his office, and the seals put in commission. However, upon the final triumph of Mr. Pitt, he was reinstated in the chancellorship, and possessed the seals till 1793, when, upon some quarrel with the premier, he resigned them, and was succeeded by lord Loughborough. Since that period, his lordship has retired to private life. His lordship has left three daughters; two of whom are married. As a lawyer, a man of sounder knowledge, quicker penetration, more decisive and correct judgment, or of more independence of professional character, and firmness of opinion, never ascended the bench. But to these qualities, were certainly opposed a roughness of manner, a demeanour harsh and uncivil, sometimes barely decent, towards his brethren at the bar, and a considerable laxity in private life. As a politician, he was overbearing in the extreme, but firm to his party; and, in one instance, he evinced a regard for his sovereign which it would be unjust not to distinguish by a higher name than that of mere loyalty and duty. As a patron to men of learning, he was one of the most munificent that ever

sat upon the bench. In bestowing church preferment he was singularly honest and disinterested; and many anecdotes are related of him which place his character in a very shining light. As a general scholar, he possessed much more knowledge than the world gave him credit for; and his profound acquaintance with the Greek language is testified in a dedication to him by his steadfast friend bishop Horsley. As a man, he had his virtues and his failings. His speech on the American declaratory act is inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine vol. XLVIII. p. 399; on a cause tried in the house of lords, *ibid.* vol. LIII. p. 446; on the bill for regulating the East India company's affairs, *ibid.* vol. LIV. p. 55, 207. The next time we trace him in the debates was in that interesting one on the regency, *ibid.* vol. LIX. p. 46, 48, 332, distinguished by his gratitude and loyalty to his sovereign, and truly characterized in the account of the thanksgiving procession, p. 367. His speech on the right of the Scotch freeholders may be seen in the same work vol. LXX. p. 625. The Thurlow peerage is entailed in the first instance on the sons of the late bishop of Durham, whose eldest son (in the 26th year of his age) Edward, is now lord Thurlow. It is secondly entailed on the rev. South Thurlow, prebendary of Norwich, the son of another brother of the late venerable peer, who has several children.

His remains were removed on the 25th at noon, from his house in Great George-street, Westminster, to the Temple church. The procession moved down Parliament-street, and up the Strand, in the following order:

The

The plume of feathers, decorated with bandalors.

Six mutes on horseback.

His lordship's saddle-horses, led by two servants, with the family arms on the black velvet trappings, and mounted by a gentleman of the Herald's office, bearing his lordship's coronet.

THE HEARSE;

drawn by six horses, and adorned with escutcheons.

His lordship's supporters were placed on the horses' black velvet trappings.

Then followed

Six mourning coaches, drawn by six horses.

In the first coach were

The duke of Newcastle, the lord Chancellor, the dean of Windsor, and lord Ellenborough.

In the second

Lord Eldon, Mr. Justice Le Blanc, Mr. Baron Thompson, and sir William Scott.

In the third

The rev. T. S. Thurlow (his lordship's nephew) col. M'Mahon, col. Cunningham, and colonel Terry

In the other three coaches were some of his lordship's principal domestics.

The procession was closed by ten private carriages.

The pall-bearers were

The lord Chancellor, the duke of Newcastle, lord Eldon, the lord chief justice of the King's bench, the lord chief baron of the exchequer, and sir William Scott.

The funeral service was read by the dean of Windsor; after which was performed an anthem, composed for the occasion. At half past two the body was lowered into the vault, at the top of the south

aisle; and deposited next to the remains of his brother, the late bishop of Durham. The lord Chancellor and the rev. T. S. Thurlow rose from their seat, walked to the edge of the vault, and took their last farewell. The concourse of people was so great, and the pressure into the church so violent, that it was found necessary to close the doors. The funeral was conducted with the greatest solemnity.

13th. At Chiswick-house, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, where he had thrice (within 5 weeks) undergone the operation of tapping for a dropsy, the right honourable Charles-James Fox. After a consultation of the physicians on Friday, intimation was given, that Mr. Fox's death might be expected that evening, or next day. He received this declaration with his usual fortitude; and requested lord Holland to order messengers to the duke of Norfolk, earl Fitzwilliam, lord John Townshend, and sir Francis Vincent. Mr. Fox became more and more weak and languid. The night between Friday and Saturday was restless and uneasy; and the symptoms of an immediate dissolution appeared. About three o'clock in the afternoon, not only his strength failed him, but his speech also. He became at last so weak and exhausted, that at five the vital sparks were seemingly about to be extinguished. Soon after, he laid his head gently back on the pillow (supported by lord Holland and Mrs. Fox,) and, in a state of the greatest tranquillity and most perfect resignation, breathed his last. Earl Fitzwilliam arrived at Chiswick-house about four, in consequence of an express. Mr. Fox could not speak to him; but the overflowings

of his heart were conspicuous in every feature. He pressed his lordship very cordially by the hand. The latter, incapable of witnessing the last scene, retired to an adjoining apartment; and, when he heard the affecting news, fainted away, and remained speechless for a considerable time. Soon after the death of Mr. Fox, messengers were sent with the intelligence to the following distinguished characters: His royal highness the prince of Wales, at Trentham-hall, Staffordshire; his grace the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; earl Spencer, who was on a visit to his mother at St. Alban's; lord Grenville, the lord chancellor, lord Howick, lord Henry Petty, and the rest of the cabinet ministry.

By 10 o'clock on the morning of October 10, crowds of people came from every quarter to take their stations in the line through which the funeral procession of Mr. Fox was to pass. The windows and steps of the different houses in Pall Mall, and all the other streets in the line, were by this time all occupied.

—A numerous body of horse-guards arrived, and were distributed along the line, to prevent carriages from breaking into it. Every precaution had been previously taken, to prevent this kind of disorder, as the different avenues leading to the Stable-yard, were blocked up, and no carriages were allowed to enter, except those which carried company to the funeral. Several volunteer corps, after mustering at their different parades, marched to St. James's-square, where they received orders to line the street. About eleven o'clock Mr. Sheridan, the principal director of the pro-

cession, arrived at Mr. Fox's house, in the Stable-yard, St. James's. The Westminster volunteer cavalry came about the same time, and were drawn up between the house and the palace, beyond which no persons were admitted who had not tickets. At half past twelve many noblemen and gentlemen had arrived; but the procession did not set out till two. It proceeded along Pall Mall, Charing-cross, Whitehall, and Parliament-street, to Westminster-Abbey; and reached from St. James's to Charing-cross, in the following order:—

Six marshalmen, two and two.
Fifty-seven poor men in mourning cloaks.

High-bailiff.

Six marshalmen, two and two.
Electors of Westminster, exactly one hundred and forty-four.

Deputation from the country.

174 members of the Whig Club.

Household in mourning-cloaks, five.
Mr. Cline and Mr. Hawkins, surgeons to Mr. Fox, and Mr. Tegart, his apothecary.

Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Vaughan, and Dr. Alosely, physicians to Mr. Fox; and Dr. Davy, of Cambridge.

Divines in their gowns, twelve; among whom we noticed Dr. Parr.

The six noblemen who were the pall-bearers, namely, the dukes of Norfolk, Devonshire, and the earl of Carlisle, were on the left side of the coffin; and the lord-chancellor, lords Albemarle and Thanet, were on the right.

MOURNERS IN COACHES.

Chief mourner, lord Holland; lord Howick and lord Fitzwilliam followed. Mr. Trotter, private secretary to the deceased, was the pall-bearer. The earl of Moira and lord Spencer. Lord Henry Petty and

and lord Ellenborough ; lord Grenville and lord Sidmouth ; Mr. Windham, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Mr. Plumer.

MOURNERS ON FOOT.

Lords Cowper, Besborough, Percy, Cholmondeley, Montford, Barmore, Melbourne, G. Cavendish, W. Russell, Petre, T. Townshend, R. Spencer, Jersey ; the solicitor-general ; Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan, and the attorney-general, closed the procession.

OTHER MOURNERS.

General Dundas, sir J. Aubrey, sir William Milner, sir Charles Bampfylde, colonel Macmahon, alderman Combe, lord Ossulstone ; Messrs. Wilberforce, C. Jervoise, Johnson, Lambe, Tuffnell, Beachey, D. O'Brien, Foley, Langley, Cavendish, B. Oakley, Glover, Norton, and chevalier Latrolier, the Prussian chamberlain.

The hearse, which was entirely covered with the richest black Geno velvet, was ornamented with black silk fringe and tassels. Around its base the velvet was enveloped in a variety of folds, in the style of the Roman draperies. Above appeared the magnificent plume of feathers. The platform was elevated by a flight of three steps, on the top of which was placed the coffin, covered with black velvet, with six richly chased and gilt handles, three on each side. The inscription plates contained only simply the name of the deceased, and his age ; the other ornaments were elegant but not superfluous. The funeral service commenced about three quarters past three o'clock, and ended at half past four : It was performed by the rev. Dr. Ireland, the officiating prebendary, in the absence of Dr. Vincent the dean. In the order of proces-

sion it was stated, that bands were to be introduced in various parts : that was not the case ; and the solemn effect of the whole was in that respect much injured ; in place of falling in at proper intervals, and relieving each other, the bands of the three regiments of guards fell in side-ways, one at the palace-gate at St. James's, one next Carlton-house, the other next the Horse-Guards, but did not at all join ; this spoiled very much the effect of the scene. All the king's household trumpeters were there, dressed in black, with cloaks, haberdines, and scarfs, and played the " Dead March in Saul," &c. with great effect and impression. The crowd was great ; but such was the judicious arrangement made by the police magistrates on the one hand, by stationing their officers in the various divisions, so as to embrace every avenue, and the dispositions of the horse and foot-guards, with the volunteers, under the command of major-generals Ainslie and Calvert, that not the most trifling disorder occurred. The body was removed on Thursday night from the private chamber to the saloon, which was previously lined with black cloth. The coffin was placed on tressels, with six wax candles, three on each side. Banner-rolls, and other of the usual insignia, were placed around in the usual form. The apartment was illuminated during the night. The body is deposited in a grave of considerable depth, which is immediately adjoining the monument of lord Chatham, and within eighteen inches of the grave of the late illustrious W. Pitt.

18th. At his house at Mansfield-wood-house, near Mansfield, after a long period of useful services to his country, as a soldier, an antiquary, and

and a meteorologist, in his 84th year, Hayman Rooke, esq. F.R. and A.S.S. of which latter society he was chosen a member in 1776; and to their *Archæologia* he communicated several illustrations of the antiquities of Nottingham, and the adjoining county of Derby. To the *Gentleman's Magazine* the major was a frequent contributor, both by his pen and his pencil. To the student in Natural History, he communicated a *Meteorological Diary* for years successively, from 1794 to 1805. To the society of antiquaries, *Account of the remains of two Roman villæ, discovered near Mansfield-Wood-house, in May and October, 1786, Archæologia, VIII. 363, with five plates. Observations on the Roman roads and camps in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Wood-house; with an introductory letter on Roman camps, IX. 193. Roman remains in Sherwood Forest, X. 378. These last were incorporated in Harrod's Antiquities of Mansfield Wood-house and its Environs, Mansfield, 1801. Description and Sketches of some remarkable Oaks in Welbeck-park, 1740, 4to. with ten plates, drawn by the major, and engraved by Mr. Ellis. Sketch of the ancient and present state of Sherwood Forest, Nottingham, 1799, 8vo. with four plates. Description of an ancient medallion in his possession, found near Newstead-abbey, ibid 1800. Description of some remains in Harborough, county of Derby, Archæologia, IX. 206. Of certain pits in that county, X. 14. Antiquities discovered there, XI. 1. Roman Antiquities at Bradbourne, ib. 6. Account of Druidical remains, ib. 41. Discoveries in a barrow, ib. 327. Druidical re-*

mainis on Stanton and Hurtle-moor, in the Peak, I. 110. Farther illustrations of Druidical remains, VI. 175. Two views of the cross and Roman altar at Bakewell, after his Diaries, in the Antiquarian Repository, I. No. 37. He accompanied Dr. Pegge's "Narrative of what passed at the Revolution-house," with a plan and elevation of the house, 1788; and his history of Bolsover-castle, with views, 1785; and the bas-relief of the Nativity, in the church, in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LVI. p. 299.

19th. On his way to Bath, for the recovery of his health, sincerely lamented; at the rev. Dr. Drake's, at Amersham, county of Bucks, the rev. John Eaton, LL. D. rector of St. Paul's, Deptford, Kent, and of Fairsted, Essex, and formerly of New college, Oxford, where he proceeded B. C. L. 1777, D. C. L. 1786.

19th. David George, of Swansea, a poor fisherman; who lost his life in the following singular manner: some unexpected success in the morning, induced him to go out to fish off the Pier-head late in the evening, accompanied by his son and two men; they had drawn the net on shore, and, whilst George was clearing it, observing a small sole entangled in the meshes of the net, he put the head of the fish between his teeth to draw it through, (a common practice, we understand; with fishermen); but whether in so doing, or in going to open his mouth afterwards, cannot be ascertained, the fish slipped into his throat, and choaked him in a few minutes. Medical assistance was obtained with all possible speed; but every effort to extract the sole proved unavailing, while a chance of saving

saving the man's life remained ; nor was it until the operation of opening the windpipe had been performed, that the whole of the fish could be removed. The poor fellow has left a pregnant widow, with five small children.

Sept. 8th. At his lodgings upon the Hot-well-road, Bristol, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, usually denominated the Irish Giant, having fallen a sacrifice to a disease of the lungs, combined with an affection of the liver, in the 46th year of his age. His real name was Patrick Cotter, he was of obscure parentage in Kinsale, and by trade originally a bricklayer ; but his uncommon size rendered him a mark for the avaricè of a showman, who, for the payment of 50l. per annum, obtained the liberty of exhibiting him three years in England. Not contented with his bargain, the chapman attempted to *under-let* the liberty of shewing him to another speculator ; and poor Cotter, resisting this nefarious transaction, was saddled with a fictitious debt, and thrown into a sponging-house, in Bristol. In this situation he was, happily for him, observed by a gentleman of the city, who had some business to transact with the sheriff's officer. His simple demeanour and extreme distress, induced Mr. W. to make enquiries respecting him, and having reason to think that he was unjustly detained, he very generously became his bail, and ultimately so far investigated the affair, that he not only obtained for him his liberty, but freed him from all kind of obligations to serve his task-master any longer. He was at this time eighteen, and retained to his last breath a most lively sense of the obligation conferred upon him when a stranger

and in need ; an obligation which he manifested also by very honourable mention in his will. It happened to be September when he was liberated, and by the farther assistance of his benefactor, he was enabled to set up for himself, in the fair then held in St. James's. Success crowned his undertaking ; in three days, instead of being in penury, he saw himself possessed of 30l. English money ! Let those who know the peasantry of Ireland, judge of his riches ! he now commenced, and continued a regular exhibition of his person, until the two last years, when having realized an independence sufficient to keep a carriage, and secure to him the conveniencies of life, he declined what was exceedingly irksome to his feelings. To prevent any attempt to disturb his remains, of which he had the greatest horror, a grave is sunk to the depth of twelve feet in the solid rock, and such precautions taken as would effectually render abortive either force or stratagem. The stupendous coffin prepared for him by Mr. Panting, undertaker of Bristol, is in length nine feet five inches ; five men got into it with ease, and had the lid placed upon it. The brass-plate contains the following inscription : " Patrick Cotter O'Brien, of Kinsale, Ireland, whose stature was eight feet one inch. Died Sept. 8, 1806, aged 46 years." There are some emblems on it, denoting the deceased to have belonged to the masonic order of knights templars.

15th. Aged 77, Mr. Packer, of Drury-lane theatre. His decay had been for the six last months gradual, and his death was easy. He was the father of the stage, and had been near half a century on the London

London boards, if not upwards of that period. The remains of this veteran performer and respectable private character were interred in the burial-ground of St. Paul Covent-garden, on the 21st, attended by a great number of theatrical gentlemen of the old school, to which he belonged; at the head of whom was the hoary but tough Moody. Packer was bred to the business of a sadler, and carried it on for some time in the neighbourhood of Swallow-street.

30th. At his house on the Steyne, at Brighthelmstone, William-Henry Fortescue earl of Clermont; viscount and baron of Clermont, in the county of Louth, knight of St. Patrick, and governor of the county of Monaghan. His lordship was born August, 5, 1722; chosen knight of the shire for Louth in 1745; sworn of the privy council, and appointed postmaster general of Ireland in 1767; customer and collector of the port of Dublin in 1787. He married, Feb. 29, 1752, Frances Murray, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Col. John Murray, M. P. for the county of Monaghan (by Mary only daughter and heiress of sir Alexander Cairns, bart. and widow of Cadwallader, the seventh lord Blayney); by whom his lordship having no issue, the earldom of Clermont, and the first barony of Clermont, granted in 1770, became extinct; but the titles of viscount and baron Clermont (which were granted July 23, 1776, with special remainder to his brother, the right hon. James Fortescue, of Ravensdale park, co. Louth, and his heirs male) devolve to his nephew, William Charles Fortescue, of Ravensdale, M. P. for the county of Louth, now lord viscount Clermont. The deceased lord was the father

of the turf, and ranked among the most intimate friends of the prince. His remains were interred in the family vault at Cuffingham, co. Norfolk.

Oct. 2d. Near Colchester, aged about 46, James Ward, esq. a lieutenant in the royal navy, and only son of Ralph W. esq. After the usual course of naval education under Mr. Witchell at the royal Academy at Portsmouth, he, with the rank of midshipman, accompanied Capt. Cook in his last voyage round the world, and is the young officer alluded to in the account of that voyage as having been an eye-witness of a cannibal repast in new Zealand. He was also in the boat with capt. Williamson, close off the island on the shore of which the celebrated navigator fell a victim to his too anxious endeavours to conciliate the mistaken natives. Mr. W. returned to England at the age of 20, full fraught with all those high expectations of rising in his favourite profession which birth, wealth, and talents, joined to the experience and character acquired by such a voyage, and under such a master, appeared so ample to justify. This brilliant prospect, however, seemed only fully to open itself to his view to render the bitterness of disappointment more complete. Not originally of a robust constitution, and aware that his grandfather had died a martyr to the gout at the age of 36, he adopted the earliest measures for warding off the dreaded foe; in his anxiety to do which, it is feared, he injudiciously invited the attack. Habitually abstemious from infancy, he, on account of some slight indisposition suddenly discontinued the use of wine and animal food; a fit of the gout or rheumatism, or rheumatic.

matic-gout, for it partook of the worst symptoms of both those disorders, was the consequence ; and during the succeeding period of near 10 years, he experienced only intervals of less acute pain between each violent attack, which successively left him more infirm and weak, until all but his active mind was crippled and subdued under the agonies of pain.

4th. At Brighthelmstone, of a complaint in his bowels, Samuel Horsley, LL.D. Bishop of St. Asaph, to which he was translated, June 26, 1802, on the death of the Hon. Dr. Bagot. He was son of John Horsley, M. A. many years clerk in orders at St. Martin's in the Fields, rector of St. Mary Newington, Surrey, and of Thorley, Herts, where he died in 1777, aged 78, and Mary daughter of George Leslie, esq. of Kimraugie in Scotland, his second wife, who died 1787, aged 77, at Nasing, Essex, at Mr. Palmer's, who married her daughter ; another son, who married the widow of Mr. Rich, lives at Beach-hill, near Woodford, whose son is the subject of a tract in the Gent. Mag. vol. LXXV. 1223 : and another son is now in the East Indies. Dr. H's father's first wife was Anne daughter of Dr. Hamilton, principal of the college of Edinburgh. - By both wives he had four sons and four daughters. His grandfather was a dissenter, but conformed, and had the living of St. Martin's in the Fields, and was looked on with an evil eye by his quondam brethren. Gent. Mag. LVI. 96. Samuel was born in St. Martin's church-yard ; was of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, LL. B. 1758. About the year 1768 he went to Christ-church, Oxford, as private tutor to the Earl of Aylesford, and

there proceeded to the degree of LL. D. His first mathematical publication was printed at the Clarendon press. This was an elegant edition of the "Inclinations of Apollonius." He succeeded his father at Thorley, in the gift of Dr. Lowth, bishop of London (to whom he was chaplain) 1778 ; but he began his career with the rectory of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey, which he exchanged for that of South Weald, Essex, 1782, in which he was succeeded, 1793, by F. J. H. Wollaston. He was many years an active member of the Royal Society ; was some time one of their secretaries ; and a liberal contributor to their Transactions from 1767 to 1782. He took the principal lead in the contest in 1783, with sir Joseph Banks, respecting his conduct as president ; delivered several very eloquent speeches on the occasion, printed with others in "An authentic Narrative of the Dissensions in the Royal Society, 1784 ;" in "Observations on the late Contests in the Royal Society, by Dr. Kippis, 1784," who with great semblance of moderation bestowed his praises on the president, and his personalities on the secretary. Dr. H. withdrew from the Society, in consequence of a certain high appointment taking place, of which he disapproved. His concluding words on retiring were, "I quit that temple where Philosophy once presided, and where Newton was her officiating minister !" He attracted, about the same time, very considerable notice by his controversy with Dr. Priestley ; remarks on which may be seen in Gent. Mag. vol. LIV. p. 590, LVI. 225 ; on his explanation of Greek words, LIII. pp. 842, 943.

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The learning and abilities which he displayed in this important contest, the able and dextrous manner in which he exposed the fallacy of Dr. P's tenets, and turned even his own polemic weapons against himself; the unanswerable arguments which, with uncommon care and diligence, he selected in defence of the most essential truths of christianity; and, finally, the complete and decisive victory which he gained over that champion of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity, gained him the respect and admiration of every friend to christianity. The controversy was opened by a charge delivered to the clergy of the district of St. Alban's, of which he was archdeacon (for which see Gent. Mag. LIII. p. 856); and was followed up by Dr. H. in two pamphlets, in rejoinder to the objections of Dr. P.; and nine letters to Dr. P. 1790. "Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's second Letter to the Archdeacon of St. Alban's, 1787," 8vo; which produced "The Calvinism of the Protestant Dissenters asserted, in a letter to the Archdeacon, by Samuel Palmer, pastor of the independent congregation at Hackney, 1787." 8vo. He was afterwards presented by his pupil Lord Aylesford, to the rectory of Albury in Surrey: and was promoted by lord chancellor Thurlow to a prebendal stall in the church of Gloucester; and afterwards, on the death of Dr. Smallwell, 1788, was made bishop of St. David's by the interest of the same noble lord, who was much pleased with his letters to Dr. Priestley, and said, that "those who defended the church, ought to be supported by the church." In his episcopal character he has in a great

measure answered the high expectations of eminent usefulness which his elevation to the mitre so generally excited. His first act in the Diocese of St. David's was to increase the salaries of the poor curates, many of whom had not more than 8*l.* or 10*l.* *per ann.* He permitted none to officiate for less than 15*l.* *per ann.* His first charge to the clergy of that diocese, delivered 1790, was greatly and deservedly admired. This is what we suppose L. L. in the Gent. Mag. LX. p. 204, calls "a pastoral letter to the clerical burgesses of Caermarthen," on the approach of a general election, to make them "vote against their sitting member, because he had been thanked for wishing to extend the toleration to dissenters." It, however, occasioned his subsequent promotion to the see of Rochester, 1793, and deanry of Westminster; which proved considerably beneficial to the country at large, in times when its religion, its government, and even its morality, were so manifestly in need of support. His lordship has been exposed to a considerable share of vulgar and illiberal abuse on account of his opposition to the turbulence of democratic rage. Some incautious and perhaps intemperate speeches, which he made in the house of lords during the discussion of lord Grenville's bill, &c. were most severely reprimanded, and occasioned, for a time, a popular clamour against him. Yet the steady uniformity, consistency and decision of his conduct, were of considerable utility to government, and procured him the good-will of every friend to order, decency, virtue, and religion. Of his publications, the most conspicuous

spicuous in size is his edition of sir Isaac Newton's works, in 5 vols. 4to, the first of which appeared in 1779 (see *Gent. Mag.* vol. XLVI. p. 72); to which, however, it was objected that the size was an impediment to the sale*, and that the commentary can afford but a slender assistance to the learner. That it is an elegant monument of our typographical perfection will be readily allowed; but those who have consulted the edition of the *Principia* by the Jesuits, do not hesitate to give it the preference. His tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley were reprinted, with considerable additions, in an 8vo. volume, 1793. The rest of his publications, together with his various single public sermons, are hereafter enumerated; and likewise his charges to his clergy; the last of which, to the diocese of Rochester, contains the most salutary advice to the clergy in general. A pamphlet, intituled, "An Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England," published in the beginning of 1790, and marked with considerable strength of reasoning against some respectable members of the community, was by many ascribed, from certain internal evidence, to this prelatial Hercules. It was answered with great severity by Gilbert Wakefield. Perhaps it is to be regretted that the native vigour of his lordship's faculties, his distinguished share of learning, his elegant and nervous style, and his ingenuity of invention, should have been sometimes dislocated by too warm a spirit, occasionally displaying itself in his writings.

No man of the age perhaps pos-

sessed more of what is generally understood by the idea of *recondite* learning, or was more profoundly versed in classical chronology. He not only edited and illustrated some of the most important of sir Isaac Newton's works, but was himself the author of several esteemed mathematical as well as theological productions. As a senator, he was deservedly considered in the first class. There were few important discussions in the house of lords, especially when the topics referred to the hierarchial establishments of this country; to that stupendous (and, in its effects, most calamitous) event the French revolution; or to the African slave-trade (of which he was a systematic opponent), in which his lordship did not participate. No man could reprobate more than he did the destructive excesses of the French revolution. On the 30th of January, 1793, which was a few days after the news of the murder of the unfortunate Louis was received in this country, he was appointed to preach before the house of peers in Westminster Abbey; an occasion on which his forcible and impressive eloquence was warmly admired by a numerous auditory. His voice was deep, full-toned, and commanding; his enunciation distinct; and his delivery in other respects highly advantageous. His manner was rather dictatorial; he was, notwithstanding, an argumentative speaker, equally clear and strong, and his positions were frequently illustrated by historical reference. His mind grasped all the learning of the ancient and modern world; and his heart was as warm and generous towards all

* It was published at five guineas, and now sells for ten;—this proves its value.

all whom he had the ability to serve, as his head was capable of advocating their cause. His charity to the distressed was more than prudent; he often wanted himself what he gave away; but in money matters, no one was more careless than the bishop, and no one so easily imposed upon. We could give many instances of this, if we had room. Though he was irascible, passionate, and easily moved to anger, yet he had much of the milk of human kindness in his composition. By his most intimate friends he was allowed to be at his table, and in the hours of relaxation from severe studies, a very pleasant and agreeable companion. He often bent both his mind and body to partake of the juvenile amusements of children, of whom he was particularly fond.

His sermons are, on Mal. xvi. 21, providence and free agency, for Good Friday 1778. Luke i. 28, on the incarnation, 1785; critised, Gent. Mag. vol. LVI. 638, as levelled too pointedly at Dr. Priestley, and which laid the foundation of his fame. Before the sons of the clergy, 1786. 1 Cor. ii. 2. "The analogy between the light of inspiration, and the light of learning, as qualifications for the ministry; preached at the cathedral church of Gloucester, at a public ordination of Priests and Deacons, Sept. 9, 1787," 4to; which produced "Remarks," &c. by Gilbert Wakefield. Eccles. xii. 7, "Principle of vitality in man, as described in the Holy Scriptures, and the difference between true and apparent death;" before the Royal Humane Society, of which he was a

vice-president, 1789, Gent. Mag. (LIX. 547). This was a most admirable, philosophical and appropriate discourse; and, when printed by desire, ran through several editions, has been admired by the learned world, and resorted to by the able divines that have preached for that excellent institution. He dictated also in that year an appropriate address, which was presented by the society to their royal patron on his recovery, *ibid.* 273. Before the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, 1789. Rom. xiii. 1. A sermon before the lords spiritual and temporal, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, Jan. 30, 1793; Matth. xxiv. 12. with an Appendix concerning the political principles of Calvinism, 1793," 4to: which produced an ingenious "Reply," and "Strictures on the Reply." Before the Philanthropic Society*; "the abounding of iniquity no just ground for distrusting the prophecies or promises of holy writ." Luke iv. 18, 19, at the yearly meeting of the charity children, 1794 *ibid.* (LXIV. 157.) 1 John iii. 3, before the Magdalen charity, 1795 *ibid.* (LXV. 678). On Christ's descent into Hell, 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20, 1805, *ibid.* (LXXV. 146). Letter from a country vicar on it *ibid.* (1033.) The watcher and the holy ones, a thanksgiving sermon, Dec. 5, 1805, on the victory off Trafalgar *ibid.* (LXXXVI. 347).

He mistook the Calvinism of the dissenters, as if only "the very dregs of methodism among them" held it, LVI. 44. See observations on certain queries of Dr. Horsley on

* This society must recollect with gratitude the services of the bishop in their cause, particularly on a late occasion.

on Newton's chronology, *ibid.* 1070. Called by Dr. Priestley to defend the Trinity, LIX. 11. Strictures on Horsley's translation of *idolâtres*, *ibid.* 884. His speech on the Roman Catholic bill, 1791, LXI. 826. Remarks on the charge of Bishop Horsley, in his tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley, by Dr. Lickorish, LXIV. 107. A false alarm raised on the scarcity of wheat, 1796, both by him and the archbishop (LXVI. 300.) In 1796, he published a charge at his primary visitation at Rochester (*ib.* 766); and in the same year he published, without his name, a most celebrated treatise "On the properties of the Greek and Latin Languages," 8vo; with a dedication expressed in the warmest terms of friendship to his steady patron lord Thurlow, who is with great propriety complimented on his taste and skill in the subject of this profound investigation. Critical disquisition on the xviiith chapter of Isaiah, in a letter to Edward King, esq. 1799 (LXIX. 497, 549). Substance of his speech on the Slave-trade, 1800 (LXX. 646); and on the third reading of the bill for preventing the crime of adultery, May 23, 1800 (LXX. 1211, LXXVI. 144). Charge at the second visitation of Rochester diocese, 1800 (LXX. 1078); the sermon at which was preached by his chaplain, Mr. Robson. Letter to him, on his opinion concerning Antichrist, by a country clergyman, 1801 (LXXI. 921). His translation of Hosea, 1801 (*ibid.* 1016). Republished, with large additions,

in 1804. Address to him from the church of Westminster*, on his quitting the deanery, in which he was succeeded by Dr. Vincent, 1802 (LXXII. 596); his character defended (*ibid.* 595). Circular letter to the diocese of St. Asaph, on the war, 1803 (LXXIII. 800). Answer to some passages in it, 1804 (LXXIV. 447). Speech on the bill for the relief of London incumbents, 1804 (*ibid.* 945). On Virgil's two seasons of honey, 1806 (LXXVI. 141).

The bishop's last journey to Brighton was a most melancholy one. He left the capital in good health, and went to Brighton to spend some time with his old friend and patron lord Thurlow, whom on his arrival he found dead!—he was seized with the fatal disorder of which he died on the Wednesday, and did not survive the following Saturday. He had, for the benefit of his family, made an insurance on his life to the amount of 5000l. The policy unfortunately expired two days before his death. His lordship meant to have renewed it if he had not been prevented by his fatal illness. He has left four sisters; three of whom are single, and one married to Mr. Palmer; and two brothers, the above-named John Horsley, and Francis Horsley, esq. high in the civil service of the East-India company at Bengal, and about returning to England with a good fortune, honourably acquired.

The bishop was buried in the family vault at Newington church, from the house of Mr. Palmer, his brother-in-law, in Queen Anne-street

* The members of the choir of the church of Westminster have every reason to respect his lordship's memory. He gave them *substantial proofs* of his attention to their comforts.

street West, on the 14th instant. The coffin was very superb; the mitre, key, and crosier, and various ornaments in gold, were placed on the top and sides of the outer case, which was covered with black cloth. The gold plate, containing the arms of the deceased, is inscribed:

“ The
Right Rev. SAMUEL HORSLEY,
Lord Bishop of St. Asaph,
Died 4th of October,
1806,
Aged 73 Years.”

The following gentlemen attended by invitation: the rev. Mr. Giffardiere, rector of Newington; the rev. Mr. Dickinson, curate. The bishop's chaplains, viz. the rev. Dr. Crawford, the rev. W. Palmer, and the rev. W. W. Dakins*, preceded the corpse into the church; his other domestic chaplain, the rev. George Robson, not being in town, but resident on his living of Chirk in Denbighshire, to which, and to a stall in the cathedral church of St. Asaph, he was collated by the late bishop. The chief mourner was John Horsley, esq. the bishop's brother; the other mourners were, W. Palmer, esq. the bishop's brother-in-law, and Mr. J. New-

beggin, the husband of the sister of the late bishop's wife. The following gentlemen of the church of Westminster voluntarily attended, from motives of the most sincere respect for the bishop's memory, Mr. Sale, Mr. Nield, Mr. J. Sale, Mr. Horsefall, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Marquet. After a service and funeral anthem sung in Westminster abbey on the solemn occasion, Dr. Busby attended at Newington church, and played a dirge as the corpse entered. The scene was truly solemn, and most affecting. Had the time of the bishop's funeral been more generally known, we believe it would have been attended by many persons high in office, many literary characters, and many private friends.

Dr. Horsley was twice married. His first wife (who is elegantly commemorated in Newington church) was Miss Botham, the daughter of his predecessor at Aldbury, by whom he had a daughter, who died young, and is buried at Newington, and one son, the reverend Heneage Horsley, who was married, June, 25, 1801, to Miss Frances Emma Bourke; and preached a sermon at a general ordination at St. Asaph, in September, 1804. He was

* For the last ten years no person, it is believed, was more in the bishop's confidence, not excepting any one of his lordship's family, than Mr. Dakins. He transcribed most of the bishop's works during that period, and looked over the proofs as they came from the press, by the bishop's own desire. The bishop died at the moment when he was about to reward Mr. D's services; and, since his Lordship's death, the Secretary at St. Asaph has confirmed Mr. D's expectation, by furnishing him with an extract from a letter lately written by the bishop, wherein his lordship says, speaking of a living reported then vacant, “ That living has its irrevocable destination, and I shall collate my friend before I leave London.” Mr. Dakins had the honour to be that friend; for the bishop wrote for information respecting the living when he was in his lordship's house in Charles-street Middlesex Hospital, where Mr. D. was his lordship's constant companion, and where he attended to the bishop's most confidential affairs, Mr. D. loved him as his own father; and he followed, with the bishop's family, his lordship's remains to the grave.

was collated by his father to the valuable living of Gresford in Denbighshire, and to a stall in the cathedral church of St. Asaph. The bishop's second wife was a most excellent woman, and the *protegé* of his first, and very kind and attentive to his son from his earliest infancy. She died of a dropsy, after a lingering illness, April 2, 1805, without ever having had a child, and is buried in the church of Newington.

For some time before the bishop died, he had adopted a rigid plan of œconomy, in order to liquidate some pecuniary burthens. If he had lived a few years longer, he would have enjoyed an annual income of 7000*l.* by the operation of his prudent measures. We have heard that a complete edition of the bishop's works, of which some valuable sermons, never published make a part, together with several curious mathematical disquisitions, will be presented to the public, when his lordship's papers are arranged, by proper persons appointed by his family.

9th. In Plumb-street, Liverpool, aged 107, Wm. Marchant. He lived in four reigns, and well remembered one of his youthful companions enlisting in the service of Q. Anne. His widow is in her 99th year; and they were the parents of 19 children, none of whom are known to be living.

12th. Gloriously, in the arms of victory, Alexander Saunderson Burrowes, esq. third son of Alexander B. esq. of Cavan, and cousin of Mr. Saunderson, one of the representatives of that county. He had been only a few months promoted to the command of the *Constance* frigate of 22 guns, and made commodore

of a small flying squadron, under sir James Saumarez, on the Jersey station, for the purpose of scouring the Channel in that quarter. The squadron consisted of the *Constance* (flag-ship), the *Strenuous*, *Sharpshooter*, *Sheldrake*, and one or two other light vessels. He was in his 39th year, 25 of which were devoted to the service of his country.

24th. At a very advanced age, lady Alva, grandmother to the marchioness of Stafford.

28th. At Tetford, near Farnham Surrey, much lamented by her family and a numerous and respectable acquaintance, after a lingering and painful illness, which she bore with the utmost fortitude, retaining her excellent faculties to the last, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, authoress of *Sonnets* and other celebrated works. The republic of letters and the lovers of literature have sustained no inconsiderable loss in the death of Mrs. Charlotte Smith. Her novels are so numerous as to display a wonderful invention; for they are much more diversified than could possibly be expected from the same pen. It is the general opinion of the most unsophisticated readers, that her first novel has the strongest claims to pre-eminent excellence. We are of opinion, however, that her last works, consisting of short stories, are the more exquisite in point of composition. She has contrived, in general, to make all her novels interesting, and has been studiously careful of her style. Indeed, she was so sensible of her merit in this particular, and so desirous of her works ranking with the *belles lettres* of the age, that she could not endure the thought of their being considered simply as novels, but always expected them to

be deemed worthy of a place in every elegant library. Her domestic misfortunes involved her and her concerns in a sort of perpetual lawsuit; and she experienced so much of legal vexation, rapacity, and chicanery, that there are few of her novels in which she has not introduced her own case, either principally or collaterally, with the characters of almost every description of lawyer that can possibly excite disgust and detestation against the profession and its professors. Well could she exclaim, with Jephson's countess of Narbonne,

"I was a woman full of tenderness;
I am a woman stung by injuries!"

From her novels might be extracted a tolerable history of her own feelings, and of all she suffered from the harpies of the law. It were to be wished that there were published a key to all these numerous characters which she has drawn from the life, and which could easily be supplied by any of her intimate acquaintance. In drawing portraits she has great excellence; for the most part they are true to nature; contrary to the usual practice of novelists, she neither heightens nor debases: and she never descends to caricature, not even a lawyer. Ensnared and entangled as she was in the toils of law, and suffering as she did under legal oppression, it is no wonder she should embrace those extravagant but fascinating sentiments of liberty which were promulgated in France, under pretence of founding a republic, and that she should regard with disgust that union of law and liberty which forms the beauty of the British Constitution. Hence, in many of her novels, she is extremely sarcas-

tic on "all the forms, modes, and shapes," in which the constitution is, or is liable to be abused by such as choose to render the law an instrument of power rather than of protection. Many of our female writers seem to have adopted the same wild notions. Not so Mrs. Hannah More.—Mrs. Smith was well versed in the captivating science of Botany; and had she been at ease in her circumstances, and in a situation favourable to such pursuits, she would doubtless have produced many useful works, as well as beautiful effusions, on those pleasing objects in the vegetable world which afford pure delight to the eye and elegant contemplation to the mind. But there seems to be a fatality attendant on real genius, that it shall always be surrounded by difficulties, and compelled, comparatively, to associate with owls and vultures, instead of eagles and nightingales. A fine imagination, an accomplished mind, and an early taste of infelicity, made her a poet; and her charming sonnets will live for ever.

Oct. 8th. At his house in Dorsley, aged 73, Isaac Williams, esq. of Llanthomas, co. Monmouth, and in the commission of the peace.

At York, in consequence of a most extraordinary and hazardous amusement (if it can be so called) which has lately prevailed amongst boys,—that of making experiments how long they can remain suspended by the neck without suffocation, T. Wales, a fine lad, aged 16, apprentice to Mr. Cobb, bricklayer, in that city. He went home in good health and spirits, to his dinner, at the usual hour; and not finding it quite ready, went up into a chamber, desiring to be called when dinner was ready. Shortly after, his fellow-

fellow-apprentice called him, but received no answer. Not, however, suspecting any thing, he sat down to dinner; and when he had finished it, went up stairs, where he found the unfortunate youth suspended by a string, which was tied to a beam, wrapped once round his throat, and fastened to his thigh. The stool on which he appeared to have stood had unluckily slipped, and left him suspended without the power of untying himself. The body when found was still warm, but the means used to restore animation were ineffectual. It appeared before the inquest, that the above apprentice and another boy had been trying experiments of the same sort on each other about three weeks before, till one of them was nearly suffocated; and we understand the practice has not been confined to them.

10th. At his house in Hertford-street, Fitzroy-square, aged 71, the rev. Robert-Anthony Bromley, B. D. rector of St. Mildred's, in the Poultry, with St. Nicholas Cole Abbey united, in the alternate presentation of the king and the Mercers company, who presented in 1775; lecturer of St. John's, Hackney, and chaplain to Mr. Sheriff Miles. He was of Trinity college, Cambridge; S. T. B. 1784; had been preacher to the Foundling hospital; and published a sermon on frequent communion, *Psa.* xxxiv. 8, 1770; at the Foundling hospital, *Job* xxix. 30, 1770; another sermon there, 1774, *Eccles.* iv. 10; at opening a church and organ, 1774, *Psa.* cxxii. 4; before the humane society, 1782, *Luke* viii. 52.

16th. In Portman-square, Mary countess of Kenmare, eldest daughter of Michael Aylmer, esq. of

Lyons, co. Kildare; and married, August 24, 1783, to Valentine earl of Kenmare, one of the few noblemen of Ireland still adhering to the Roman catholic faith. The following is perhaps a correct list: the earl of Wexford and Waterford (earl of Shrewsbury in England;) the earl of Fingal; the earl of Kenmare; the viscount Gormanstown; the viscount Southwell; the viscount Taaffe; the lord Trimblestown; and the lord French.

19th. At Farnham, Surrey, being on the road to their house at Winchester, lady Amelia Gamon, wife of sir Richard G. bart. M. P. daughter of the late and sister of the present duke of Athol.

Nov. 1st. At Ombersley Court, Worcestershire, in her 87th year, the right honourable Anna-Maria baroness Sandys, widow of the late lord Sandys. By the death of this lady, all the large possessions of her husband have devolved upon his niece the marchioness of Downshire, who is the sole heiress, lineal descendant, and only remaining branch of his lordship's family, as well as of those of the last earl of Stirling, the lord viscount Stirling, the celebrated statesman and scholar sir William Trumbull, and other ancient families. Soon after the decease of the late much lamented, truly noble, and patriotic marquis of Downshire, whose memory will long be dear to Ireland, his majesty was pleased to revive the title of Sandys, by creating the marchioness of Downshire baroness of Sandys in her own right, with remainder to her ladyship's second son lord Arthur Hill, and her three other younger sons, and their issue successively. The marchioness may,

therefore, now be considered one of the richest of her sex in the empire.

2d. At Bancho, in Badenoch, Mr. John Gray, some time messenger at arms. His ideas and manners soared above his station in life. To a majestic and graceful appearance he added those qualities of the mind which excite esteem. He was a friend to the poor, a companion to the gay, an universal philanthropist, kind and benevolent. The following epitaph was composed by himself some years ago :

Poor John Gray ! Here he lies ;
Nobody laughs, and nobody cries ;
Where he's gone, and how he fares,
Nobody knows, and nobody cares.

4th. At Aldenham lodge, Herts, of a fit of apoplexy, aged 71, George Mason, esq. well known for his valuable collection of old English and foreign literature, and author of "An Essay on Design in Gardening, 1796" vide *Gentleman's Magazine* (LXVI. 227,) first published in 1768, without his name ; and "Appendix to the same ;" "A British Freeholder's answer to T. Paine ;" A supplement to Johnson's English dictionary," 4to ; "Poems, by Thomas Hecleve, with a preface, notes, and glossary, 1796," 4to. *ibid.* (LXVI. 758 ;) "Life of Richard Earl Howe, 1803," 8vo. *ibid.* (LXXIII. 662,) who purchased Mr. M's paternal estate at Porters, 1772. Mr. M. was eldest son of Mr. M. distiller at Deptford bridge, whose widow re-married Dr. Judd, late Hebrew professor at Oxford. He has left his landed property to his brother's son, and has provided handsomely for a natural daughter.

5th. In Seymour-street, William Brabazon Ponsonby, lord Ponson-

by of Imokilly, a privy counsellor in Ireland, a governor of the county of Kilkenny, &c. His lordship was born Sept. 15, 1744 ; and was much distinguished in the parliament of Ireland, in which he sat for many years as member for the county of Kilkenny, and for his steady adherence to the principles of Mr. Fox. After the union took place, he sat in the imperial parliament for Kilkenny, until elevated to the English peerage, by the title of baron Ponsonby, of Imokilly, co. Cork. His birth was illustrious, being the grandson of Brabazon earl of Besborough, and eldest son and heir of the right honourable John Ponsonby, speaker of the house of commons in Ireland, by the lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of William third duke of Devonshire. His lordship married, Dec. 20, 1769, Louisa, daughter of the third viscount Molesworth, by whom he has left issue, 1. John, now lord Ponsonby, of Imokilly, who is married to lady Frances Villiers, sister to the earl of Jersey ; 2. Richard, in holy orders ; 3. George ; 4. Frederick ; 5. Mary - Elizabeth, married to Charles Viscount Howick, eldest son of earl Grey. The right hon. George Ponsonby, lord chancellor of Ireland, is his lordship's only brother ; the countess of Shannon and lady Lismore are his surviving sisters. He bore his long and very severe illness with the same equanimity that governed all his actions ; nor did it forsake him in his last moments. His bed was surrounded by his distressed relatives : viscount and viscountess Howick, the hon. George and Frederick Ponsonby, his lordship's younger sons, and lady Lismore ; all of whom sat up with him the preceding night. Aware that

that death was approaching, he took an affectionate leave of each, shook hands with them, and, turning on his pillow, died without a groan. Lady Ponsonby, worn out with fatigue, had been carried out of the room. Until his fatal illness, which commenced about two years since, he was a man of the most active and lively mind, remarkably fond of the chase, and kept the best hunting establishment in Ireland, at his seat, Bishop's Court, co. Kildare, where he lived in the most hospitable and princely style. No man was more beloved by his relatives and friends, as an affectionate husband, a fond father, a kind and most indulgent landlord and master. Nor was his political character less amiable, as a man of strong mind and sound sense; in the many parliaments in which he represented the county of Kilkenny, he never gave a vote his conscience did not approve. His remains were, on the 10th, removed in a hearse and four, towards Holyhead, there to be embarked for Ireland. His lordship's carriage, viscount Hewick's and lady Lismore's, followed for some miles. The hon. and rev. Richard Ponsonby, his lordship's second son, who resides on his living in the county of Kildare, attended by two servants, accompanied the hearse.

7th. At Pantglas-house, Carmarthenshire, in her 66th year, Mrs. Alicia Gratiana Jones Llwyd, relict of the late Richard Jones L. esq. barrister at law, and clerk of the peace for the county of Carmarthen; and niece to David L. esq. formerly of Berlladowill, in the same county, and of Castlehowell and Crynfryn, in Cardiganshire.

10th. At Altona, in consequence of the wound he had received in the

battle of Auerstadt, on the 14th ult. and its truly disastrous consequences, his serene highness William-Ferdinand duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, a general in the king of Prussia's service, and K. G. He escaped the pain of knowing the calamities which resulted from the battle, having, from the moment of his wound, been totally insensible to every thing about him. His son, the duke of Brunswick-Oels, who capitulated with general Blucher, and so heroically defended the gate of Lubeck, arrived at his father's house the day after his death. His highness was the companion in arms of the great Frederick, and esteemed a general of the most consummate judgment. On his retreat from his capital, he assumed the title of count of Werdtheim. His horses were sold, on the 13th, by public auction; his jewels, and other effects, on the 15th. His body was opened and embalmed on the 12th. On opening the skull, it was found that the wound would certainly and inevitably prove mortal from the first. His heart is preserved in a silver box. His remains, dressed in the regimentals of the Brunswick dragoons, booted and spurred, with a large Prussian cocked hat, and on the left breast the star and insignia of the British order of the garter, lay in state till the evening of the 18th. The coffin was plain, covered with black velvet. An estafette was sent to Buonaparte, at Berlin, requesting that the duke's remains might be deposited in the family-vault of his ancestors; but nothing can exceed the brutality with which he refused the application. "Tell the duke of Brunswick," said Buonaparte, "that I would rather cede Belgium, would
O o 4 rather

rather renounce the crown of Italy, than allow him, or any of his sons, ever again to set foot within the territory of Brunswick. Let him take his money and jewels, but let him go to England !” Notwithstanding this brutality, however, in the triumphant Usurper, the name of the duke of Brunswick will be mentioned with honour in the *cordatiores atas*, when the crimes of his successful antagonist will be held up to execration. Our gracious sovereign had given orders for apartments in Hampton court palace to be prepared for the reception and asylum of his unfortunate brother-in-law. His unhappy and much-afflicted consort, as soon as the state of her highness's health will permit, removes to this country.

13th. At Henley-in-Arden, co. Warwick, where, from an unfortunate derangement of mind, it was necessary to confine him, Joseph Weston, a man of lively but misapplied talents, implacable resentment, and strong passions. His skill in music entitled him to be for many years organist of Solihull in the same county, from which an irritable temper occasioned him to be removed.—In 1788 he addressed some “Lines to Mr. Green, on visiting his Museum,” *Gentleman's Magazine* LVIII. 444; a Sonnet to H. Carey and T. Lister, two “bright buds of Genius,” *ib.* 823: answered *ib.* 916; a Prologue by him, spoken at Lichfield, *ib.* 915; which he complained had been prematurely published, *ib.* 1058; a Sonnet to Miss Seward, *ib.* 1008; and address spoken at the Theatre at Birmingham, *ib.* 1106. Our readers will recollect the animated strictures of Miss Seward, on his dislike to Pope's ver-

sification in the Preface to his “Woodmen of Arden,” 145, in which she compliments him for “his genius and his virtues;” but adds, that his prejudices are as strong as his talents; *ib.* 291, 389, 510; defended by him, *ib.* 680, 875, 971, 1101, LX. 27; Miss Seward's reply, *ib.* 118; his apology on the death of her father, *ib.* 196; his farther answer to Miss S. and to M. F. *ib.* 386; her reply, *ib.* 522; his farther remarks on the comparative merits of Dryden and Pope, *ib.* 777, 795; M. F.'s final reply, *ib.* 905; final reply to M. F. *ib.* 987; continuation of his defence of the preface to “The Woodmen of Arden,” *ib.* 1066, 1169; hints to him and to Miss S. LXI. 225, 232; Lines on the sudden Death of Mr. Hucquier, portrait-painter, *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXVI. 1052.

At his seat, Galloway-house, near Dumfries, Scotland, of the gout in his stomach, John Stewart earl of Galloway, viscount Garlies, and baron Stewart, knight of the Thistle, and lord lieutenant of Wigtownshire. His lordship first married Charlotte Mary Greville, daughter of the first earl of Warwick; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of the late sir James Dashwood, bart. by whom he had issue eight sons and eight daughters. Six of his lordship's sons are now living, and also six daughters, all married; namely, lady Catherine Graham, the marchioness of Blandford; lady Harriet Spencer Chichester, lady Elizabeth Inge, lady Charlotte Crofton, and lady Caroline Rushout. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son, viscount Garlies, a captain in the royal navy, who is married to a daughter of

of the earl of Uxbridge. His lordship was much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and was long remarkable for his attendance at the opera, where he was generally to be found, when in town, in the pit, close to the orchestra, loud in applause of any favourite performer.

At William Wingfield's, esq. in Montague-street, Russell-square, in her 26th year, lady Elizabeth Digby, daughter of the late and sister of the present earl of Digby.

14th. On the evening of the 6th inst. as Mr. W. Went, of Uley, was returning from Gloucester, with his father and some other friends, his horse fell with him at Frocester; by which accident he received so severe a contusion on the head, that, notwithstanding immediate medical assistance was obtained, he lingered senseless till this evening, when he expired.

20th. On St. James's parade, Bath, of which city he had been an inhabitant ever since the year 1729, aged 82, the rev. Michael Pembridge, a minister of the Roman catholic chapel there, and author of several works of earning and piety.

21st. Aged 21, Mr. Arthur Brook, son of Mr. B. sadler in Lewes. Mr. Brook has experienced in his house a succession of mortality which does not often occur in one family, and which few men could have borne with more christian fortitude than himself. Since the year 1803, he has lost his wife, three sons, and three daughters, as follows: Sarah, aged 21; William, 4; Mary, 5; Harriet, 11; Mrs. Brook, 44; Spilsbury-John, 20; and Arthur, as above.

23d. At the seat of Henry Duncombe, esq. at Copgrove, co. York, in consequence of a fall some weeks

before, lady Muncaster, wife of lord M. of Muncaster-house, in the same county.

At Brompton, Mrs. Bigge, widow of the late Thomas-Charles B. esq. of Benton-house, Northumberland.

At his seat at Arbury, co. Warwick, after an illness of less than a week, aged upwards of 88, in the enjoyment of his faculties unimpaired almost to the last, sir Roger Newdigate, bart. many years one of the representatives in parliament for the university of Oxford, to which he has long been a liberal benefactor. He was owner of one of the finest estates of coal in the kingdom; and his extensive coal-works near Bedworth have for a long time been very productive. He several years ago cut many miles in length of navigable canal through his collieries and woods, to join the Coventry canal; by far the greatest length of canal, solely belonging to an individual, in the kingdom. He was an active promoter of the Coventry, the Oxford, and Grand Junction canals, and of the turnpike-road from Coventry to Leicester, which has so much benefited those parts of the country. He was also a liberal benefactor to the poor, particularly in finding them employment.

Sir Roger Newdigate possessed a fine estate at Harefield, in Middlesex, where his remains were interred in the family vault on the 5th of December. He was the seventh and youngest son of sir Richard N. bart. by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of sir Roger Twisden, bart. Sir Richard died in 1727; and was succeeded in title and estate by his fifth (then the oldest surviving) son, sir Edward Newdigate,

who died 1734, in his 18th year, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Roger, who was at that time "a king's scholar at Westminster school, where, by his own choice, he continued three years, and became a member of University college, Oxford, and made the tour of France and Italy. Soon after his return, he had the honour to be unanimously elected knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, upon a vacancy by the creation of the right hon. William Pulteney earl of Bath, in 1742; and in 1743 he married Sophia, daughter of Edward Conyers, of Copt-hall, in co. Essex, esq. who, after a long-continued state of ill-health, died in 1774, and was buried at Harefield, where is her monument, a white marble vase, with a female figure in basso relievo recumbent; on the top an angel leaning on an extinguished torch; on the plinth are these lines from Petrarch:

"Per me non pianger piu ch' miei
di sersi

Morendo eterni e nel' eterno lume
Quando mostrai chiuder gl' occhi gli
aspersi."

On a tablet underneath:

"In memory
of his most truly amiable,
much and long-loved wife,
Sophia, lady Newdigate,
daughter of Edward Conyers,
of Copped-hall, Essex, esquire,
by Matilda, daughter of
William Baron Lempster,
born Dec. 20th, 1718,
married May 31st, 1743,
died July 9th, 1774,

Sir Roger Newdigate, baronet,
with many tears, erected this monument."

In 1749, sir Roger Newdigate was admitted to the degree of LL. D. at

Oxford; and on the 31st of January, 1750, upon a vacancy made by lord Cornbury's being called to the house of peers, he had the high honour to be returned the first upon the poll for a Burgess for the university of Oxford. Such is the noble example of independence and untainted purity in elections, set to all electors by that most learned and most respectable body, that to declare, to canvass, to treat, or even to be seen within the limits of the university, during a vacancy, would be, in any candidate, a forfeiture of all favour, and an utter exclusion. By this distinguished conduct, invariably pursued, by the honour they confer on the object of their choice, they reflect the highest honour on themselves. Thus honoured was sir Roger Newdigate, not knowing that he was proposed, supported, and elected, till he received a letter from the vice-chancellor by one of the esquire beadles; and in the same manner, without application or expence whatsoever, he was re-elected in 1754, and again in 1761, and in 1768; and for the fifth time in 1774, being then absent in Italy, which he had revisited that summer. On the dissolution of that parliament, in 1780, after 35 years service in parliament, advanced in years and his health affected by a town life, much ill health in his family, and wishing for repose, he solicited his dismissal, and retired from public life. In 1776 he married his second lady, Hester, daughter of Edward Mundy, of Shipley, in Derbyshire, esq. and sister to Edward Miller-Mundy, esq. knight of the shire for that county, who died Sept. 30, 1800. In 1786 he built a villa, in a beautiful situation, which overlooks the valley of the river Colney, within a mile of Uxbridge."

bridge. *Betham's Baronetage*, vol. III. pp. 21, 23.

Two royal visits to the lord Keeper Egerton at Harefield are recorded in the 3d volume of "*Queen Elizabeth's Progresses*," 1601 and 1602; where we find also that the late worthy baronet (sir Roger Newdigate) was once possessed of an account in MS. of this visit, with a collection of the complimentary speeches with which, as was customary on these occasions, she was addressed. The MS. is unfortunately lost; but sir Roger Newdigate recollected that the queen was first welcomed to a farm-house, now called *Dew's farm*, by several allegorical persons, who attended her to a long avenue of trees leading to the house, which obtained from this circumstance the name of *The Queen's walk*. Four trees of this avenue still remain, and the greater part were standing not many years ago. *Warton's Milton*, p. 46.

25th. At his house, near Kensington Gravel-pits, Thomas Coombe, esq.; his residence in London was No. 4, Cork-street, Burlington-gardens. His fortune resulted from an ignoble trade (that of a tailor,) if in a commercial country like England any trade can be deemed ignoble that is carried on with assiduity, liberality, and fair-dealing. With more than an ample income, in full health of body and ease of mind, of exuberant spirits, and blessed with the friendships of many good and even titled families, Mr. Coombe retired to apparent happiness and leisure at Kensington, with an amiable wife and an only son.—But, in an evil hour, listening too credulously to a plausible project, he sunk vast sums of money in a mine, whence not a shilling ever rose again. The

first grievous shock, on his being certified of his loss, and his subsequent settled chagrin, preyed most fatally on his peace of mind. Loss of spirits; sleep, appetite, and strength, progressively and rapidly ensued; till, on Tuesday, he breathed his last heavy sigh, dying literally of a broken heart!!! His health, friends, an enormous fortune, and still sweeter enjoyments, were by one sad passion, *the thirst of gain*, all rendered ineffectual; and a hazardous speculation in a mine ruined his sublunary comforts irretrievably!

At his house in Devonshire-place, Mary-la-Bonne, in his 86th year, and after a few days illness, admiral sir Richard King, bart.; a most distinguished and gallant officer, whose services have richly adorned our naval history. He was twice returned to parliament for Rochester; and is succeeded in title by his only son, capt. King of the *Achille*, of 74 guns, which he commanded in the ever-memorable and glorious victory off Trafalgar. His remains were interred, Dec. 4, in the west aisle of St. Mary-la-Bonne church, attended by a great number of his relatives and friends. The chief-mourners were, his son-in-law, Mr. Babbs, Mr. James Barnett (banker,) and James Horton, esq.

26th. At Richmond, Surrey, in his 55th year, the rev. Thomas Wakefield, B. A. 30 years minister of that parish, son of George W. vicar there from 1766 to 1776, on the death of his father; and brother of the late Gilbert W. who at his solicitation published his "*Remarks on the internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*, 1789," 8vo. which went through two editions; and to whose memory he placed a monument

monument in Richmond church. Mr. Thomas Wakefield is succeeded by George Savage, M. A. fellow of King's college, Cambridge, who was instituted, 1788, to the vicarage of Kingston. In 1796, an act was passed for new-modelling this vicarage, by which Kingston vicarage was confined to Kingston and Richmond, and a new vicarage was formed of Kew and Petersham. Thames-Ditton, and East Moulsey curacies were declared perpetual, and the patronage of them vested in the patron of Kingston. Mr. Hardinge, the patron, before the passing of this act, presented the rev. George Wakefield, who, as vicar of Kingston, had a right to appoint to all the curacies; and a little before his death, in 1776, appointed his son Thomas to the curacy of Richmond, on his own surrender. A doubt had arisen whether the curates appointed by the vicar, vacated their curacies on his death or cession. The patron, though interested in the question, closed it in favour of what he thought the fair side of the argument; and the act declares the curacies perpetual. Mr. Thomas Wakefield, in consequence, held Richmond during his life. By this act, after the then next avoidance of the vicarage of Kingston, and of the chapelry of Richmond, the vicarage and chapelry, including the hamlets of Ham and Hook, are to be a distinct vicarage, by the name of the vicarage of Kingston upon Thames, with Shene, otherwise Richmond. Mr. Hardinge sold the advowson to the provost and fellows of King's college, Cambridge.

27th. At Cambridge, in his 71st year, after a lingering illness, Mr. Thomas Thackeray, an eminent surgeon of that town. In the profes-

sion in which he has been actively and laboriously engaged for 30 years past, his talents were undisputed; and the tenderness and humanity with which he exercised its important duties, will be remembered with gratitude by numbers whose sufferings his skill and experience contributed to alleviate. In his disposition he was kind and benevolent; in his manners mild and unassuming. His conduct in the various relations of life, whilst it strengthened the natural attachment of his best and dearest connections, secured to him the esteem of every man to whom his name and character were known; and more especially as a parent, in the education of a numerous family, his example never failed to recommend the virtues which his instructions enforced. In the pious and assiduous attention which he received from them in the last and more painful moments of his existence, he reaped the best reward of his labours which this world was capable of affording; and, though they must continue to lament in private, with deep and heartfelt regret, the heavy loss which they have sustained, they will have the satisfaction of seeing the honour conferred on his memory by the tribute, not less sincere, of public respect.

30th. Drowned, in Yarmouth Roads, Mr. James Jennings, purser of H. M. S. Sparrow, and a native of Halifax, Yorkshire. He was some time in the office of Mr. Jackson, of New Broad-street, and was clerk to the honourable captain Fleeming in H. M. S. Diomedé and Egyptienne.

Dec. 2d. Aged 83, after a long and very painful illness, the rev. Thomas Towle, B. D. at his house in Cripplegate-buildings, of which he
had

had been an inhabitant above 40 years. He married, about the year 1746, Miss Sarah Brent, of Horsley-down, a sensible and agreeable lady, by whom he had two sons; one died an infant, the other still survives. She died, aged 50, May 7, 1778, sincerely lamented by him. He was buried with her December 10, in Bunhill-fields, when the rev. Mr. Kello of Bethnal-green, delivered an appropriate address over the grave; and on the following Sunday a funeral sermon was preached in his meeting-house by the rev. Mr. Kingsbury of Southampton, to a crowded auditory. A person one day applied to him for advice, on a case which, he affirmed, lay on his mind. He was about to marry a young lady of property, who, as a *sine qua non*, insisted on a settlement previous to marriage. "Sir," said this person to Mr. Towle, "it is not that I have such an objection to grant this request, but there is a text in scripture which oppresses me very much, and militates against the demand; it is John iv. 18, *perfect love casteth out fear*. Now if this lady perfectly loved me, she would have no fear to marry me, without requiring a settlement." Mr. Towle, who quickly perceived his artifice, instantly replied, "Why, Sir, divines may differ in their interpretations of this text; I myself think, in this case, it bears a different meaning; let us examine the words, *perfect love casteth out fear*, that is, if you perfectly love this lady, you will not be afraid to grant her a settlement." It is needless to add, the person left him mortified indeed. He is not known to have published any thing but an ordination sermon at Thaxted in Essex, and two funeral orations over his reverend bre-

thren, Edward Hitchen, B. D. and Samuel Morton Savage, D. D.

8th. At Thomas's hotel, in Berkeley-square, after a short illness, in his 57th year, universally regretted, James Hatch esq. of Clayberry-hall, Essex; for which county he served the office of high sheriff in 1794. He married, 1775, Wilhelmina-Caroline Addington, sole heiress of the elder branch of the family of lord viscount Sidmouth. By this lady, who survives him, he enjoyed a very large fortune, and had issue James, fellow-commoner of Trinity college, Cambridge, who died in 1804, in the 21st year of his age, and three daughters, the elder of whom is married to John Ruthforth Abdy, esq. of Albyns, co. Essex.

9th. At his house in St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark, in his 83d year, Mr. Richard Leeson. He had been an officer in St. Thomas's hospital upwards of 56 years; the last 42 of which he had been the steward of it.

At Cobourg, in his 57th year, Francis reigning Duke of Saxe-Saalfeld-Cobourg; born, July, 15, 1750. He succeeded his father in 1800; and by his marriage with Augusta-Carolina-Sophia, daughter of Henry XXIV. reigning count of Rauss d'Ebersdorf, has left several children. He is succeeded by his eldest son, prince Ernest-Frederick-Antony, born in 1784, major-general in the service of Russia.

At her lodgings in Grove-lane, Camberwell, aged 54, Miss Margaret Brown, daughter of the late Mr. Robert B. printer, of Windmill-court, Newgate-street.

12th. Mr. Joseph Denison, of St. Mary-Axe, merchant, probably above 80 years of age, an extraordinary

nary instance of success and prosperity in his undertakings; being undoubtedly immensely rich, though probably not to such an enormous degree as has been represented. He was a native of the west part of Yorkshire, his parents in the humblest walk of life. But by some means he made his way to London, and after some time became clerk in the counting-house of a Mr. Dillon, an Irish Catholic merchant, who, "among the various changes of this mortal life," in after-times himself failing, was glad to become clerk to his own *ci-devant* clerk, Mr. Denison. At length he entered into business for himself; and, by unabated industry and the most rigid frugality, worked himself into very high credit, and an increasing fortune. He dwelt for a considerable time in Princes-street, Lothbury; and afterwards removed to Jefferies-square and St. Mary-Axe. He became connected with the family of Haywood, bankers at Liverpool, and other considerable merchants in the north of England. He always professed himself a dissenter. In the beginning of his life he married a countrywoman of his own, of the name of Sykes, distantly related to the mother of the well-known antiquary Mr. Ralph Thoresby, who bore that name: she was of great service to him, and very assistant to his prosperity, keeping his books, and looking after his affairs, when he was absent upon business; she died above 40 years ago, without issue. He afterwards married Elizabeth, only child of a Mr. Butler, formerly a hat-maker in or near Tooley-street, Southwark; a well-educated and very amiable woman, who lived with him only three years and a

half, dying, Nov. 27, 1771, aged 32, much regretted by all her acquaintance: she left a son, William-Joseph, member of the last parliament but one for Camelford, and lately returned for Hull, who is unmarried; and two daughters; Elizabeth, married to Henry earl Conyngham, and has issue, and Maria, married to sir Robert Lawley, bart. and has no issue. He bought of lord King, the estate of Denbies, near Dorking, in Surrey, formerly the property of the well-known Jonathan Tyres; and afterwards, of the duke of Leeds, for above 100,000*l.* (as has been said), the estate of Seamere, near Scarborough, in Yorkshire.

17th. At Dorchester, aged 68, T Beach, esq. many years an eminent portrait-painter at Bath. He was a native of Milton Abbey, a village, since converted into the noble mansion of the earl of Dorchester. From his earliest years, Mr. Beach evinced a strong desire to be an artist; and, under the patronage of the Dorchester family, he became a pupil to sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1760. He was a good scholar, and exemplary in the exercises of religion and charity.

19th. In the prime of life, after a short illness, Elizabeth, wife of captain Towry, of the Royal Navy, daughter of George Chamberlaine, esq. of Devonshire-place; a true pattern of all that is estimable in woman.

20th. At Fregenwalden, the princess Wilhelmina - Frederica-Paulina, of Nassau-Dietz, daughter of the reigning prince of Fulda, born in 1800, and grand-daughter of Frederick-William II. king of Prussia.

26th. At Chester, lady Arabella Rawdon,

Rawdon, heiress of the late sir John Cheshyre, of Hallwood in Cheshire, aunt to the earl of Moira, and cousin to countess Fauconberg.

29th. Aged 75, Carey Bayly, esq. one of the ancients of New inn, and many years treasury of that society. His remains, after lying in state some days at his chambers, were deposited in St. Clement's church-yard, in the Strand, conveyed thither, a distance of about 50 yards, in a hearse and six, followed by several mourning-coaches and four.

31st. At Cork, captain William Barry; who had served nearly half a century, with honour and reputation, first in the Saxon, afterwards in the Prussian, and finally in the British armies.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the Year 1806.

Bedfordshire. W. Long, of Kempstown, esq.

Berkshire. J. I. Libenrood, of Tilehurst, esq.

Bucks. Philip Hoddle Ward, of Tickford Abbey, esq.

Camb. and Hunt. L. Reynolds, of Sturtlow, esq.

Cheshire. Sir Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, bart.

Cumberland. J. B. D. Dykes, of Dovenby, esq.

Derbyshire. Francis Bradshaw, of Barton, esq.

Devonshire. Wm. Jackson, of Cowley, esq.

Dorsetshire. Ed. Williams, of Herringstode, esq.

Essex. James Urmston, of Chigwell, esq.

Gloucestershire. William Lawrence, of Shurdington, esq.

Herefordshire. Samuel Davis, of Wigmore, esq.

Hertfordshire. G. S. Martin, of Sandbridge Lodge, esq.

Kent. John Marrison, of Denne Hill, esq.

Lancashire. Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, of Huntroyd, esq.

Leicestershire. F. W. Wollaston, of Shenton, esq.

Lincolnshire. W. Reeve, of Long-leadenham, esq.

Monmouthshire. W. Phillips, of Whitson, esq.

Norfolk. Henry Lee Warner, of Walsingham, esq.

Northamptonshire. T. Carter, of Edgcott, esq.

Northumberland. W. Lynskill, of Tynemouth Lodge, esq.

Nottinghamshire. Sir T. W. White, of Wallingwells, esq.

Oxfordshire. G. F. Stratton, of Great Tew Park, esq.

Rutlandshire. T. Hotchkin, of Telover, esq.

Shropshire. W. Botfield, of Maylin Lee, esq.

Somersetshire. Clifton Wheaton, of Corse, esq.

Staffordshire. W. P. Inge, of Thorpe Constantine, esq.

Southampton. John Hanbury Beaufoy, of Upton Gray, esq.

Suffolk. M. W. Le Heup, of Bury St. Edmund's, esq.

Surrey. Kennard Smith, of Cheam, esq.

Sussex. W. Gorringe, of Kingston by the Sea, esq.

Worcestershire. Sir Thomas-Edward Winnington, of Stamford Court, bart.

Warwickshire. Geo. Lloyd, of Wellcombe, esq.

Wilts.

Wills. John Paul Paul, of Ashton Keynes, esq.

Yorkshire. J. B. S. Morris, of Rokesby Park, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Osborn Ycates, of Llangattock Court, esq.

Carmarthen. G. P. Watkins, of Broadway, esq.

Cardigan. Lewis Bailey Wallis, of Peterwell, esq.

Glamorgan. Anth. Bacon, of Cysfartha, esq.

Pembroke. Hugh Webb Bowen, of Camross, esq.

Radnor. Tho. Stevens, of Kinnerton, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey. Sir Hugh Owen, of Bodewen, bart.

Cacrnarvon. William Williams, of Llangwstennin, esq.

Denbigh. R. Jones, of Bellam Place, esq.

Flint. Thomas Thomas, of Downing, esq.

Merioneth. Hugh Jones, sen. of Dolgelly, esq.

Montgomery. W. Owen, of Bryngwin, esq.

Sheriff appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for the year 1806.

Cornwall. T. Graham, of Penquite, esq.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Dispatches, dated Cape Town, Jan. 12, announcing the Capitulation of the Town and Garrison.

THE expedition sailed from St. Salvador on the 26th of November, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January. After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops any where nearer to Cape Town, than Saldanha and Lospard's bays, of which event general sir David Baird gives the following particulars :

" The surf along the shore of Lospard's bay," observes the general, " having considerably abated the ensuing morning, I determined, with the concurrence of commodore sir Home Popham, to make an effort to get the troops on shore, and accordingly the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, effected that object, under the command of brigadier-general Ferguson.—The shore had been previously very closely inspected by the brigadier, and by his spirited exertions and example, our efforts were crowned with success : although a confined and intricate channel to the shore, which had been accurately pointed out by beacons laid down by the diligence and activity of the boats of the Diadem,

and a tremendous surf, opposed the passage of the troops. The enemy had scattered a party of sharpshooters over the contiguous heights, and commanded the landing, but the casualties of this service arose principally from natural difficulties, and it is with the deepest concern I have the honour to inform your lordship, that we lost 35 rank and file of the 93d regiment, by the oversetting of one of the boats, notwithstanding every possible effort to rescue these unfortunate men. The remainder of the troops could only be brought on shore on the succeeding day; when the extraordinary obstacles to all intercourse with the fleet, which nothing but the courage and perseverance of British seamen could surmount, barely enabled us to obtain the indispensable supplies of water and provisions for immediate subsistence. On the morning of the 8th the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, about four thousand strong, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved off towards the road which leads to Cape Town ; and, having ascended the summit of the Blawberg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, I discovered their

main body, drawn up in two lines, prepared to receive us, and even in motion to anticipate our approach. The enemy's force apparently consisted of about 5000 men, the greater proportion of which was cavalry, and 23 pieces of cannon, yoked to horses, the disposition of which, and the nature of the ground occupied by the enemy's troops, made it evident that they intended to refuse their right wing, and with their left attempt to turn our right flank; but, to frustrate their design, I formed the army into two columns, the second brigade, under brigadier-general Ferguson, keeping the road, whilst the first struck to the right, and took the defile of the mountains. Having accomplished my purpose, our line was formed with equal celerity and order; and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step, under a very heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musquetry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader, brigadier-general Ferguson; and the number of the enemy who swarmed the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. The enemy received our fire, and maintained his position obstinately, but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat.

The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded, in the absence of brigadier-general Beresford, by lieutenant-colonel Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by their situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British

arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, in dislodging a number of horse and rifle-men from the heights on our right flank. This brilliant achievement, however, was clouded by the loss of Capt. Foster of the grenadiers, whose gallantry is best recorded in the bosoms of his brother soldiers, and the universal regret of the army. It is utterly impossible to convey to your lordship, an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance, and retarded the success of our army; but it is my duty to inform your lordship, that the nature of the country—a deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, and scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry; and above all, the total privation of water, under the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted our gallant fellows in the moment of victory, and with the utmost difficulty were we able to reach the Reit Valley, where we took our position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries with which we started, had been lost during the action, and we occupied our ground, under an apprehension that even the great exertions of sir Home Popham and the navy, could not relieve us from starvation.”

After some warm and well-merited compliments to the seamen, for their zealous co-operation, the general thus continues:—

“ The loss of the enemy in this engagement, is reputed to exceed 700 men in killed and wounded; and it is with the most sensible gratification, that I contrast it with the inclosed return of our casualties. Your lordship will perceive the name of lieutenant-colonel Grant among

among the wounded ; but the heroic spirit of this officer was not subdued by his misfortune, and he continued to lead his men to glory, as long as an enemy was opposed to his majesty's 72d regiment. I have the cordial satisfaction to add, that his wound, though very severe, is not pronounced dangerous ; and I indulge the hope and expectation of his early recovery, and resumption of command. On the morning of the 9th, recruited by such supplies as the unwearied diligence and efforts of the navy could throw on shore, the 59th regiment, however, being almost completely destitute of food, we prosecuted our march towards Cape Town, and took up a position south of Salt River, which we trusted might preserve a free communication with the squadron ; for our battering train, as well as every other necessary, except water, was to pass to us from his majesty's ships. In this situation a flag of truce was sent to me by the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town, (the governor-general Janssens having retired after the action of the 8th into the country, moving by Hottentots Holland Kloof,) requesting a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours, in order to negotiate a capitulation. In answer to this overture, I dispatched brigadier-general Ferguson, accompanied by lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg, to stipulate, as the condition of my acquiescence, the surrender of the outer works of the town within six hours, allowing 36 hours for arranging the articles of capitulation. My proposition being assented to, the 59th regiment marched into Port Knokke, and the next day, in conjunction with sir Home Popham, the terms

were agreed upon, and his majesty's forces were put in possession of the several defences of the town. Of the modified capitulation, as ratified by us, I have the honour to inclose a copy. The cordial, able, and zealous co-operation of commodore sir Home Popham, emulated by all the officers under his command, merits my warmest acknowledgements and commendations ; and I have the satisfaction to add, that no united service was ever performed with more true harmony than has uniformly been manifested by both branches of his majesty's forces. Such of his majesty's ships as could be spared from the service of Lospard's Bay, constantly coasted the enemy's shore, throwing shot among his troops and people, and contributing to keep him ignorant of the actual place of our disembarkation, and a very spirited effort was made by the marines of the fleet, and a party of seamen from the *Diadem*, under the commodore's immediate command, to occupy a position in Reit Valley, and co-operate with the army."

[The remainder of the general's letter consists of praises of the company's recruits, headed by lieutenant-colonel Wellet, of the Bengal establishment, and regret for the absence of brigadier-general Beresford, the 20th dragoons, the 38th regiment, and of major Tucker, who was absent from illness. Much praise is bestowed on lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg, and the different officers commanding corps.]

Total killed, wounded, and missing, in landing at Lospard's Bay, Jan. 6.

—Highland brigade, 71st regiment, 1 rank and file killed ; 3 rank and file wounded.—N. B. 1 drummer, and 35 rank and file, of the 93d.

drowned in landing.—Officers wounded: brevet-major Weir, brig. major, slightly. Lieutenant-colonel Pack, of the 71st, slightly.

W. H. TROTTER,

Acting deputy adjutant-general.

Total killed, wounded, and missing, in the action of Jan. 8, at Blaauwberg.

—1 captain, 14 rank and file, killed; 3 field-officers, 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 3 drummers, 170 rank and file wounded; 8 rank and file missing.—Officer killed, 24th regiment, captain Andrew Foster.—Officers wounded, 59th regiment, Alexander M'Pherson, badly. 71st, brevet lieutenant-colonel Campbell. 72d, lieutenant-colonel Grant; lieutenant Chisholm. 93d, brevet lieutenant-colonel Honeyman. 78th, lieutenants Scoble and Strachan, attached to 93d regiment. 86th, ensigns Heddrick and Craig.

W. H. TROTTER,

Acting deputy adjutant-general.

The articles of capitulation state, that the garrison of Cape Town shall become prisoners of war; such officers as are married to natives, or are domiciliated, being allowed to remain in the town on their parole. The French subjects belonging to two stranded ships, are included in the surrender. The inhabitants of the town who have borne arms, to be allowed to return to their former occupations.—Articles 6 to 13, contain the following regulations:—All *bonâ fide* property shall remain free and untouched. Public property of every description shall be faithfully delivered up, and proper inventories given as soon as possible. The burghers and inhabitants shall preserve all their rights and privileges. Public worship, as at present in use, shall be maintained

without alteration.—The paper money in circulation shall continue current, until the pleasure of his Britannic majesty is known.—The lands and houses, the property of the Batavian republic, which must be delivered up, shall remain as security for that part of the paper money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals.—Prisoners of war comprehended in the present capitulation, shall not be pressed into his Britannic majesty's service. The inhabitants of Cape Town shall be exempted from having troops quartered on them. Two ships having been sunk in Table Bay, to the great detriment of the roadstead, either after the Batavian republic had sent out a flag of truce, or whilst it was in contemplation so to do, they are to be raised, and delivered over in an entire state of repair. This having been done without the sanction of the commandant, the raising of the said ships shall be incumbent on those who sunk them.

General Return of Ordnance on the several Batteries of Cape Town, and its Dependencies, Jan. 12, 1806.
—Total, 113 brass, and 343 iron pieces of ordnance—456.

W. SPICER.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir D. Baird, dated Cape Town, Jan. 13.

General Janssens has retired to Hottentots Holland Kloof, and advises this instant received state him to have sent his forces over the Kloof, estimating them at 1200 men, with 28 pieces of artillery, and 200 waggons. He has discharged the farmers from the service, and dismissed 50 waggons, which are said to be coming

coming towards the town, and consequently will be soon in my possession. This account of his force is probably exaggerated, and particularly with regard to his artillery.—The general himself is still on this side the Kloof, but his intentions seem matter of conjecture, and probably he meditates a movement towards Zwart Kops River.—His resources, with respect to subsistence, are of a kind not very susceptible of interruption, from the disposition of the farmers, or the means I can immediately oppose to him, unless he should experience a deficiency of ammunition by our possession of some of his *depôts*. The farmers are by no means likely to assist him heartily for any length of time, for the devastation of their property must be the inevitable consequence of a prosecution of the contest in the interior. To augment, or even preserve his actual, and, I trust, but temporary superiority in that particular, it will be necessary for general Janssens to move, in a northerly direction, into the district of Stellesbosch; but as the measure is of a most desperate tendency, and requires that his heart should be steeled against those sensations which are said to govern his actions, I indulge a sanguine expectation that consequences so dreadful may be averted. With this view, and from the posture of our relative affairs, I have deemed it both honourable and expedient for his majesty's government, to make an overture to general Janssens, a copy of which is inclosed, deprecating the destructive result of his farther opposition to his majesty's arms, and treating him with the generosity and distinction due to his character. But in order to give weight to the anxious desire

I entertain, of inviting general Janssens to a pacification, I have at an early hour this day, detached brigadier-general Beresford, with the 59th and 72d regiments, two howitzers, and four six-pounders, to possess himself of the village of Stellesbosch, and thence to forward my letter to the general, accompanied by such additional arguments as the brigadier may consider expedient to submit to him, and with full powers to conclude whatever treaty existing circumstances might exact.

Cape Town, Jun. 11.

SIR,—You have discharged your duty to your country as became a brave man at the head of a gallant though feeble army. I know how to respect the high qualities of such a man; and do not doubt that the humanity which ever characterises an intrepid soldier, will now operate in your breast, to check the fatal consequences of a fruitless contest. The naval and military forces of his Britannic majesty, which have possessed themselves of the seat of your recent government, are of a magnitude to leave no question respecting the issue of farther hostilities; and, therefore, a temporary and disastrous resistance, is all you can possibly oppose to superior numbers. Under these circumstances, nothing can result, but the devastation of the country you casually occupy; and such a consequence can never be contemplated without anguish by a generous mind; or be gratifying to the man who feels for the prosperity and tranquillity of the colony, lately subject to his administration. But if, unhappily, your resolution is formed to oppose an enemy of such superior force, by protracting a contest which must entail misery

and ruin on the industrious and peaceably disposed settlers of this colony, I shall be exonerated from the reproach of my own conscience by this frank overture; and you must justify to yourself, and to your countrymen, the farther effusion of blood, and the desolation of the country.—You are necessarily so well acquainted with the extent of the calamities in which the interior of the country may be involved, that I shall not enlarge upon your power of causing mischief to be done to all its inhabitants; but, I persuade myself that considerations of a more laudable nature will influence your decision on this occasion; and that you will manifest an immediate disposition to promote a general tranquillity.—I have the honour to subscribe, with sentiments of the highest respect, and consideration. Sir, yours, &c.

D. BAIRD,

Maj.-gen. commander in chief.
To lieut.-gen. Janssens, &c.

A letter from sir H. Popham to W. Marsden, esq. gives a detail of the expedition, to the same effect as that in the dispatch of sir D. Baird.—It appears, that every exertion was made by the naval forces to facilitate, with safety, the landing of the troops; and that the cause of the upsetting of one of the boats was their anxiety to be first ashore.—Sir Home, after paying the highest compliments to captains Rowley, Byng, Butterfield, and the whole of the officers and men under his command, regrets that no brilliant service fell to the lot of the squadron, which maintained with unabated zeal the most laborious duty that could be experienced.

A Dispatch received from Major-General Sir D. Baird, at the Cape of Good Hope, dated Jan. 26, containing the Capitulation of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

I had the honour to address your lordship on the 13th inst. relative to the situation of affairs in this colony; and I now proceed to submit to your lordship the subsequent operations against the Batavian forces, commanded by lieut.-gen. Janssens, and which have terminated in the subjection of the whole colony.—According to my orders, brig.-gen. Beresford advanced with a detachment of the army on the 13th inst. to occupy the village of Stellenbosch, and secure the strong pass of Roode Sand, with a view to exclude the Batavian forces from that productive portion of the district, and to preserve to ourselves an undisturbed intercourse with the farmers below the Kloof. Lieut.-gen. Janssens made no efforts to dispute these objects, but contented himself with moving his forces to the submit of Hottentot Holland's Kloof, and there took post, waiting, apparently, to receive some overtures of pacification. Brig.-gen. Beresford availed himself of this aspect of affairs to transmit to lieut.-gen. Janssens a letter from me, and took that occasion of announcing that he was vested with powers to come to an accommodation with the lieutenant-general. This proposition produced a truce for the purpose of carrying on a negotiation; but it were superfluous to occupy your lordship's time by detailing the various pretensions and arguments urged by lieut.-gen. Janssens

Janssens in objection to the terms I offered to his army ; but the result thereof afforded so little prospect of accommodation, that I deemed it proper to move the 59th and 72d regiments to the Roode Sand Kloof, and the 93d regiment towards Hottentot Holland, with a view to a combined operation with the 83d regiment, which had sailed on the 14th inst. for Mosell Bay, in order to throw itself into the enemy's rear, possess the Attiquos pass, and, from that position, cut off his retreat through the district of Zwellendam. —Brig.-gen. Beresford had acquiesced in the prolongation of the truce with gen. Janssens for a few hours, in the hope that further deliberation might dispose him to listen to the very honourable and advantageous terms I had offered him ; and at the moment when every expectation of his renewing the negotiation had ceased, his military secretary, capt. Debittz, waited upon me, and presented a modified draught of the terms originally proposed by me. On my declining to vary the conditions, capt. Debittz solicited permission to refer my ultimatum to gen. Janssens ; and was at length authorized to notify his acceptance of them.—In consequence of this notification, I dispatched brig.-gen. Beresford with directions to execute a treaty on the conditions first offered to gen. Janssens."

The Capitulation agreed to is in substance as follows.

The whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, will be considered as surrendered by the

governor, lieut.-gen. Janssens, to his Britannic majesty.—The Batavian troops shall march from their present camp within three days, or sooner, if convenient, with their guns, arms, and baggage, and with all the honours of war, to Simon's Town. They shall retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses. But their arms, treasures, and all public property of every description, together with the cavalry and artillery horses, must be delivered up. In consideration, however, of their gallant conduct, the troops will be embarked and sent straight to Holland, at the expence of the British government; and shall not be considered as prisoners of war, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, until they have been landed in Holland.—The Hottentot soldiers are to march to Simon's Town with the other troops ; after which, they will be either allowed to return to their own country, or be engaged in the British service, as they may think proper.—The officers and men belonging to the Batavian army are to be subsisted at the expence of the British government until they are embarked.—The sick who cannot be removed with the other soldiers, are to be attended at the expence of his Britannic majesty, and when recovered sent to Holland. The inhabitants of the colony who are comprehended in this capitulation, are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as have been granted to those in Cape Town, according to the capitulation of the 10th inst. with the exception of not quartering troops, the country not having the same resources as the town.—Lieut.-gen. Janssens shall be at liberty to send

home a dispatch to Holland, and will receive assistance from the British commanders in forwarding the same.

Admiralty-Office, April 15. Letter from Sir J. T. Duckworth, to W. Marsden, esq. dated Superb, Port Royal, Feb. 16.

SIR;

Captain Henry, of the French ship *Diomede*, which ran on shore, and I afterwards ordered to be burnt, being, with his officers, among the prisoners rescued, the afternoon of the 9th, before that event took place, he approached to offer captain Keats his sword, which he, from the report which had been made to me by sir Edward Berry, and, except in the act of hailing, confirmed by capt. Dun, that the ship had struck before she run on shore, disdainfully refused. This of course made explanation necessary on my side; and I acquainted capt. Henry, that I had marked his dishonourable conduct in my public letter; when feeling, as he appeared to do, like a man of honour, and referring to his officers and ship's company, they gave the strongest testimony that the pendant was always flying, though the ensign was shot away; and this, from strict investigation since my arrival here, appears to be the case; and as sir E. Berry is not present to refer to, and the commodore in the *Braave* allows he hailed the *Agamemnon*, and what has been recited passed between them, I have no doubt that the *Diomede* has been mistaken for the *Braave*, by her ensign being down. I therefore, sir, feeling that character is much

more valuable than life, am to beg the heavy charge on capt. Henry may be done away in such a manner as in their lordships' judgment may appear most proper.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Letters from Adam Dacres, Commander in Chief at Jamaica, introduce the following.

Franchise, at anchor, off Campeachy, January 7.

SIR,

Having received information from a neutral, that several Spanish vessels had very lately arrived in the Bay of Campeachy, and conceiving it practicable, from the local knowledge I had of that place, that they might be cut out without running much risk; I have presumed, in consequence, to extend the limits of the orders with which you honoured me, and proceeded to this anchorage; and, although I am well aware of the great responsibility, yet, as it was undertaken solely with a view of forwarding the king's service, by distressing his enemies, so I have the vanity to hope it will be sanctioned with your high approbation. I have, therefore, the honour to report, that I last evening anchored the *Franchise* in quarter-less-four fathoms, a-breast the town of Campeachy; and as it was impossible, from the shallowness of the water, to approach nearer to the shore than five leagues, I dispatched the senior officer, lieut. John Fleming, accompanied by lieut. P. G. Douglas, the third, lieut. Mends of the marines, and Messrs. Daly, Lamb, Chalmers, and Hamilton, midshipmen,

men, in three boats, with orders to scour the Bay, and bring off such of the enemy's vessels as they might fall in with. But, from the distance they had to row, joined to the darkness of the night, and the uncertainty of their position, it was four o'clock in the morning before they could possibly arrive, long after the rising of the moon, which unfortunately gave the enemy warning of their approach, and ample time for preparation, even to the tricing up of their boarding nettings, and projecting sweeps, to prevent the boats from coming along-side; and although the alarm was thus given from one end of the Bay to the other, and instantly communicated to the castle on-shore, yet nothing could damp the ardour and gallantry of the officers and crew, who had volunteered on this (as it ultimately proved) hazardous service; for that instant, two of his catholic majesty's brigs, one of 20 guns, and 180 men, the other of 12 guns and 90 men, accompanied by an armed schooner of eight, and supported by seven gun-boats, of two guns each, slipped their cables, and commenced a most severe and heavy cannonading on the three boats, which must soon have annihilated them, had not lieut. Fleming, with great presence of mind, and unchecked ardour, most boldly dashed on, and instantly laid the nearest brig on-board. He was so quickly supported by his friend lieut. Douglas in the barge, and Mr. Lamb in the pinnace, that they carried her in ten minutes, notwithstanding the very powerful resistance they met with. The whole of this little flotilla pursued them for some distance, keeping up a constant firing of guns and musquetry, which was so smart-

ly returned both by the brig and boats, that they soon retired to their former position, leaving lieut. Fleming in quiet possession of his prize, which proved to be the Spanish Monarch's brig Raposa, pierced for 16, but only 12 guns mounted, exclusive of cohorns, swivels, and numerous small arms, with a complement of 90 men, but only 75 actually on board; - the captain, Don Joaquin de la Cheva, with the senior lieutenant, the civil officers, and a boat's crew, being absent on shore. She appears almost a new vessel, coppered, sails well, and, in my humble judgment, is admirably calculated for his majesty's service. It is with the most heartfelt satisfaction I have to announce, that this service was performed without the loss of a single man, and only seven slightly wounded. But I lament to say, that that pleasure is in a great measure damped by the great effusion of blood on the part of the enemy, they having had an officer and four men killed, many jumped over-board and drowned, and the commanding officer and 25 wounded, many of whom, I am sorry to add, are, in the surgeon's opinion, mortally. I have, therefore, from motives of humanity, sent the whole of them on shore, with a flag of truce, where the brave but unfortunate wounded can be better taken care of, which, I trust, you will approve. Lieut. Fleming speaks in the highest terms of approbation of the prompt and gallant support he met with from lieuts. Douglas and Mends, as well as the other officers and crew under his orders. Indeed there was not a man on board but was anxious to be of the party; and I am sorry I could not indulge lieut. T. J. Peschell, the second; but

but his presence was absolutely necessary on board. To an officer of your discriminating judgment, I trust I shall stand excused if I take the liberty of recommending lieutenant Fleming to your notice, for his meritorious conduct on this occasion. He appears to me to be an officer of distinguished merit and bravery, and I understood he was highly respected by his late captain, the good, the amiable, and my gallant predecessor, the hon. John Murray.

C. DASHWOOD.

To Admiral Dacres, &c.

Magicienne, Mona Passage, Feb. 4.

SIR,

On the 25th ult. his majesty's ship under my command captured, after a chase of 12 hours, *El Carmen* Spanish packet, commanded by an officer of the same rank as a commander in the British navy; she is pierced for 14 guns; but had only two mounted, and 18 men; the *Penquin* sloop was in company.

ADAM MACKENZIE.

Adm. Dacres.

Letter from Lord Cochrane, dated Pallas, off Chasseron, April 8, with an Account of his hazardous Enterprise in the River Garonne.

SIR,

Having received information, which proved correct, of the situation of the corvettes in the river of Bourdeaux, a little after dark on the evening of the 5th, the *Pallas* was anchored close to the shoal of Cordovan, and it gives me satisfaction to relate, that, about three o'clock, the National convette *La Tapageuse*, of 14 long 12 pounders, and 95 men, which had the guard,

was boarded, carried, and cut out, about 20 miles above the shoals, within two heavy batteries, in spite of all resistance, by the first lieutenant, Mr. Haswell, Mr. Sutherland, the master, Messrs. Perkins, Crawford and Thompson, together with the quarter-masters, and such of the seamen, the serjeants, and marines, as were fortunate enough to find place in the boats. The tide of flood ran strong at day light. *La Tapageuse* made sail; a general alarm was given; a sloop of war followed, and an action continued, often within hail, till, by the same bravery by which the *Tapageuse* was carried, the sloop of war, which had been before saved by the rapidity of the current alone, after about an hour's firing, was compelled to sheer off, having suffered as much in the hull as the *Tapageuse* in the rigging. The conduct of the officers and men will be justly appreciated. With confidence I shall now beg leave to recommend them to the notice of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. It is necessary to add, that the same morning when at anchor, waiting for the boats (which, by the bye, did not return till this morning), three ships were observed, bearing down towards the *Pallas*, making many signals; they were soon perceived to be enemies. In a few minutes the anchor was weighed, and, with the remainder of the officers and crew, we chased, drove on shore, and wrecked, one national 24 gun ship, one of 22 guns, and *La Malirieuse*, a beautiful corvette of 18 guns; their masts went by the board, and they were involved in a sheet of spray. All in this ship shewed good zeal for his majesty's service. The warrant-officers, and Mr. Tattual, midshipman,

man, supplied the place of those commissioned. The absence of lieut. Mappleton is to be regretted; he would have gloried in the expedition with the boats. The assistance rendered by Mr. Drummond, of the royal marines, was such as might have been expected. Subjoined is a list of the wounded, together with the vessels captured and destroyed since the 26th ultimo.

COCHRANE.

Adm. Thornborough.

Killed—None. Wounded—Three.

Vessels taken or destroyed—Le Dessaix, chasse maree, taken; L'Isle Daix, ditto, taken; La Pomone brig, taken; a large brig, burnt; a chasse maree, wrecked.

National ships—La Tapageuse, of 14 guns and 95 men, taken; La Malicieuse, of 18 guns, wrecked; Imperial ship, of 24 guns, wrecked; Imperial ship, of 22 guns, wrecked.

Dispatch from Lord Cochrane, dated Pallas, St. Martin's-Road, Isle Ree, May 10, giving an Account of his Capture of some Signal Posts on the Coast of France.

SIR,

The French trade having been kept in port of late, in a great measure by their knowledge of the exact situation of his majesty's cruizers, constantly announced at the signal-posts, it appeared to me to be some object, as there was nothing better in view, to endeavour to stop this practice. Accordingly, the two posts at La Pointe de la Roche were demolished; next that of Cahola; then two in L'Ance de Repos, one of which lieut. Haswell and Mr. Hillier, the gunner, took in a neat style from upwards of 100

militia. The marines and boats' crews behaved exceedingly well; all the flags have been brought off, and the houses built by government burnt to the ground.—Yesterday too, the zeal of lieut. Norton, of the Frisk cutter, and lieut. Gregory, of the Contest gun-brig, induced them to volunteer to flank the battery on Point d'Equillon, while we should attack it by land in the rear, but it was carried at once: and one of 50 men, who were stationed to three 36 pounders, was made prisoner, the rest escaped. The battery is laid in ruins, guns spiked, carriages burnt, barrack and magazine blown up, and all the shells thrown into the sea. The signal-post of L'Equillon, together with the house, shared the fate of the gun-carriages; the convoy got into a river beyond our reach.—Lieut. Mappleton, Mr. Sutherland, the master, and Mr. Hillier, were with me, who, as they do on all occasions, so they did at this time, whatever was in their power for his majesty's service.—The petty officers, seamen, and marines, failed not to justify the opinion that there was before reason to form; yet it would be inexcusable were not the names of the quarter-masters Barden and Casey, particularly mentioned, as men highly deserving any favour that can be shewn in the line to which they aspire. I am &c.

COCHRANE,

Seamen slightly wounded, Wm. Barden, quarter-master; Wm. Curn, seaman. Marine slightly wounded, Robert Boulden.

This letter is followed by another from lord Cochrane, dated off the Isle of Oleron, May 14, and giving an account of a very gallant action with a French frigate and three

three brigs, which the Pallas cut out from the harbour, though supported by the batteries ashore. The Pallas being reduced to a mere wreck, was obliged to abandon the contest, in consequence of three other French frigates arriving in sight. The French frigate which sustained the action, was beaten almost to pieces.—In this affair the Pallas had one marine, named Thompson, killed; and Mr. Andrews, midshipman, with four seamen, slightly wounded.

Letter from Sir Sidney Smith, dated Pompee, at anchor off Scalia, May 24, containing an Account of Proceedings in Calabria.

MY LORD,

I arrived at Palermo in the Pompee on the 21st of last month, and took on me the command of the squadron your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. I found things in the state that may be well imagined, on the government being displaced from its capital, with the loss of one of the two kingdoms, and the dispersion of the army assembled in Calabria. The judicious arrangement made by capt. Sotherton of the ships under his orders, and the position of the British army under sir J. Stuart at Messina, had, however, prevented farther mischief.—I had the satisfaction of learning that Gaeta still held out, although as yet without succour, from a mistaken idea, much too prevalent, that the progress of the French armies is irresistible. It was my first care to see that the necessary supplies should be safely conveyed to the governor. I had the inexpressible satisfaction of conveying the most essential articles to

Gaeta, and of communicating to his serene highness the governor (on the Breach battery, which he never quits), the assurance of farther support to any extent within my power, for the maintenance of that important fortress, hitherto so long preserved by his intrepidity and example. Things wore a new aspect on the arrival of the ammunition; the redoubled fire of the enemy with red hot shot into the Mole (being answered with redoubled vigour) did not prevent the landing of every thing we had brought, together with four of the Excellent's lower deck guns, to answer this galling fire, which bore directly on the landing place. A second convoy, with the Intrepid, placed the garrison beyond the immediate want of any thing essential; and the enemy, from advancing his nearest approaches within 250 yards, was reduced to the defensive, in a degree dreading one of those sorties which the prince of Hesse had already shewn him his garrison was equal to, and which was become a much safer operation, now that the flanking fire of eight Neapolitan gun-boats I had brought with me, in addition to four his highness had already used successfully, would cover it, even to the rear of the enemy's trenches. Arrangements were put in a train for this purpose; and, according to a wise suggestion of his serene highness, measures were taken for the embarkation of a small party from the garrison to land in the rear of the enemy's batteries to the northward. I confided the execution of the naval part of this arrangement to capt. Richardson, of H. M. S. Juno, putting the Neapolitan frigate and gun-boats under his orders. His serene high-

ness, possessing the experience of European warfare and a most firm mind, having no occasion for farther aid on the spot, I felt I could quit the garrison without apprehension for its safety in such hands, with the present means of defence, and that I could best co-operate with him by drawing some of the attacking force off for the defence of Naples. I accordingly proceeded thither with the line of battle-ships named in the margin*. The enemy's apprehension of attack occasioned them to convey some of the battering train from the trenches before Gaeta to Naples. The city was illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte proclaiming himself king of the two Sicilies! The junction of the Eagle made us five sail of the line, and it would have been easy for their fire to have interrupted this ceremony and shew of festivity: but I considered that the unfortunate inhabitants had evil enough on them; that the restoration of the capital to its lawful sovereign and fugitive inhabitants would be no gratification, if it should be found a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones; and that as I had no force to land and keep order, in case of the French army retiring to the fortresses, I should leave an opulent city a prey to the licentious part of the community, who would not fail to profit by the confusion the flames would occasion: not a gun was fired. But no such consideration operated on my mind to prevent me dislodging the French garrison from the Island of Capri, which from its situation, protecting the coasting communication Southward, was a great object for the

enemy to keep, and by so much one for me to wrest from him. I accordingly summoned the French commandant to surrender: on his non-acquiescence, I directed capt. Rowly, in H. M. S. Eagle, to cover the landing of marines and boats' crews, and caused an attack to be made under his orders. That brave officer placed his ship judiciously; nor did he open his fire till she was secured, and his distance marked by the effect of musquetry on his quarter-deck, where the first lieutenant, J. Crawley, fell wounded, and a seaman was killed; although capt. Rowley regretted much the services of that meritorious officer in such a critical moment, he has since recovered. An hour's fire from both decks of the Eagle (between nine and ten o'clock), with that of two Neapolitan mortar-boats under an active officer, lieut. Rivers, drove the enemy from the vineyards within their walls; the marines were landed, and gallantly led by capt. Bunce; the seamen in like manner, under lieut. Morrell of the Eagle; and lieut. Redding of the Pompee, mounted the steps: for such was their road, headed by the officers, nearest to the narrow pass by which alone they could ascend.—Lieut. Carrol had thus an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Capt. Stannus, commanding the Athenienne's marines, gallantly pressing forward, gained the heights, and the French commandant fell by his hand; this event being known, the enemy beat a parley, a letter from the second in command, claimed the terms offered, but being dated on the 12th, after midnight, some difficulty occurred, my limitation

as

* Pompee, Excellent, Athenienne, Intrepid.

as to time being precise; but on the assurance that the drum beat before twelve, the capitulation annexed was signed; and the garrison allowed to march out and pass over to Naples with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander with due respect. We thus became masters of this important post. The enemy not having been allowed time to bring two pieces of heavy cannon, with their ammunition, to Capri, the boat containing them, together with a boat loaded with timber for the construction of gun-boats at Castilamare, took refuge at Massa, on the main land opposite to the island, where the guard had hauled the whole upon the beach. I detached the two mortar-boats and a Gaeta privateer, under the orders of lieutenants Fali-verne, and Rivera, to bring them off, sending only Mr. Williams, midshipman of the *Pompée*, from the squadron, on purpose to let the Neapolitans have the credit of the action, which they fairly obtained; for, after dislodging the enemy from a strong tower, they not only brought off the boats and two 35-pounders, but the powder (20 barrels) from the magazine of the tower, before the enemy assembled in force. The projected sorties took place on the 13th and 15th in the morning, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the part of the garrison and naval force employed. The covering fire from the fleet was judiciously directed by captains Richardson and Vicuna, whose conduct on this whole service merits my warmest approbation. I inclose captain Richardson's two letters, as best detailing these affairs, and a list of the killed and wounded on the 12th.—

On the 19th ult. the boats of the *Pompée*, under lieutenant Beau-croft, brought out a merchant-vessel from Scalvitra, near Salerno, although protected by a heavy fire of musquetry. That officer and Mr. Sterling distinguished themselves much. The enemy are endeavouring to establish a land carriage there to Naples. On the 23d, obtaining intelligence that the enemy had two 36-pounders in a small vessel on the beach at Scalia, I sent the *Pompée's* boats in for them; but the French troops were too well posted in the houses of the town for them to succeed without the cover of the ship. I accordingly stood in with the *Pompee*; sent a message to the inhabitants to withdraw; which being done, a few of the *Pompee's* lower-deck guns cleared the town and neighbouring hills, while the launch, commanded by lieutenant Mouraylian, with lieutenant Oats, of the marines, and Mr. Williams, drove the French, with their armed adherents, from the guns, and took possession of the castle, and of them. Finding, on my landing, that the town was tenable against any force the enemy could bring against me from the nearest garrison in a given time, I took post with the marines; and, under cover of their position, by the extreme exertions of lieutenant Carrol, Mr. Ives, master, and the petty officers and boats' crews, the guns were conveyed to the *Pompee*, with 22 barrels of powder.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

[The articles of capitulation for Capri, state that the troops are to march out with all the honours of war, and their arms, to be conveyed to Pozzuoli.]

Killed

*Killed and Wounded in taking Capri,
May 12.*

Eagle, lieutenant. J. Crawley, first lieutenant, slightly wounded; 1 seaman and 1 marine killed; four seamen and six marines wounded.

[Then follows a letter from capt. Richardson, of the *Juno*, announcing the capture of a battery of 4 guns, on the point of *Madona della Catterra*, without any loss on our side.—His subsequent letter details the particulars of the sortie from *Gaeta*, in which the British and Neapolitans took the *Serapo* battery, spiked the guns, and made some prisoners, with upwards of 100 muskets. The boats had two men killed, and five wounded.]

The gazette likewise contains a letter from capt. Fellowes, of the *Apollo*, stating the capture of a French brig of six 21-pounders, in the gulph of *Tarento*;—and another from capt. Brown, of the *Morne Fortunée*, to admiral *Cochrane*, mentioning the capture of the *Hope* French privateer, off *Martinique*.—Also a notification that the port of *Venice* is blockaded.

*Dispatch from the Camp on the Plain
of Maida, July 6, with the Detail
of the memorable Battle of Maida.*

Sir,

It is with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have the honour of reporting to you, for the information his majesty, the particulars of an action, in which the French army quartered in this province have sustained a signal defeat by the troops under my command.—General *Regnier*, having been apprised of our disembarkation at *St. Eufemia*, appears to have made a rapid march

from *Reggio*, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking, and with his characteristic confidence, of defeating us. On the afternoon of the third instant I received intelligence that he had that day encamped near *Maida*, about ten miles distant from our position; that his force consisted at the moment of about 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and that he was in expectation of being joined within a day or two by 3000 more troops, who were marching after him in a second division. — I determined therefore to advance towards his position; and, having left our four companies of *Watteville's* regiment under major *Fisher* to protect the stores, and occupy a work which had been thrown up at our landing-place, the body of the army marched the next morning according to the following detail:

Advanced corps, lieutenant-col. *Kempt*, with 2 four-pounders. Light Infantry Battalion. Detachment *Royal Corsican Rangers*. Detachment *Royal Sicilian Volunteers*. — 1st brigade, brig.-gen. *Cole*, with three four-pounders. Grenadier Battalion. 27th Regiment.—2d brigade, brig.-gen. *Auckland*, with three four-pounders. 78th Regiment. 81st Regiment.—3d brigade, col. *Oswald*, with 2 four-pounders. 58th Regiment. *Watteville's* Regiment, five Companies. 20th Regiment, lieutenant-col. *Ross*, landed during the action.—Reserve of artillery, major *Lemoine*, four six-pounders, and two howitzers.—Total: rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4795.

General *Regnier* was encamped on the side of a woody hill, below the village of *Maida*, sloping into the plain

plain of St. Eufemia; his flanks were strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. The Amato, a river perfectly fordable, but of which the sides are extremely marshy, run along his front; my approach to him from the sea side (along the borders of which I directed my march, until I had nearly turned his left) was across a spacious plain, which gave him every opportunity of minutely observing my movements. Had general Regnier thought proper to remain upon his ground, the difficulties of access to him were such, that I could not possibly have made an impression upon him. But quitting this advantage, and crossing the river with his entire force, he came down to meet us upon the open plain—a measure to which he was no doubt encouraged by a consideration of his cavalry, an arm with which, unfortunately, I was altogether unprovided. After some close firing of the flankers to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world, and the superiority was greatly and gloriously decided to be our own. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line, was the battalion of light infantry commanded by lieutenant-col. Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with 150 chosen battalion-men of the 35th regiment, under major Robinson. Directly opposed to them was the favourite French regiment the 1st Legere. The two corps at the distance of about 100 yards fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement,

the firing was suspended, and in close compact order and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, until their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.—Brig.-general Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, with great spirit availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in his front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-col. Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded.—The enemy being thus completely discomfited on their left, began to make a new effort with their right, in the hopes of recovering the day. They were resisted most gallantly by the brigade under brig.-gen. Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under lieutenant-col. O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under lieutenant-col. Smith. The cavalry, successively repelled from before their front, made an effort to turn their left, when lieutenant-col. Ross, who had that morning landed from Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up to the army during the action, having observed the movement, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon their flank, and by a heavy and well-directed fire entirely disconcerted this attempt.—This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who now, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which

which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with carnage. Above 700 bodies of their dead have been buried upon the ground.—The wounded and prisoners already in our hands (among which are general Comperc, and an aid-de-camp, the lieutenant-colonel of the Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) amount to above 1000. There are also above 1000 men left in Monteleone and the different posts between this and Reggio, who have mostly notified their readiness to surrender whenever a British force shall be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the people.—The peasantry are hourly bringing in fugitives, who dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. In short, never has the pride of our presumptuous enemy been more severely humbled, nor the superiority of the British troops more gloriously proved, than in the events of this memorable day. His majesty may, perhaps, still deign to appreciate more highly the achievements of this little army, when it is known that the second division, which the enemy were said to be expecting, had all joined them the night before the action; no statement that I have heard of their numbers places them at a less calculation than 7000 men.—Our victorious infantry continued the pursuit of the routed enemy as long as they were able; but, as the latter dispersed in every direction, and we were under the necessity of preserving our order, the trial of speed became unequal.—The total loss occasioned to the enemy by this conflict cannot be less than 4000 men. When I oppose to the above our own small comparative loss, as

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underneath detailed, his majesty will, I hope, discern in the fact the happy effects of that established discipline to which we owe the triumphs by which our army has been latterly so highly distinguished.—I am now beginning my march southward, preparatory to my return to Sicily, for which station I shall embark with the army, as soon as his Sicilian majesty shall have arranged a disposition of his own forces to secure those advantages which have been gained by the present expedition.—There seldom has happened an action in which the zeal and personal exertions of individuals were so imperiously called for as in the present; seldom an occasion where a general had a fairer opportunity of observing them. The general officers, and those who commanded regiments, will feel a stronger test of their merits in the circumstances which have been detailed of their conduct, than in any eulogium I could presume to pass upon them. The 58th and Watteville's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-cols. Johnstone and Watteville, which formed the reserve, under col. Oswald, were ably directed in their application to that essential duty.—The judgment and effect with which our artillery was directed by major Lemoine was, in our dearth of cavalry, of most essential use; and I have a pleasure in reporting the effective services of that valuable and distinguished corps.—To the several departments of the army, every acknowledgment is due; but to no officer am I bound to express them so fully, on my part, as to lieutenant-col. Bunbury, the deputy-quarter-master-general, to whose zeal, activity, and able arrangements in the important branch of service which he directs,

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the army as well as myself are under every marked obligation. From captain Tomlin, the acting head of the adjutant general's department, and from the officers of my own family, I have received much active assistance. Among the latter I am to mention lieutenant-colonel Moore, of the 23d light dragoons, who being in Sicily for his health at the time of our departure, solicited permission to accompany me on this expedition; he was wounded in the execution of my orders.—From the medical department, under the direction of Mr. Grieves, the deputy inspector, I am to acknowledge much professional attention; the more so as their labours have been greatly accumulated by the number of wounded prisoners who have become, equally with our own, the subject of their care. The scene of action was too far from the sea to enable us to derive any co-operation from the navy; but admiral sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the bay the evening before the action, had directed such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have greatly favoured us had events obliged us to retire. The solicitude, however, of every part of the navy to be of use to us, the promptitude with which the seamen hastened on shore with our supplies, their anxiety to assist our wounded, and the tenderness with which they treated them, would have been an affecting circumstance to observers even the most indifferent. To me it was particularly so.—Captain Fellows, of the *Apollo*, has been specially attached to this expedition by the rear-admiral; and, in every circumstance of professional service, I beg leave to mention our grateful obligations to this officer, as well as to captains

Cocket and Watson, agents of transports, who acted under his orders. —Captain Bulkeley, my aid-de-camp, who will have the honour of presenting this letter to you, has attended me throughout the whole of the services in the Mediterranean, and will therefore be able to give you every additional information on the subject of my present communication.

J. STUART, Maj.-Gen.

Total Killed and Wounded of the British Troops; July 4.

One officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file, killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file, wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed, light infantry battalion, captain M^cLeane, 20th foot. — Wounded, grenadier battalion, major Hammill, of royal regiment of Malta. Light infantry battalion, major Paulett, 44th foot, severely. 78th foot, 2d battalion, lieutenant-colonel M^cLeod; major D. Stuart; captains D. M^cPherson and D. M^cGregor; lieutenant J. M^cKay; ensigns C. M^cKenzie and P. M^cGregor.—81st foot, 1st battalion, capt. Waterhouse; lieutenant and adjutant Ginger.—Staff, lieutenant col. Moore, 23d light dragoons, acting aid-de-camp to sir J. Stuart.

R. TOMLIN, Assist. Adj. Gen.

Sept. 7. A dispatch from H. Elliot, esq. to Mr. Fox, dated Palermo, Aug. 5, incloses the following from sir John Stuart. Mr. Elliot observes, "That every fort along the coasts, all the depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the attack of Sicily, are become the prey of the victors; and what, perhaps, may be considered as even

of still more consequence than those advantages, an indelible impression is established of the superior bravery and discipline of the British troops."

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir John Stuart, to Hugh Elliot, esq. dated Messina, August 3.

"Having occasion to send an express to my aid-de-camp, captain Bulkeley, at Palermo, I avail myself of the opportunity to acquaint you with another fortunate result of our auspicious day at Maida. Cotrone, with all its stores, magazines, &c. and 600 troops (now prisoners) capitulated on Wednesday evening last, to the land and naval forces of his Britannic majesty, under lieut.-col. M^cLeod, of the 78th regiment; and capt. Hoste, of the Amphion, who were assisted in their operations against that place, and upon the adjacent coasts, by the gun-boats of his Sicilian Majesty. 300 prisoners, who prove to be survivors of the wounded after the action of the 4th ult. are already arrived in this fort. General Regnier, who had endeavoured to hold his position, under much embarrassment for some time past, between Cotrone and Catanzaro, has retreated precipitately towards Tarento; and it was reported, when the transport left Cotrone, that he had been attacked by the masse, and had lost 6 or 700 of his flying people. I am now to congratulate you on the total evacuation of Calabria Ultra, in which single province, previous to the action of the 4th, we have every certainty that the enemy had a distributed force of at least 9000 men; of these, when general Regnier quitted his position near Cotrone, certainly not 3000 remained.

The losses of the French in Upper Calabria have also borne a proportion. A great deal of heavy ordnance, lately transported by the French to Cotrone, besides what was found mounted on the castle, amounting in the whole to about 40 pieces, have fallen into our hands."

A dispatch from general Fox to Mr. Windham, dated Messina, Aug. 3, incloses extracts from two letters received from lieutenant-colonel M^cLeod, of the 78th regiment, which give a detail of the operations that led to the surrender of Cotrone. Much praise is bestowed on captain Hoste, for the judicious manner in which he brought his frigate and the gun-boats to the annoyance of the enemy. In the second letter, speaking of the enemy's retreat from before Cotrone, in which a garrison was left of 1000 men, it appears that they retired precipitately amongst the mountains, endeavouring to pass by Cozenza. He adds—"The enemy's route from this city has been marked by circumstances of the most cruel devastation. The village of Strongoli, with several others within our view, which he conceived hostile to his cause, have been ransacked, and burnt to the ground. Our information of yesterday stated, that 1000 men had been left to garrison the town and city of Cotrone; but several deserters, who joined us this morning, having mentioned that the greatest part of this force had marched to join their army in the course of the night, captain Hoste agreed with myself in the propriety of summoning the town and citadel to surrender to the force under our orders, conceiving that the immediate possession of what we understood to be the enemy's sole *dépôt*,

and his *dernier resort* in Lower Calabria, in point of position, together with the removal of his stores, &c. might contribute to prevent his attempt to re-enter the province."

[The terms were, that the French should march out with the honours of war, and deposit their arms; after which they shall be sent to Messina as prisoners of war. The private property of the officers and soldiers to be respected, and the public property to be delivered up.]

Dispatches from Major-general Beresford, in South America, with an Account of the Capture of Buenos Ayres, dated July 2.

SIR,

I had the honour to communicate to you, by my letter dated the 30th of April, the circumstances of my arrival at St. Helena, and the result of the application to the governor of that place for troops.—The fleet sailed thence the 2d of May, and, after a most unexpected long passage, made Cape St. Mary on the 8th of June. The *Narcissus* had been dispatched from the fleet on the 27th of May, and sir Home Popham thought it right to proceed in her, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, that no delay might occur in proceeding immediately on the arrival of the troops, to such place as our information should induce us to attack first. I had sent captain Kennet, of the royal engineers (not liking myself to leave the troops) in the *Narcissus*, to make such reconnoitring of the enemy's places on the river, as circumstances would admit; and to collect every possible information concerning them, and the strength of the enemy

at the several places. From fogs and baffling winds, we did not meet the *Narcissus* until the sixth day after our arrival in the river; and I had there the satisfaction to see, in company with her, the Ocean transport, which had parted from us previous to our going to St. Helena. Sir Home Popham and myself immediately consulted, whether it would be better first to attack the town of St. Philip of Monte Video, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the province; and, after much reasoning, we determined to proceed against Buenos Ayres, which made it necessary to remove from the line-of-battle ships, the troops and marines, and such seamen as were incorporated with the latter, and others that had been practised to arms during the passage, into the transports, and his majesty's ship *Narcissus*; which was effected on the 16th ult. And though then only about 90 miles from Buenos Ayres, still, though to his skill sir Home Popham added the most persevering zeal and assiduity, yet from fogs, the intricacy of the navigation, and continual opposing winds, it was not until the 24th, at night, that we reached opposite to it. We found ourselves the next morning about eight miles from the Point of Quilmes, where I proposed landing, having been informed by an Englishman, who was pilot for the river, and had been taken by the *Narcissus* out of a Portuguese vessel, that it was an excellent place, and an easy access from it into the country. As soon as the wind would permit, on the 25th, sir Home Popham took the shipping as near as it was possible for them to go, and at a convenient distance for disembarking, which was effected in the course of the afternoon and night,

and without any opposition, the enemy remaining at the village of Reduction, on a height about two miles from us in our front; the whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, being a perfect flat: but my guide informed me, that though in winter it was impassable, it was then very practicable, and easy for us to pass. It was eleven o'clock in the morning of the 26th, before I could move off my ground; and the enemy could, from his position, have counted every man I had; the numbers as per margin*. He was drawn up along the brow of a hill, on which was the village of Reduction, which covered his right flank; and his force consisted principally of cavalry (I have been since informed 2000) with eight field-pieces. The nature of the ground was such, that I was under the necessity of going directly to his front; and to make my line, as much as I could, equal to his, I formed all my troops into one line, except the St. Helena infantry, of 150 men, which I formed 120 yards in the rear, with two field-pieces, with orders to make face to the right or left, as either of our flanks should be threatened by his cavalry. I had two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of the first line. In this order I advanced against the enemy; and, after we

had got within range of his guns, a tongue of swamp crossed our front, and obliged me to halt, whilst the guns took a small circuit to cross, and which was scarcely performed, when the enemy opened their field-pieces on us, at first well pointed; but, as we advanced at a very quick rate, in spite of the boggy ground, that very soon obliged us to leave all our guns behind, his fire did us but little injury. The 71st regiment reaching the bottom of the heights in a pretty good line, seconded by the marine battalion, the enemy would not wait their nearer approach, but retired from the brow of the hill; which our troops gaining, and commencing a fire of small arms, he fled with precipitation, leaving to us 4 field-pieces, and 1 tumbril, and we saw nothing more of him that day. I halted two hours on the field, to rest the troops, and to make arrangements for taking with us the enemy's guns and our own, which had now, by the exertions of Capt. Donnelly of the *Narcissus*, been extricated from the bog.—He had accidentally landed, and accompanied the troops on seeing them advance to the enemy; and I am much indebted to him for his voluntary assistance. I then marched, in hopes of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the Rio Chuelo, a river

* *Actual state of the Troops under the command of Major-general Beresford, at the Point de Quilmes, June 26th.*

After specifying the number of officers and men in each corps, the following is given as the total.—1 major-general, 1 major of brigade, 1 aid-de-camp, 1 assistant quarter-master-general, 1 assistant commissary; 1 surgeon, and 1 assistant-surgeon (of the staff); 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, and 4 midshipmen, (of the royal navy); 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 15 captains, 20 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 paymaster, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 2 surgeons, 4 assistant surgeons, 72 sergeants, 27 drummers, 1466 effective rank and file, 16 effective horses, 1 wheeler, 1 collar-maker, 4 artificers, 2 five and half-inch howitzers, 4 light six-pounders, and 2 light three pounders.

W. C. BERESFORD, Major-general.

at this season of the year not fordable, and which lay between us and the city; distant from it about three miles, and eight from our then situation; and, though I used every diligence, I had the mortification to see it in flames long before I could reach it. I halted the troops for the night, a mile from it, and pushed on three companies of the 71st, under lieutenant-colonel Pack, with two howitzers, to the bridge, to endeavour to prevent its total destruction. I accompanied this detachment; but, on reaching the bridge, I found it entirely consumed; and as the enemy, during the night, was heard bringing down guns, I withdrew the detachment before light, as their position was thought too open, and exposed to the enemy's fire, who had, at nine o'clock, on hearing some of our soldiers go to the river to get water, opened a fire from their guns, and a considerable line of infantry. As soon as it was light, I sent captain Kennet, of the engineers, to reconnoitre the sides of the river; and found that on our side we had little or no cover to protect us, whilst the enemy were drawn up behind hedges and houses, and in the shipping on the opposite bank, the river not 30 yards wide. As our situation and circumstances could not admit of the least delay, I determined to force the passage, and for that purpose ordered down the field-pieces, which, with the addition of those taken from the enemy the day before, were 11, (one I had spiked and left, not being able to bring it off), to the water's edge, and ordered the infantry to remain in the rear, under cover, except the light company and grenadiers of the 71st. As our guns approached, the enemy opened a very ill-directed fire from great guns and musketry:

the former soon ceased after our fire opened, the latter was kept up for more than half an hour; but, though close to us, did us but little or no injury, so ill was it directed. We then found means, by boats and rafts, to cross a few men over the Rio Chuelo; and, on ordering all fire to cease, the little of them that remained ceased also. The troops which opposed us during these two days, appear to have been almost entirely provincial, with a considerable proportion of veteran officers. The numbers that were assembled to dispute our passage of the river, I have been since informed, were about 2000 infantry. I had no reason from their fire to suppose their numbers so great; the opposition was very feeble; the only difficulty was the crossing the river to get at them. I cannot omit reporting to you, that I had the most just cause to be satisfied with the conduct of every officer, and all the troops under my command: to lieutenant-colonel Pack, of the 71st, every praise is due, as well as to that excellent regiment. The battalion of marines, commanded by captain King, of the royal navy, not only behaved with the utmost good conduct, but with a discipline in the field much beyond what could have been expected, though every exertion to effect it had been used by commodore sir Home Popham, and every officer of the royal navy during the passage. A corps of seamen, who had been drilled to small-arms, were also landed; they were between eighty and ninety in number, and I was under the necessity of attaching them to draw the guns, which they did with a cheerfulness and zeal that did them great credit; and I was under great obligation to captain King, for his activity

activity in preparing rafts, boats, &c. to pass the Rio Chuelo. Lieut. colonel Lane, and the St. Helena troops, also merit my thanks for their good conduct; as does captain Ogilvie, commanding the artillery, for the manner in which the guns were conducted and served. Capt. Kennet, of the royal engineers, was particularly serviceable by his intelligence and zeal; as were the honourable major Deane, my brigade-major, and the honourable ensign Gordon, of the 3d guards, my aid-de-camp. By eleven o'clock, A. M. I had got some guns, and the greatest part of the troops, across the river, and seeing no symptoms of farther opposition, and learning that the troops in general had deserted the city, motives of humanity induced me to send, by the honourable ensign Gordon, a summons to the governor to deliver to me the city and fortress, that the excesses and calamities which would most probably occur, if the troops entered in a hostile manner, might be avoided; informing him that the British character would insure to them the exercise of their religion, and protection to their persons, and all private property. He returned to me an officer, to ask some hours to draw up conditions; but I could not consent to delay my march, which I commenced as soon as the whole had crossed the Rio Chuelo; and, on arriving near the city, an officer of the governor again met me, with a number of conditions, to which I had not then time to attend, but said I would confirm by writing what I had promised, when in possession of the city; and the terms granted and signed by sir Home Popham and myself, I have the honour to annex. I also transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and

missing, on the 26th and 27th of June, as well as the return of the ordnance taken.—I cannot conclude without assuring you, of the unwearied zeal and assiduity of commodore sir Home Popham, in whatever could contribute to the success of this expedition, and of the cordial co-operation, and great assistance which I have received from him.

W. C. BERESFORD, maj. gen.

*Sir D. Baird, commanding in Chief,
&c.*

*Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the
26th and 27th of June.*

St. Helena artillery, 1 rank and file wounded.—7th reg. 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, wounded.—St. Helena infantry, 1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer missing.—Royal Marines, 3 rank and file wounded.—Corps of seamen, 1 rank and file killed.

Officers names.—Capt. Le Blanc, of the 71st regiment, shot in the leg, since amputated above the knee.—Assistant-surgeon Halliday, of the medical staff, attached to St. Helena regiment, missing.

[The terms granted to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, consist of 10 articles. After the usual stipulations respecting the entrance of the troops, &c. and the marching out of the prisoners with the honours of war, they state that all *bona fide* private property, whether belonging to the people, the churches, or the public institutions, shall be unmolested; that all the inhabitants shall receive protection; that the different taxes shall be collected by the magistrates, &c. as usual, until his majesty's pleasure be known; that every protection shall be afforded to the exercise of the Catholic religion; that the coasting vessels in the river shall be delivered to

their owners, and that all public property shall be surrendered to the captors.]

Ordnance, &c. captured.

Iron ordnance, of different calibres, from 18 to 3-pounders, 45 pieces.—Brass ordnance, from 32 to 3-pounders, including mortars and howitzers, 41 pieces. Total 86.—550 whole barrels of powder, 2064 muskets with bayonets, 616 carbines, 4019 pistols, 31 musketoons, 1208 swords.

J. E. OGILVIE, capt. commanding Royal and St. Helena Artillery.

Since the above return was sent to Sir D. Baird, the following guns, left by the viceroy in his flight, have been taken, and arms, &c. received, brass ordnance, 7 pieces; 139 muskets with bayonets; 71 muskets without bayonets, 85 pouches, and 39 swords.

Extract of a Letter from Major-general Beresford, to Lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 11.

“ I trust the conduct adopted towards the people here has had its full effect, in impressing upon their minds the honour, generosity, and humanity of the British character. His majesty’s ministers will see by the detail of our proceedings, that after the army had passed the Rio Chuelo, the city of Buenos Ayres remained at our mercy, and that, in fact, the only conditions on which I entered, were such as I pleased to offer, and which humanity, and a regard to our national character, would naturally induce me to give under any circumstances. However, to quiet the minds of the inhabi-

tants, we not only consented to put in writing my promises, but acceded to many conditions not expected by them; and, contrary to direct stipulations, gave up to the proprietors all the coasting vessels captured, with their cargoes, of which I annex a return*, and the value of which amounted to one million and a half of dollars, and which, being done with the views already exposed, will, I trust, meet with his majesty’s approbation. I have the honour to inform his majesty’s ministers, that I had detached captain Arbuthnot, of the 20th light dragoons, on the 3d inst. with a party consisting of seven dragoons and twenty infantry (the whole mounted) to a place called Luxan, 50 miles distant. My principal object was to have the country reconnoitred, and to see what were the dispositions of the inhabitants; but with the avowed object of escorting back some of the treasure which had been taken from here, and to prevent its following the viceroy, which I had reason to suspect was intended, though it was said to be all private property; and in which case we had declared, if brought back, it should be given to its owners, if of this city. Capt. Arbuthnot returned last night, and I am glad to say, with information of a pleasing nature; for your lordship will see, by this detachment passing so easily through the country, that whatever their present inclinations may be, there is no very great danger from any hostile intentions against us; and Capt. Arbuthnot reports rather favourably of the general dispositions of the people. The country to Luxan,

* It has been found difficult to procure the return of vessels here alluded to, at least the names of all. They are of various classes, from 150 tons downwards, and amount in the whole to 180 in number.

as I have already represented, in general the whole of it, is a perfect flat, and the view of the horizon is obstructed by nothing but the immense herds of horses and cattle—but principally horned cattle. Luxan is situated on a river of the same name, and where there is a bridge over it, and the route leading to all the interior provinces; and I rather think it will be advisable, on many accounts, that I possess myself of it, which I can do by a small detachment. Much of the treasure was caught actually going to Cordova; and the rest, but for the opportune arrival of the party, would have been pillaged. The waggons conveying this treasure may be expected here to-morrow. Those with the royal treasure, and that of the Philippine Company, arrived some time since, and is already embarked. The honourable major Deane, who is the bearer of these dispatches, will give any farther information to his majesty's ministers, that they may desire; and I beg to recommend him as an officer deserving of any mark of favour that his majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow on him."

[Then follows a proclamation, issued by general Beresford to the inhabitants, inviting them to shew their allegiance to their new sovereign, and repeating the offers of protection held out in the terms of the capitulation.] The proclamation thus continues:—"The major-general thinks it necessary to acquaint the general and commercial interests of the country, that it is his majesty's most gracious intention that a free trade shall be opened and permitted to South America, similar to that enjoyed by all others of his majesty's colonies, particularly the

island of Trinidad, whose inhabitants have felt peculiar benefits from being under the government of a sovereign powerful enough to protect them from any insult, and generous enough to give them such commercial advantages, as they could not enjoy under the administration of any other country." It concludes with inviting the farmers to supply the markets with provisions, for which they shall be immediately paid; and it adds a promise, that such duties as are found to bear too hard on the enterprize of commerce shall be taken off.—This proclamation is followed by another, giving up to the inhabitants all the ships, barges, and craft, and calling upon the owners to see that no imposition is practised on the captors for their liberality.]

Extract of a Dispatch from Major-general Beresford to Lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 16.

I am now able to transmit nearly an account of the money which has been received as prize, under the terms of my agreement with the acting governor of the place, previous to my entering the town. The statement shews the various departments and public bodies, whence the sums forming the total has been derived. The sum of 1,086,208 dollars, is going home in his majesty's ship *Narcissus*, and sir Home Popham and myself have thought it right to reserve here, for the exigencies of the army and navy, a considerable sum; and for the purpose of keeping down the exchange on bills, drawn by the respective services, and which would otherwise bring the dollar to an enormous price. It is estimated that the

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merchandize in the king's stores, principally Jesuits' bark and quick-silver, and which is in the Philippine company's stores, with the little that is retained of floating property, will amount, if it can be disposed of, to between two and three millions of dollars. Of the bullion delivered in, some is claimed as private property, and which shall be delivered in the same spirit of liberality with which, we trust, it will be considered we have acted here. The 61,797 dollars were yesterday delivered to the consulada, on their assurance only that it belonged to the people of this town; and they have a claim upon 40 or 50,000 dollars more, which will be settled this day.

Total amount of monies, &c. received in consequence of an agreement on June 28.

Embarked on board the *Narcissus*, 1,086,208. Remain in the Treasury 205,115. Total 1,291,323 dollars.

Dispatch from Commodore Sir Home Popham, off Buenos Ayres, July 6.

SIR,

In the letter which I had the honour to address you from St. Helena, on the 30th of April, I fully explained, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the motive that induced me to press so strongly the urgency and expediency of undertaking an expedition against the enemy's settlements in the Rio de la Plata. I have, therefore, only to give you a short detail of the proceedings of the squadron, previously congratulating their lordships, on his majesty's forces being in full possession

of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America. To the commerce of Great Britain it exhibits peculiar advantages, as well as to the active industry of her manufacturing towns. And when I venture, in addition, to assure their lordships of the extreme healthiness of the climate, I trust I only hold out a consolation that the friends of every person employed on this expedition are justly entitled to, and which I am satisfied will be equally gratifying to the feelings of every British subject. As I considered it an object of material consequence to obtain the earliest local information in the river, I placed the squadron under the direction of captain Rowley on the 27th of May, and preceded it in the *Narcissus* for that purpose. On the 8th ult. we anchored near the island of Flores; and, after passing Monte Video the following day, we detained a Portuguese schooner, by whom the intelligence we had formerly received was generally confirmed. On the 11th, we fell in with the *Encounter* and *Ocean* transports, near the south coast of the river, and on the 13th we joined the squadron. It was immediately determined to attack the capital, and no time was lost in removing the marine battalion to the *Narcissus*, the *Encounter*, and the transports, for the purpose of proceeding to Buenos Ayres, while the *Diadem* blockaded the port of Monte Video, and the *Raisable* and *Diomedes*, by way of demonstration, cruized near Maldonado, and other assailable points. Our progress up the river was very much retarded by the shoalness of the water, adverse winds and currents,

rents, continual fogs, and the great inaccuracy of the charts ; but, by the unremitting and laborious exertions of the officers and men I had the honour to command, these difficulties were surmounted, and the squadron anchored, on the afternoon of the 25th, off Point Quelmey a Pouichin, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. As it was impossible for the *Narcissus* to approach the shore, on account of the shallowness of the water, the Encounter was run in so close as to take the ground, the more effectually to cover the debarkation of the army, in case of necessity : the whole, however, was landed in the course of the evening, without the least opposition, consisting of the detachment of troops from the Cape, and that from St. Helena, with the marine battalion, under the orders of captain King, of the *Diadem*, which was composed of the marines of the squadron, augmented by the incorporation of some seamen, and three companies of royal blues, from the same source of enterprize, which had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform. The enemy was posted at the village of Reduction, which was on an eminence, about two miles from the beach, with the appearance of a fine plain between the two armies, which, however, proved on the following morning to be only a morass in a high state of verdure. This in some measure checked our advancement, nor did the enemy open his field-train, till the troops were nearly in the middle of the swamp, from whence he thought it was impossible for them to be extricated. The able and excellent disposition of general Beresford, and the intrepidity of his army, very

soon satisfied the enemy, that his only safety was in a precipitate retreat ; for we had the satisfaction of seeing from the ships near 4000 Spanish cavalry flying in every direction, leaving their artillery behind them, while our troops were ascending the hill with that coolness and courage, which has on every occasion marked the character of a British soldier, and has been exemplified in proportion to the difficulties and dangers by which he was opposed. I have probably trespassed on a line that does not immediately belong to me, but I could not resist the gratification of relating to their lordships what I saw ; assuring myself, at the same time, they will be convinced, if the enemy had given the squadron an equal opportunity, I should have had the pleasing duty of reporting an honourable issue to the effect of their eminent zeal and exertions. On the 27th, in the morning, we saw some firing near the banks of the river Chello, but it blew so hard that it was totally impracticable to have any communication with the shore during that day. Early on the 28th a royal salute was fired from the castle of Buenos Ayres, in honour of his majesty's colours being hoisted in South America, and instantly returned by the ships lying off the town. I now consider it to be a proper moment for acknowledging, in terms of the sincerest gratitude, my high sense of the zealous and animated conduct of every officer and man in the squadron which I have the extraordinary good fortune to command. Capt. Rowley, with captain Edmonds, under his orders, continued, as long as the weather would permit, an advantageous demonstration off Maldonado. Capt. Donnelly,

nelly, who did me the favour of requesting I would go up the river in the Narcissus, and to whom, from his rank, no specific service could be assigned in our small scale of operations, applied himself in every occasion where he could promote the objects of the expedition: and, as he is charged with this dispatch, I take the liberty of recommending him to their lordship's protection, under a full conviction they will obtain, through him, every information which they have a right to expect from an officer of great intelligence, and long meritorious service. I consider captain King, with the officers of the marine battalion, so completely under the report of general Beresford, that I shall only state to their lordships my extreme satisfaction, on hearing personally from the general, how highly he appreciated every part of their conduct, particularly the celerity with which they transported the artillery and troops across the Rio Chuelo, after the bridge was burnt by the enemy. Lieutenant Talbot, of the Encounter, manifested great zeal in every instance where it was necessary to call on him; Lieutenant Groves, of the Diadem, was also very active in landing the ordnance and ordnance stores; and I think it highly proper to state to their lordships, that the masters and crews of the different transports behaved with great attention during the whole of this service. I inclose a copy of the terms granted to the inhabitants, after the capture of the city, by which their lordships will see that the coasting vessels in the river, supposed with their cargoes to amount to one million and a half of dollars, were restored to the proprietors, for an early record to the country of the

great liberality of his majesty's government.

I am, &c.

H. POPHAM.

I have sent lieutenant Groves to take possession of Ensenaba de Bataragon, a port to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, where I understand there are two gun-vessels, and two merchant ships. H. P.

The Gazette of Sept. 20, contains an order of council, declaring that a lawful trade may be carried on to Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, or native inhabitants of that country, upon paying a duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, upon importation into the same; and that all commodities, the growth of that country, shall be permitted to be imported into the United Kingdom, in ships aforesaid, upon the same terms as from the West India Islands. Also an order in council for permitting the importation in neutral vessels into our West India Islands, for twelve months ensuing, of lumber, staves, and all kinds of provision, with the exception of beef, pork, and butter; and also the exportation of rum, molasses, and all other commodities, except sugar, indigo, cotton, coffee, and cocoa.

Dispatch from Captain Brisbane, with an Account of the Capture of the Pomona, and twelve Gun-boats, at the Isle of Cuba.

Arethusa, off the Havannah, Aug. 23.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you of a successful attack having been made by his majesty's ships *Arethusa* and *Anson*, on the enemy near the Moro

Moro castle, in the island of Cuba, on the morning of the 23d instant. The result has been the capture of the Spanish frigate Pomona, of 38 guns, with a complement of 347 men, and the destruction of 12 gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder, with a complement of 100 men each and the explosion of a castle mounting 16 36-pounders. On the morning of the 23d instant I discovered the enemy within two miles of the Moro castle, rather to leeward, carrying all possible sail to get into the Havannah. I therefore made the signal to lay the enemy on board on my coming up with her, but my design was frustrated by the Pomona bearing up, having been joined by 12 gun-boats from the Havannah, and anchoring within pistol shot of a castle mounting 16 36-pounders, in three fathoms and a half water. The gun-boats advanced from her in a line abreast. These boats were sent out expressly to protect the Pomona at her anchorage. At 10 A. M. I anchored his majesty's ship Arethusa close alongside the Pomona, in one foot water more than the ship drew; the Anson on my larboard bow; when the action became general, but not of long duration. The Pomona having struck her colours in 35, two gun-boats blew up, six were sunk, and three driven on shore on the breakers.—Notwithstanding the severe fire from the castle, the Pomona was instantly taken possession of by lieutenant Parish, first of the Arethusa, and followed by lieutenant Sullivan, first of the Anson.—The castle had now commenced firing red-hot shot, which occasioned the Arethusa to be set on fire, but it was soon extinguished by the very proper arrangements of Lieutenants Higman and Griffith, commanding the main deck. Shortly

after, a melancholy and dreadful explosion took place in the castle, after which all firing ceased. It now becomes a pleasing part of my duty to recommend to your particular notice the steady and gallant conduct of captain Lydiard, the officers and men of both ships, all appearing to be animated with the same enthusiastic zeal.

CHARLES BRISBANE.

Vice-admiral Dacres.

Arethusa, 2 killed and 32 wounded.—Anson, none.

Spanish frigate Pomona, captain and 20 men killed; 2 lieutenants and 30 men wounded.—Gun-boats, the loss of men must have been considerable, as very few of them reached the shore, from those boats which were blown up and sunk.

(Signed) C. BRISBANE.

The Pomona was from Vera Cruz, bound to the Havannah, laden with specie and merchandize. The money belonging to the king was landed at the castle by the governor of the Havannah, and the Spanish admiral, who had previously come out to place the Pomona in safety, as they considered her under the protection of the castle, and had only left her 10 minutes before the action commenced. The freight belonging to the merchants, with plate, and various kinds of merchandize, I have captured.

C. BRISBANE.

Officers wounded.—Captain Brisbane, but did not quit his deck; lieutenant Higman, of the navy; lieutenant Fennel, of the marines.

Trial of Lord Melville before the high Court of Parliament.

On Tuesday, the 29th of April, 1806, the peers being assembled in Westminster Hall, and the court opened

opened with all due solemnities and forms of justice, a master in chancery read aloud the charges exhibited against Henry viscount lord Melville by the commons of the united kingdom :

The *first article* charges lord M. with receiving, previous to Jan. 10, 1786, 10,000*l.* of the public money ; with fraudulently converting the same to his own use, or to some illegal purpose ; and with declaring that he never would reveal the application of the said sum, feeling himself bound by motives of public duty as well as of private honour and personal convenience, to conceal the same.

The *second* charges him with conniving at, and suffering Trotter to draw money out of the Bank for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, and to place such money in the hands of Messrs. Coutts and co. his private bankers, in his own name, and subject to his sole control.

Third. That after passing the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, large sums of money were from time to time paid into the Bank, and placed to the account of Mr. Dundas ; and that during all the time he held the office, from Jan. 10, 1786, he did permit Trotter to draw money out of the Bank, and place it in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, in his own name : that the said Trotter, with the privity of lord Melville, did apply the said sums to his own advantage, and that he did mix the public monies so placed with his own proper money, whereby the public money was not only used for private emolument, but was exposed to great risk, and was withdrawn from the control of the treasurer of the navy.

Fourth. That after Jan. 10, 1786, Trotter did, with the privity of lord M. place sums of money issued from the exchequer to the bank, and drawn from the bank by Trotter, in the hands of Sprott and others, and did apply the same for purposes other than naval purposes.

Fifth. That after Jan. 10, 1786, lord M. did fraudulently, for the purpose of advantage to himself, or for some other illegal purpose, receive from the public money, placed at the bank, 10,000*l.*, or some other large sum, and did convert the same to his own use.

Sixth. After Jan. 10, 1786, lord M. fraudulently concealing the illegal use of the same, did procure from Trotter advances of large sums of money which were made to him in part from money illegally drawn from the bank, and in part from monies placed in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, when mixed with the proper monies of the said Trotter. That during the time Trotter was paymaster, he kept with lord M. an account current of all the sums paid and received by him on account of lord M. and by agreement dated 18th and 23d Feb. 1803, they had delivered up or agreed to cancel and destroy all vouchers and memorandums that had passed between them : which vouchers were destroyed with a view to prevent the discovery of the advances made to lord M.

Seventh. That lord M. received from Trotter 22,000*l.*, or some other large sum, without interest, part whereof was advanced from public money, and part from the said mixed fund.

Eighth. That lord M. did receive from Trotter 22,000*l.*, or some other large sum, for which it has been alledged, lord M. was to pay interest ;

interest ; and that, for the purpose of more effectually concealing the same advances, the books of accounts and vouchers were destroyed.

Ninth. That Trotter did gratuitously transact the private business of lord M. and was from time to time in advance in that respect to the amount of from 10 to 20,000l., which advances were taken from the money placed in Messrs. Coutts's hands : whereby lord M. did derive benefit from the said illegal acts of Trotter. And that Trotter did act gratuitously as agent to lord Melville, and did advance money, in consideration of the said lord permitting him to apply the public money to his own emolument—that without such connivance, Trotter would not have been able to have made such advances. All which acts were contrary to the duty of the office held by lord M. and a violation of the laws. And by all and every one of the aforesaid acts, he was and is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours.

To all these charges lord Melville, saying to himself all advantages of exception to the inefficiency of the articles in point of law, and of not being prejudiced by any want of form in his answer—and also all rights and privileges as a peer, saith, he is in no wise guilty of all or any of the supposed crimes or misdemeanours charged upon him : and this he is ready to prove ; and he humbly submits himself and the justice of his cause to the house. —After the above answer had been given in, the commons exhibited a further article of charge, being the tenth, against lord Melville.

This *tenth article* charges, that

after his appointment to the office of treasurer of the navy, on Aug. 19, 1782, he did, between that day and Jan. 5, 1784, and between Jan. 5, 1784, and Jan. 1, 1786, receive divers large sums of public money, amounting to 27,000l. or thereabouts, and did illegally apply the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt purpose ; and did continue the said illegal application, after the passing of the act for better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.—To this article lord M. answers, that he feels it incumbent upon him to protest against being bound by the law and custom of parliament, or the laws of the realm, to answer such article. Nevertheless, confiding in the goodness of his cause, and the justice of the house, saith, that he is in no wise guilty.

Mr. Whitbread, on opening the charges, addressed their lordships in a most impressive speech, occupying the attention of the court for three hours and forty minutes. It is not consistent with the limits of our publication to follow the orator through the whole of his manly and eloquent harangue ; we must therefore confine ourselves to a bare outline of it. He began by stating, that he stood forward in support of those charges which the commons of the united kingdom had thought it their duty to prefer against the noble defendant ; and that the reasons for discussing those charges in that place were, that the managers of the impeachment thought it would be more becoming the dignity of parliament, and give greater publicity to the proceedings. He feared he should, in the progress of his duty, fatigue his hearers. He had

to state to them a lengthened detail of financial accounts, and a series of dry facts, which, from their notoriety, were deprived of novelty, but not susceptible of embellishment, even from the most eloquent. He was also aware that he had to plead before the most enlightened and just tribunal in the world; that he had assumed a station heretofore occupied by men most distinguished for their qualities; and that the greatest talent to be collected was opposed against him. Still he was far from being intimidated; it was the cause of justice against a great public delinquent; and he felt confident of being able to impart that conviction to their lordships, which, after the most serious reflection, it was impossible he could remove from his own breast. Another consolation he felt was, that he was prosecuting charges before a tribunal superior to the flattery of eloquence, the bias of prejudice, or the trammels of legal impediments. In the progress of his duty, he trusted he should not be betrayed into any intemperance of expression; convinced that truth required only the language of simplicity to enforce it. He was also anxious to avoid inflicting any unnecessary wounds upon the feelings of the noble defendant, or aggravating the feelings of those relatives who were dear to him; at the same time he must not suffer considerations, such as he had mentioned, to destroy the cause in which he had engaged himself for the public good.—Mr. Whitbread then referred to the act of parliament constituting the office of treasurer of the navy, and having dwelt upon the important duties of that office, and the disadvantages resulting to

the country, by converting the public money to purposes of private emolument and advantage, he proceeded to comment upon a subsequent act, which secured to the treasurer of the navy a fixed salary, in lieu of all emoluments to be derived from such use of the public money. The illegality, he said, of keeping large balances in hand, had thus been recognized by parliament, who had expressly declared, that the treasurer, who should in future be guilty of using the public money to his own advantage, should be considered as impeachable:—in which condition the noble defendant, by his conduct, had placed himself.—Mr. Whitbread then alluded to the treasurership of col. Barré, who had strictly conformed to the act. The noble defendant, he said, succeeded that gentleman, and, having appointed Mr. Douglas his paymaster, he commenced with that breach of his duty enumerated in the first article of impeachment:—Here Mr. Whitbread entered into a very long digression upon the difficulties the committee of inquiry had encountered, and commented with much severity upon the noble defendant's having positively denied, upon his *honour*, before that committee, that he had ever made profit or interest of the public money; and even expressed his readiness to take his solemn *oath* of the fact; both of which pledges, he said, were entitled to discredit. Mr. Whitbread then returned to the first charge, that of the noble defendant's converting to his own use 10,000*l.*, the appropriation of which, his lordship said he never would reveal; and observed, that the applying it to purposes other than naval services was illegal;

illegal ; and that his lordship stood convicted of that charge upon his own admission. He also knew that the receipt for that 10,000*l.* was, within the two or three last days ; in the defendant's possession ; and if he did not produce it ; he should prove that the money was not applied to naval purposes, and that would be sufficient to substantiate the charge. After enumerating a variety of transactions, Mr. Whitbread stated, that in November 1782, his lordship's paymaster drew 45,000*l.* from the bank, 40,000*l.* of which was entered to the account of the treasurer of the navy ; the remaining 5,000*l.* was never carried to any public account, but conveyed to the *iron chests* in the treasurer's office, which sum he charged the noble defendant with converting to his own private purposes.—He next alluded to a draft of 16,000*l.*, of which, he said, only 3,000*l.* had found its way into any public book of accounts, and, of consequence, the remainder had become subservient to his lordship's speculations. Mr. Whitbread then came to the time when the act passed for the better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy ; an act, said the hon. gentleman, of his lordship's own framing ; and yet, with full conviction of his error, he was the first to violate it. He then spoke of Mr. Alexander Trotter's appointment of paymaster, remarked on his scanty fortune at the time of that appointment, and then entered into a very lengthened detail of the manner of drawing the public money from the bank, of placing it, mixed with other monies, at Messrs. Coutts's, and of the subsequent illegal use of it : in short, he endeavoured to developé that system of

fraudulent application of the public money, which the charges imputed to the defendant's knowledge and connivance, and by which the law had been grossly violated, the parties acting in the system enriched, and the country injured and impoverished. Mr. Whitbread then entered more minutely into the matters of charge, and said he should prove that Mr. Trotter took large sums from the bank in advance, lodged them at his private banker's, and diverted the balances. Lord Melville, he contended, must have known of it : and if he had not participated, the notorious misapplication of the public money by his paymaster made it a fit subject of investigation. In short, the public money was only *nominally* in the bank ; it was any where, and every where, at the convenience of the defendant and Mr. Trotter. He should also shew, that the public money had been employed in speculations ; many of which were attended with considerable loss, such as must have involved Mr. Trotter in inevitable ruin, had he not obtained a constant supply from the same public source. He meant to affirm, that the noble defendant was privy to such speculations ; and his conduct generally was so flagrant in his high official situation, that he merited the most severe and exemplary punishment. He was aware, he said, that his lordship had suffered much ; his name had been erased from the councils of his majesty ; his criminal imprudence had also placed him in his then degraded state ; and he had to answer for crimes charged against him, which a man of honour should have avoided, as he would avoid ignominy and death. He next alluded to the mutual

tual burning and destroying of books, vouchers, &c. from which he said a conscious guilt was deducible. But he said, accident had thrown an account-book in the way of the managers, which had been lost by Mr. Trotter, which when given in evidence, would throw considerable light upon that part of the case. It was said, in extenuation of the defendant, that he was now a poor man, according to his station; to which he should reply, that whether a man defrauded the public with a view to amass great wealth, or to dissipate with prodigality, and assist pompous hospitalities, it was equally the same—the country was alike injured. Mr. W. concluded his address by referring to the cases of several distinguished personages, among whom he particularized the great lord Verulam, who had been charged with high crimes and misdemeanors, and regretted that in an evil hour the noble defendant had suffered himself to be overcome, his character and high reputation to be sullied, and his dignity and honour degraded, so as to bring him into the state in which he was then placed, and from which it was impossible he should extricate himself with honour.

THE EVIDENCE.

The first piece of evidence given in by the managers, was the third report of the commissioners who sat in 1782, new modelling the office of the treasurer of the navy, and fixing the salary at 4000*l.* a year, in lieu of all emoluments, perquisites, &c.

The next was the production of the warrant, appointing Mr. Isaac Barré to the office of treasurer of the navy; the difficulties in doing

which, occasioned a variety of legal objections and delay. Then the warrant appointing Mr. H. Dundas in the room of the former, at the increased salary; also his subsequent resignation on the 11th of April, 1803, and his re-appointment the 5th of January, 1804. This was followed by the reading of extracts from the journals of the house of commons, forming the ground-work of that bill for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, which lord Melville himself suggested the necessity of, and prepared its way into parliament.

The managers then opened another head of evidence respecting the accounts of Mr. Douglas, a former paymaster under lord Melville, and got the length of shewing, that when Mr. Douglas died he left some public accounts locked up in a box, which Mrs. Douglas gave to Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Creevy. From this box a book of accounts was produced, signed by Mr. Douglas and lord Melville the 8th of August, 1782; but much time was dissipated before it was made evidence. At length the managers succeeded in reading the following three entries of monies issued by the exchequer to Mr. Douglas, on account of lord Melville, for naval purposes:—

6th Nov. 1782 - L.45,000

22d Nov. 1782 - 50,000

19th Dec. 1782 - 93,000

Mr. John Gunningham, a clerk in the bank, who attended principally to the exchequer warrants, was then called. He proved that part of the issue of 45,000*l.* made the 6th of November, 1782, was in five 1000*l.* bank notes, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, all dated 24th October, in the same year; and on being shewn a bank note, No. 12,

said he had no doubt but that was one of the notes so issued. He then turned to the second entry of 50,000*l.* and proved that a part of that issue was paid in three 1000*l.* bank notes, Nos. 212, 213, and 214, dated 7th November in the same year. The issue of any specific note on the 3d entry could not be proved.

Mr. William Heald, a clerk at Messrs. Drummonds', proved, that on the 29th of November, 1782, a note of 1000*l.* No. 212, was paid into their house in discharge of a sum credited to lord Melville of 600*l.* and that 400*l.* was given in change.—“This was paid on lord Melville's private account,” said the managers, “and was one of the notes drawn from the public service in the second entry.”

It was then shewn, that divers sums were, from time to time, paid into Messrs. Drummonds' by Mr. Douglas, upon lord Melville's private account, but nothing specific was proved.

The managers then produced an admission, in lord Melville's handwriting, that he was indebted to the lord advocate of Scotland, on the 16th of November, 1802, in the sum of 1000*l.* and it was subsequently proved, that the bank note, No. 12, for 1000*l.* part of the first issue of public money, as above entered, was paid to the account of the lord advocate at Messrs. Moffatt and Kensington's, in discharge of such debt, in the same month of November, 1802.

Mr. Whitbread now tendered himself as a witness. He stated that he heard lord Melville declare in the house of commons, the 11th of June, 1804, that he felt himself bound in honour to conceal the ap-

plication of one sum of 10,000*l.* of the public money, and that he was determined not to reveal it. On his cross-examination he admitted, that the tendency of his lordship's speech, on the occasion alluded to, went to affirm that the money was not applied to his own private purposes.

The fact of his lordship having declined to answer questions put to him by the commissioners of naval inquiry, was then given in evidence.

Another entry in the treasurer's banking-book of the 11th of July, 1803, for 6,000*l.* and a corresponding issue of 6 1000*l.* bank notes, Nos. 261 to 267 (omitting 265) was then proved : but as the managers could trace none of these notes to his lordship's private account, they contented themselves with shewing, that the money was paid to the defendant, and that no corresponding entries were made to prove that the same was applied to naval services.

Mr. Whitbread was again examined as a witness, to prove that lord Melville had confessed to his having applied a second sum of 10,000*l.* to purposes not naval, in Scotland. On his cross-examination, however, he admitted, that his lordship denied that the money was applied to his own private purposes.

The release signed by lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, on the 13th and 23d of February, 1803, was then put in, and read as evidence. By this, the parties mutually agreed to cancel and destroy all vouchers, documents, writings, &c. that had heretofore existed between them, and to exonerate each other, their heirs, &c. from all further claim or demand : and after that

Mr. Alexander Trotter was called into the witnesses' box.—He began by stating, that he entered a junior clerk in the navy pay office, in the year 1776, at a salary of 50*l.* a year. He was appointed paymaster to the noble defendant soon after, at a salary of 500*l.* per annum. When he came into office, he received all the balances from the preceding paymaster, with the exception of 10,000*l.* which lord Melville said *he* should account for. He accordingly made his lordship debtor to that amount. Subsequently he applied to his lordship to let him draw a portion of the public money from the bank, and place it at his private banker's, intimating that it would be for the convenience of the public service. He confessed, that part of such drafts he had employed in buying up government securities, exchequer bills, &c. and also in discounting bills for private individuals of repute; all for his own private emolument and advantage. At one period he went into Scotland, leaving Mr. Wilson to act for him. He received lord Melville's pay as treasurer of the navy, and also his rents from Scotland, but not for his other offices. He kept "an account current" between himself and his lordship, but charged no interest for advances; that account was destroyed.—In the year 1786, he advanced 4000*l.* to his lordship, for which he took his bond without interest, and he believed that formed the first item in the account current.—That advance was made from a mixed fund at Coutts's, composed of part of the public money, and part of his own proper monies. In 1792, he bought 2000*l.* India stock for his lordship, which

came from the same mixed fund. In 1797, 10,000*l.* loyalty loan was subscribed on account of his lordship, the instalments of which he paid, for the noble defendant, as they became due, without informing his lordship of the fact, which he admitted were paid from the public money. He also purchased 7000*l.* stock (in the 3 per cent. reduced) for his lordship; and these and all such advances were entered in the "account current," between him and his lordship: he charged *no* interest upon them. He had also paid 2000*l.* to sir William Forbes and co. and 3374*l.* to Messrs. Mansfield, Ramsay, and co., bankers at Edinburgh, on account of lord Melville; but he could recollect no collateral circumstances attending such payments. Mr. Trotter went on to state, that besides the "account current," he kept another account-book, which he called "the chest account." This last he considered as lord Melville's account with the public: the first item in it was the 10,000*l.* lord Melville owed the public when he (the witness) came into office; and the next was the 10,000*l.* loyalty loan. The general balances, he said, were against his lordship when he quitted the office. They amounted to a sum little short of 50,000*l.*, which were paid up by his lordship. About the year 1789 or 90, he intimated to lord Melville the propriety of his increasing his India stock; when his lordship replied, "that he had no money."—The witness said he had considerable balances lying at Coutts's, of the public money, and asked if he should lay out 13 or 14,000*l.* for him?—His lordship refused in the most decided manner, and witness thought he had lost his
lordship's

lordship's confidence, for the suggestion he had made. Witness, however, was desirous the stock should be purchased, and told the defendant he would endeavour to borrow the money; but finding some difficulty in that, he advanced 23,000*l.* from the public money, and the stock was purchased for his lordship. He charged lord Melville interest for the money so advanced. His lordship never afterwards made inquiry who advanced him the loan, nor did he ever know it was advanced from the public money till their final settlement took place. He added, that his lordship ultimately derived a benefit of 8000*l.* upon the stock so purchased; and concluding his evidence by admitting, that the sub-accountants in the navy pay-office also made a *little* advantage of the public money in their hands.

Cross-examined by Mr. Plomer. —The witness stated, upon his cross-examination, that he had represented to lord Melville the propriety of having a part of the public money at Coutts's; adding, that it would be safer, inasmuch as it would prevent the risk in continually bringing large sums from the bank through the streets of the metropolis, and would be more convenient for satisfying claims. He did not say any thing about deriving profit from the use of the public money. He said, his lordship always investigated the public accounts, but was the most careless man alive with respect to his private accounts. He left all to the honour of the person he employed, and he believed that he never looked at a private account tendered to him. He had never stated to his lordship that the advances he supplied him with were taken

from the public stock; but he could not tell what his lordship's conceptions were upon that point. The only time a draft from the public money was mentioned to him, for private uses, he rejected it with indignation. He never stated to his lordship what fund he drew the loyalty loan from; and he paid the several instalments as they became due, without instructions. With respect to the 7000*l.* stock in the 3 per cents. a sum belonging to his lordship came into his possession, and he thought it was best that it should not lie idle. The profit and advantage made of the public money was entirely his own.—The amount was considerable; but the public never suffered loss or inconvenience by the use he made of it. The release, he said, was a matter of his own suggestion; and when he executed it, and burnt the books, vouchers, &c. the interest of lord Melville was not within his contemplation; he burnt and destroyed them merely as all the accounts between them were closed.

Re-examined by Mr. Whitbread. —His lordship, he said, never told him in what account to debit the advances. When his lordship asked for an advance, and said he expected to receive money shortly, he concluded that was for his own private concerns, and he entered it in the account current; but when he made a peremptory demand of an advance, he concluded that was for the public service, and he entered it in the chest account, i. e. the account between his lordship and the public. The witness admitted, that he was forced himself to borrow sums of money to make good official payments, rather than part with those securities at a discount, which he had

bought up' with the public money. The way he paid his lordship's balances on his quitting his office, was by selling 20,000*l.* stock of his lordship's; also 30,000*l.* India stock, besides 13,000*l.* that he received from another source. He never explained to his lordship the precise amount of those balances as applied to the two accounts, but estimated them generally. Lord Melville never enquired of him if he was trenching upon the public balances, nor could he (the witness) swear that his lordship had an idea that he was receiving advances from the public stock. He admitted that he was himself worth 65,000*l.* of which he had derived between 5 and 6000 from inheritance, and 3000 by marriage, and that he had built a house near Edinburgh. In answer to a question put by the bishop of St. Asaph, he said; he became a lender of money immediately on his being put into possession of the public money.

Mr. Robert Trotter was next examined, who, in addition to a sum of 2000*l.* and another of 3,37*4l.* sent to the house of Forbes and co. and the house of Ramsay and co. at Edinburgh, on lord Melville's account, proved that two other sums of 10,000*l.* and 5000*l.* were also paid by Coutts to Ramsay and co. on his lordship's account. These sums were paid by order of his brother; but out of what funds, or for what purpose, he could not tell.

Mr. E. Antrobus, a partner in Coutts's house, was examined as to lord Melville's account with the firm, and proved by the respective entries that the house paid the instalments upon lord Melville's subscription to the loyalty loan, and

that they were repaid by Mr. Trotter.

Mr. Chapman, a clerk in Coutts's house, and who kept Mr. Trotter's accounts, was called to prove the specific balances in the hands of the paymaster at different periods. Among many others it appeared, that in the month of February 1795, there was a balance of 47,412*l.* and in April of the same year it increased to 107,971*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* In 1797, the balance in hand was 45,700*l.*; in 1798, 31,000*l.*; in 1799, 88,000*l.*; and at other periods the house was in advance to Mr. Trotter.

Mr. Coutts Trotter proved, that Messrs. Coutts and co. advanced to lord Melville, in the year 1800, a sum amounting to 13,000*l.*, and, as a security, took in exchange the assignment of his lordship's salary as keeper of the privy seal, and as keeper of the signet. Also the assignment of 2000*l.* India stock, and the collateral security of Mr. Robert Dundas's son.

Mr. Charleton, a clerk in the bank, produced thirty-five cancelled bank notes, thirty-two of which were for 1000*l.* each, which notes had originally been issued to lord Melville for the public service, on the act of parliament new account in 1800. These notes were subsequently paid in to Messrs. Coutts's, in satisfaction of two drafts made by lord Melville upon Mr. Trotter, one for 13,000*l.* and the other for 19,000*l.*

Mr. P. Antrobus, the stock broker, proved the purchase of two portions of East-India stock for lord Melville, each portion amounting to 6000*l.* the money for which was advanced by Mr. Trotter.

Mr.

Mr. Joseph Kaye, a solicitor, proved that the profits and interest arising from the stock purchased at different periods for lord Melville, by order of Mr. Trotter, amounted to 22,062*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*

Mr. Mark Sprott was next examined, touching the innumerable speculations and Change-alley transactions that he had been employed in for Mr. Trotter; during the whole of which he said he never heard lord Melville's name mentioned as connected with such transactions. He added, that he had frequently advanced Mr. Trotter money to prevent his carrying his navy bills into the market when they were "long-winded;" but he never knew that Mr. Trotter was making use of the public money; though from the magnitude of the sums laid out at times, had he given it a thought, he might have imagined that to be the case.

Charles Bragge Bathurst, esq. was called to prove, that during the period he was treasurer of the navy, he never made use of the public money for purposes of private advantage or convenience, and that he always kept it at the bank.

Mr. Thomas Wilson stated, that he had long held a situation in the navy pay-office, and that he acted for Mr. Trotter while that gentleman was in Scotland. He had blank drafts left him by Mr. Trotter; and he had also his sanction and authority for using the public money for purposes of private advantage during his absence. He could not, however, say that lord Melville knew of such use and advantage. In the year 1796, the time he was acting for Mr. Trotter, lord Melville came to him, and asked him, if any, and what sum of money, could be spared from

the public stock? The witness said, 40,000*l.* could be spared, and that sum was paid his lordship in the presence of the late Mr. Pitt, Mr. Charles Long, and others.—[N. B. This was 40,000*l.* advanced to Boyd, Benfield, and co.]—The witness added, that he took no receipt for the money so advanced.

George Tierney, esq. was examined as to the way in which he kept his account with the bank when he was treasurer of the navy. In order to prevent the transit of large sums from the bank, he paid a certain sum to his own credit at the bank, and satisfied the claims upon the public service, by giving drafts upon the bank, which were carried to his credit account; so that the public money ran no risk.

Thomas Beverly West, esq. proved that lord Melville carried the bill to the lords for regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy, and that he was the principal instrument in framing and bringing in such bill.

The evidence on the part of the prosecution was closed by reading a general monthly statement of all balances in the hands of the paymaster, during the time lord Melville executed the office of treasurer of the navy.

Sir Samuel Romilly now proceeded to sum up the several heads of evidence, and apply them to the charges exhibited against the noble defendant. His speech occupied the whole of one day, and was listened to with great attention. He animadverted with much severity on the suspicious fact of burning the vouchers, and of his lordship's refusal to account for one sum of 10,000*l.* which he confessed to have misapplied. He also dwelt with

much force upon the two 1000*l.* bank notes, traced to the private use of the noble defendant, which had been issued for naval purposes; and observed, that if their lordships were convinced that the noble defendant had criminally misapplied *one shilling* of the public money, and had converted it to his own private use and advantage, he was guilty in the eye of the law. He insisted, in the strongest terms, that neither lord M. nor Mr. T. were authorised to make private use of the money entrusted to them; that balances of many thousand pounds remained in the hands of lord M. unaccounted for, from 1784 to 1800; that his lordship's declaration, that he would not tell how he had disposed of certain sums, was a gross and daring violation of the law of the land; and that the representation of Mr. Trotter, in which he stated that lord M. had rejected an application of his to employ the public money for his lordship's advantage, was an insult to the discernment of the house.

THE DEFENCE.

Mr. Plomer, the succeeding day, entered upon lord Melville's defence, and continued, through that and the following day, to enforce his lordship's innocence, and the propriety and justice of his acquittal. He began by stating, that his mind was relieved from much of that anxiety which he had originally felt, inasmuch as he was now justified in saying, after having heard the case on the part of the prosecution, that the noble defendant was not called upon to answer for any malversations of his own, but for the malversations of those in whom it had been his misfortune to place implicit and unlimited confidence. The

prosecutors, he said, were the knights and burgesses of the united parliament of the British empire, a body every way qualified and armed with due authority and power to enforce their accusations, and from whose discrimination and collective wisdom it was impossible for guilt to shield itself. The managers of the prosecution were men of splendid talents, and high character, possessing great assiduity and zeal, and every way competent to the task assigned them.—Yet, with all that power, assiduity, and zeal, he should prove, and he hoped most satisfactorily, that there was not the smallest foundation for the charges preferred. When he said that, he did not mean to impute blame to the house of commons for prosecuting the charges. There had unquestionably existed great abuses in many of the public departments of government, and perhaps more particularly in the office of treasurer of the navy—it was therefore proper the public should have the matter sifted to the bottom.—Had that been done in the first instance, no member of the house of commons would have violated the first principle of justice, by condemning a man unheard. Unfortunately a different course had been pursued—an address had been carried to the foot of the throne, prejudging the case of the noble lord, and guilt presumed before it had been clearly proved and established. In consequence of such unjust proceedings, the noble defendant had been severed from his majesty's councils for ever, and in that act he had suffered the worst of punishments that could be inflicted upon an honourable and feeling mind.—But in what light must such premature punishment appear, when, after

after sifting his case to the bottom, the main point, that of a *criminal participation* in the gains and emoluments arising from the use of the public money, had been fully negatived by the witnesses brought forward for the prosecution? Yet he would repeat, that the character of the house of commons would not suffer, if the result was favourable to the defendant. Still it must be admitted, that his lordship was the victim of a peculiar species of prosecution, which outraged every principle of justice and humanity—borne down by positive charges of guilt, calumnies uttered behind his back, and promulgated in an assembly where he could not be heard, and those calumnies registered among the records of the kingdom. Notwithstanding such was his lordship's unparalleled case, he trusted their lordships would come to the question with minds pure and unbiassed. The learned counsel then recapitulated the charges, and contended that there was no pretence for supposing that the noble defendant had corruptly appropriated the public money. Had the charge of criminal participation been made out, he should have claimed no favour or indulgence. Had it been proved in any one instance, that his lordship's mind had been influenced by corrupt motives, or if the noble defendant had violated his duty for the purpose of private advantage or emolument, then would he have delivered him over to condemnation. But no such proof appeared in evidence, and all that had been made out was, that lord Melville was a *negligent* man as far as regarded pecuniary matters, and placed too firm a reliance on his dependants. What he advanced was not merely asser-

tion. Let their lordships look to the facts proved—they would find that lord Melville had shown a uniform disregard of money, and that his habits and general conduct through life precluded the idea of his devoting his time or attention to pecuniary matters, when connected with his own private interests. Indeed the honourable manager himself had told their lordships, that he believed the noble defendant to be a man of a generous and unbounded spirit, and if he should now be proved guilty, he had only to regret that he should have departed from his rectitude at a time of life when it was natural to think that other than vicious inducements would have influenced his conduct. Here the learned counsel enumerated the many high and distinguished offices filled by the noble defendant.—He had been secretary of state, he said, both for the home and foreign department, and he had been the sole manager of affairs with respect to the British empire in the east; and argued from thence, that it was impossible an individual so honourably employed should have leisure or disposition to pursue so vicious and so mean a propensity, as that of amassing wealth by employing the public money in speculations of great risk and hazard. With regard to the first charge, he said, the noble defendant was controlled by no statute or constitutional law of the kingdom. The only obligation upon him to prevent his making use of the public money, was the warrant by which his salary was augmented. There was no law to the contrary; and the treasurer of the navy was as fairly entitled, at that period, to make use of the public money, as the paymaster of the army, or
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the receiver-general of the land-tax. The learned counsel then alluded to the case of lord Holland, who was a great public defaulter, and remarked, that when an inquiry was instituted in the house of commons, in the case of Powell and Bainbridge, Mr. Fox, and others equally eminent for wisdom, asserted, that if a public accountant was held responsible, it was a matter of indifference to the public what private use he made of the public money, provided the public service was not injured, and he was ready to pay up his balances when called upon. The great earl of Chatham, he said, was also of that opinion. Mr. Greuville, he said, when paymaster, desired two months to settle his accounts—he would ask, why require two hours, if the use of the public money had been held to be unlawful? The fact was, that it was not then considered to be so; nor was it in point of fact illegal, and he meant to go the length of contending, that the act passed in 1786 made no alteration in the old law; and therefore the applying the first 10,000*l.* before and after the passing of that act, was precisely the same thing. Still he did not mean to assert that the application of the public money to private purposes was not a violation of the warrant; and if any loss had accrued, the defendant would have been liable to a civil suit. No such loss had taken place. The noble defendant had paid every shilling of his balances in due course; and yet he was now called upon to answer criminally for making use of money entrusted to his discretion by the state. The learned counsel then touched upon the 10,000*l.* which his lordship refused to say how it was applied;

and called upon their lordships to say whether a man, by the humane principles of British justice, had ever been deemed criminal for his *silence*. It was possible the noble defendant might have used it for other than naval purposes, but that did not prove that he had used it corruptly. The noble defendant was aware of the obloquy that might be attached to the concealment he still persisted in; but he would be content to endure the odium of their lordships, and the unjust suspicions which such conduct might give rise to, rather than violate the obligations he owed to public duty and private honour. Had not the late chancellor of the exchequer felt himself at liberty to divulge the 40,000*l.* advanced to Boyd, Benfield, and co. the noble defendant would never have disclosed the application. An indemnity had passed for that advance—then why not give the noble defendant credit for having applied the 10,000*l.* in an equally meritorious way? He then commented at length on the testimony submitted on the part of the prosecution, and censured the managers for the way in which they had endeavoured to obtain evidence against the noble defendant. They had not contented themselves, he said, with diving into the private accounts of individuals at bankers, but had climbed into the attic of a poor widow woman with a view to gain evidence. They had in a manner stript the noble defendant like an insolvent debtor, and exposed every circumstance of his life for half a century past. One of the managers too had acted in the triple character of a prosecutor, a witness, and a carrier of a box; and the result of all was, that such evidence had

had never before been brought against any individual, either in a civil or criminal court of judicature. The learned counsel next alluded to the removal of the money from the bank to Messrs. Coutts's, and also to the chest and current accounts spoken of; with which he said the public had nothing to do, provided they suffered no loss. He also remarked, that the managers had never contended that the money was not taken from the bank for naval services outright, but that it was not taken for the immediate service of the navy. He would ask, where could the money be more securely placed, while in the progress of payment, than at Coutts's? or more safely deposited than in an iron chest, ready for issue when the public service required it? He then referred to what he termed the unjust popular clamour raised against lord Melville for violating an act of parliament, which he was himself the principal instrument in framing. In reply to which, he would contend, (and he firmly believed he did not mistake the meaning of that act,) that the noble defendant had neither violated the spirit nor the letter of that act. Lord Melville, he said, never meant, when he framed that bill, that it should interfere with the course of office; and its principal object was to secure the transit of money from the exchequer to the bank, and not to direct the application of that money after it was drawn from the bank, provided it was ultimately applied to the public service. He thought he had said enough to obliterate from their lordship's minds all ideas of a corrupt participation on the part of the noble defendant, or that he confederated with Mr. Trotter to place the

public money out at interest for their mutual advantage. There was, however, another charge of great magnitude, he meant the destruction of vouchers: to which he should only reply, that the evidence brought to support it (as far as regarded the noble defendant) had most completely refuted the imputation derived from the act. Mr. Trotter had distinctly avowed the act to have been his own; that it was done without the knowledge of lord Melville, and with no view whatever to promote the interests of his lordship. Such was the evidence of Mr. Trotter, who had every inducement to speak against lord Melville, if in his conscience he could have done it, as by that means he would have cleared his own character from imputation. But that was not all; he had as distinctly sworn that the use made of the public money was for his own exclusive advantage; and that he never rendered the noble defendant any account of the gains he had made, or intimated, in the slightest manner, that he was deriving any such advantage from the use of the public stock. The learned counsel then went through the whole of the evidence, commenting, as he proceeded, upon its import, and contended, that the only thing that could be urged against his lordship with any colour of justice, was the charge of *negligence*, and that was in a degree excused by the many important avocations he was engaged in. He had to provide against domestic danger and foreign alarm; and it was not to be wondered at if he was negligent of calculating with extreme accuracy the pounds, shillings, and pence, of accounts rendered him by an individual who possessed his unbounded

bounded confidence. Upon the whole, therefore, he should contend, that previous to the passing of the act, in 1786, there was no statute law to prevent the treasurer from using the public money; that the violation of his contract with the public was only the subject of a civil suit; and further, that after the passing of that act the old law still remained in force, and was no way altered by the new enactments. But if he was mistaken in the law, then the evidence was not sufficient to support the charges as against the defendant, and he must be acquitted. The learned gentleman concluded by stating, that lord Melville, so far from being that avaricious person described, or being capable of so mean a propensity as that of deriving advantage from speculating with the public money, he should prove that he had freely and willingly given up the profits of his office, to the amount of 26,000*l.* and left it to their lordships to say, whether it was possible a man, who could so act, would, by unlawful means, endeavour to defraud the public by speculation in his office, or could justly be suspected of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Mr. Adam went over the same ground of argument, and contended, that the act of 1786 never meant that the public money should be locked up in the bank—it only meant that it should be deposited there in the first instance when impressed from the exchequer, and afterwards drawn out at the discretion and will of the treasurer of the navy as the public service required.

Several witnesses were then called to prove the fact that lord Melville refrained from receiving the salaries, fees, and profits of his office of third

secretary of state until the time of his resignation, amounting in all to a sum of 26,000*l.*

The attorney general replied to the legal doctrines advanced by Mr. Plomer, and remarked, that they were as erroneous as they were novel and dangerous. He then entered at great length into the meaning and import of the several statutes regulating the office of treasurer; and insisted, that it was impossible for the most subtle reasoner, or expert casuist, to convince their lordships that lord Melville had not violated the act of 1786.

Mr. Whitbread proceeded to make his reply. He began by expressing his surprise at the very extraordinary arguments the learned counsel (Mr. Plomer) had been driven to: embracing principles, he said, not only dangerous to the public prosperity, but to the very existence of the country. He could not help remarking also upon the way in which the learned counsel had treated him; but he disregarded the personalities directed against him; and only felt regret, that a man of great legal authority and celebrity should have degraded himself by advancing doctrines to support the innocence of his client, which ought never to have been stated in a British court of justice—doctrines calculated to put an end to all responsibility in public accountants, and to leave the public purse at the mercy of every individual who had any control over it. With respect to the topics urged against himself, he supposed the learned counsel imagined, that by adopting biting sarcasm, he should irritate his feelings, and throw him off his guard. If so, he would be disappointed. He should imitate the conduct of an individual describ-

ed in a celebrated book, read in infancy for amusement, and at maturity for the sake of its moral instruction—he meant *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*. In that work it was stated, that a great and valuable prize was placed on the summit of an exceedingly high hill, and that those who went in search of it were directed to look neither to the right nor the left, nor to regard the terrifying noises they would be assailed with, but to keep a steady and unaltered course; concluding, that if they turned to look behind them, they would be transformed into stones. Many attempted to ascend, but failed; one adventurer, however, strictly abiding by his instructions, and despising the dangers which surrounded him, reached the summit, and gained the prize. He therefore should endeavour to imitate that individual—the learned counsel might *hiss* and might *howl*; but he should proceed in the course marked out for him, without deviating to the right or the left. His object was, to obtain justice against a great public delinquent, and he would do it in spite of every obstacle placed in his way. Had lord Melville made his own defence, he said, he would have been ashamed of vindicating his conduct by the means which his counsel had employed, who had made a speech of eight hours to mislead and misrepresent. He had asserted, that the defendant was not bound by the act of his own framing—that he (Mr. W.) would most positively deny; but admitting it to be the fact, he was guilty of a breach of the act antecedent to that statute, by doing that which he had received a compensation for not doing. In that breach he was guilty of an offence

indictable at common law. Mr. Whitbread then proceeded to reply to that part of Mr. Plomer's argument which respected the hardship imposed upon his lordship by the species of prosecution adopted, and said, it was the defendant's wish that it should be so. The house of commons, he said, had originally proposed to prosecute before the ordinary tribunal; but the defendant's friends would have it otherwise. The learned counsel had also dwelt upon the noble lord's services. He (Mr. W.) did not deny those services, and thought him entitled to praise for his general conduct, excepting with regard to the public treasure, and that he had abused. That was the only crime the commons charged him with. The orator then went on, enforcing the necessity of keeping the naval treasure sacred and apart from every other service. It had its fibrous root, he said, in the industry and labour of the meanest peasant, and was a fund that ought not to be exposed to the possibility of risk or loss. The learned counsel had ostentatiously stated that lord Melville had paid up all his balances. That made no difference in the question. If he had not paid them, he would have been compelled by legal process. But, doing his duty in one instance, did not justify the omission of it in another. As little would the argument avail him, of his giving up the salary and profits of office. He could not do otherwise. An act of parliament was passed, by which no servant of the public could receive more than 6000*l.* a year; and, as lord Melville's places amounted to considerably more than that sum, he could not take credit to himself for not receiving

receiving that which it was out of his power to receive. But he might have relinquished one of his offices, had he not known from experience that 4000*l.* a year as treasurer of the navy, was better than 4000*l.* a year as third secretary of state. Mr. Whitbread then touched upon the destruction of vouchers; and observed, that notwithstanding Mr. Trotter had made the act exclusively his own, yet their lordships would decide whether it was possible that lord Melville should not have participated in that act. He then referred to the several bank notes issued for the public service, and traced to his lordship's private account; introducing, by way of analogy, the story in the "*Adventures of a Guinea.*"—First, he said, it was given to *a counsel for gaining a cause against evidence*—then passed into the pocket of the great earl of Chatham, from him to general Wolfe, and so on; but he would ask, what would have been the gratification of that guinea, had it been sent from the exchequer for the naval service of the country? "O, happy guinea, that I am (it would have exclaimed), now shall I be conveyed to Portsmouth to clothe the gallant tar, to administer to his comforts, or be expended to make his infant and its mother happy!" But what the disappointment, when, instead of being thus honourably employed, it found itself thrust into an iron chest, for the private uses of a treasurer, or, with 3 or 4000 fellow-sufferers transported into Scotland in aid of ostentatious prodigality, and applied to services that could not be revealed? Their lordships would draw their own conclusion; but he would maintain, that the public money had been inter-

cepted, and applied to the private advantage of the noble defendant, in violation of his lordship's contract, in violation of law, and in abuse of his high office. The identity of certain notes, he said, had been proved with the same accuracy as on a trial for forgery; and though it was said that his character was dear to the defendant as his life, yet if the managers had proved him guilty, it was their lordships' duty to find him so, whatever the consequences might be to that character. The high and the low were amenable to the same law; and if their lordships were convinced of the noble defendant's peculation, they were bound to say so by their verdict. Mr. Whitbread then adverted to lord Melville's declaration, that he would not account for the application of a sum of 10,000*l.* charged against him, and asked, whether a public accountant should be permitted to say, with impunity—"I will not tell you how I have disposed of the public money!" But he would tell their lordships why lord Melville did not choose to divulge the application of that 10,000*l.* as he had done the 40,000*l.* to Boyd, Benfield, and co. It was because the application and the appropriation were exclusively his own—administered to his own private wants and uses. With respect to that "*Sanctuary of Liberty,*" the house of commons, which the learned counsel had taken the liberty to sneer at and treat contemptuously, he should not conclude without noticing the insult he had conveyed, and in the name of that house of commons expressing its indignation. The commons house of parliament, he would tell him, were rightly jealous of their privileges, and

and must not be trifled with any more than the sceptre of the monarch, or the scarlet and ermine of their lordships. It was therefore the duty of the peers of parliament to enforce the respect due to the one, as well as to the other. Mr. Whitbread then called their lordships' attention to Mr. Trotter's evidence; and argued, that if lord Melville was justified in removing the public money from the bank to Coutts's, he was justified also in removing it to his own house. The short question then was, did Mr. Trotter remove and use the public money with the permission of lord Melville? He would contend that he must have had such permission, and, if so, lord Melville was guilty of *connivance*. With respect to the argument, that lord Melville could not be actuated by so base a propensity as that of making advantage of the public money, he would reply, in the words of a Roman historian — "That a man might be covetous of another's wealth, and yet profuse of his own." He again referred to the vouchers, and said, that the destruction of papers had always been considered as presumptive evidence of guilt. The *rinsing of bottles* was esteemed such in the case of captain Donellan and sir Theodosius Boughton; and the burning of papers, in which poison had been folded up, the same in Miss Blandy's case. The defendant's innocence or guilt was now with their lordships, and he felt assured they would decide with justice and with honour. After urging these, and a variety of other topics, which our limits will not permit us to follow, he concluded

by observing, that as the commons had entered upon the prosecution without fear, so had they, he hoped, concluded it without reproach.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

Thursday, June 12.

On this day the anxiety to hear the final determination of this most important case attracted crowds beyond what had been present on any former day; and many hundreds who had procured tickets were obliged to go away without being able to effect an entrance. The peeresses attended in such numbers, that there was scarcely accommodation for them. About a quarter before eleven, the managers, followed by the other members of the house of commons, and after them by the speaker, entered Westminster hall. The lords were closely shut up until 12 o'clock; during which time, the several articles of impeachment were read, and the final arrangements made for passing judgment in the high court of parliament. Their lordships then went in the accustomed procession to the hall. The peers sat exactly arranged according to their rank; as they were to be called upon from a paper which the lord Chancellor held in his hand.

Silence being proclaimed, the lord chancellor addressed their lordships in the following words:

"Your lordships having fully considered and deliberated upon the several articles of impeachment exhibited against Henry viscount Melville, and the evidence adduced in support thereof, are now to pronounce judgment on the several questions;

questions ; and the first question is this."

His lordship then stated the charge contained in this article, and asked the opinion of each lord, beginning with the junior in rank present, in the following form :

"John lord Crewe (the junior baron,) what says your lordship to this first article of charge?"

Lord Crewe answered, "Not guilty, upon my honour," laying his right hand upon his left breast.

"James lord Lauderdale, what says your lordship to this first article of charge?"

"Guilty, upon my honour."

His lordship then put the question in succession to every other peer, up to his royal highness the duke of York, the prince of Wales not being present. The lord chancellor, having taken all the other opinions, gave his own in this form :

"I Thomas lord Erskine having fully considered and deliberated upon the matter of the first article, am of opinion, that Henry viscount Melville, is not guilty on that article, upon my honour."

All the votes being taken upon the first article, silence was again proclaimed, and the question put in the same manner on the remaining charges, till the whole was gone through. About twenty-five minutes was taken up in collecting the votes on each charge. The whole of the votes were entered about a quarter before three ; but it took near an hour more to count the numbers. At twenty minutes before four, the numbers being all cast up by the clerks, assisted by the agents of the parties, the lord Chancellor spoke as follows :

"My Lords,

"A majority of the lords have acquitted HENRY VISCOUNT MELVILLE of the HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANOURS charged upon him by the IMPEACHMENT of the COMMONS, and of all things contained therein."

"HENRY VISCOUNT MELVILLE,

"I am to acquaint your lordship, that you ARE acquitted of the ARTICLES of IMPEACHMENT exhibited AGAINST YOU by the COMMONS, for HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANOURS, and OF ALL THINGS CONTAINED THEREIN."

Lord Melville, who stood up while the lord Chancellor addressed him, bowed and retired.

The lord chancellor, then put the question to adjourn to the chamber of parliament ; which was immediately ordered.

The following is a correct copy, from the journals, of the verdict of the peers on each article :

On the first Article,	
Not Guilty	120
Guilty	15—105 Majority.
On the second Article,	
Not Guilty	81
Guilty	54—27
On the third Article,	
Not Guilty	83
Guilty	52—31
On the fourth Article,	
Not Guilty unanimously	—125
On the fifth Article,	
Not Guilty	131*
Guilty	3—128
On the sixth Article,	
Not Guilty	88
Guilty	47—41
On the seventh Article,	
Not Guilty	85
Guilty	50—35

* Lord Suffolk went out.

On the eighth Article,	
Not Guilty	121
Guilty	14—107
On the ninth Article,	
Not Guilty	121
Guilty	14—107
On the tenth and last Article.	
Not Guilty	124
Guilty	11—113

The following has been given as a statement of the manner in which the peers voted :

GUILTY ON THE FOLLOWING CHARGES.

Lord Chancellor, 2, 3, 6, 7
DUKES—York, 3
Clarence, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10
Kent, 2, 3, 6, 7
Sussex, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10
Gloucester, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9
Lord President, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Lord Privy Seal, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
DUKES—Norfolk, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Somerset, 2, 3
St. Albans, 2, 3, 6, 7
MARQUISES—Winchester, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Headfort, 2, 3, 6, 7
EARLS—Derby, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Suffolk, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Winchelsea, 2, 3
Carlisle, 2, 3, 7
Oxford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Cowper, 2, 6, 7, 8
Stanhope, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Buckinghamshire, 2
Egremont, 2
Radnor, 2, 3, 6
Mansfield, 2, 3, 6, 7
Grosvenor, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Fortescue, 2
Caernarvon, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Bredalbane, 2, 3, 6, 7
Stair, 2, 3, 6
Enniskillin, 7
Donoughmore, 2, 3, 6, 7
Rosslyn, 2, 3, 6, 7
Charleville, 7

VISCOUNT Hereford, 2, 3, 6, 7

BISHOP of St. Asaph, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9

BARONS—Clifford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10

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St. John, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Clifton, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7
King, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Ponsonby, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
Grantham, 1
Dynevor, 7
Holland, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Grantley, 2, 3, 6, 7
Rawdon, 2, 3, 6, 7
Bulkeley, 6, 7
Somers, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Fife, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
Grimston, 2, 3, 6, 7
Gage, 2, 3, 7
Auckland, 2, 3, 6, 7
Ossory, 2
Dundas, 2, 3, 6, 7
Yarborough, 2, 3, 6, 7
Dawpay, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Dunstanville, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
Minto, 2, 3, 6, 7
Lilford, 2, 3
Carysfort, 2, 3, 6, 7
Ellenborough, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
Lauderdale, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Crewe, 2, 3, 6, 7

NOT GUILTY UPON ALL THE CHARGES.

DUKES.

Cumberland	Beaufort
Cambridge	Rutland

MARQUISES.

Salisbury	Cornwallis
Abercorn	Hertford

EARLS.

Aylesford, (Lord Steward)	Strange, (Athol)
Dartmouth, (Lord Chamberlain)	Mount Edgecumbe
Bridgewater	Digby
Westmoreland	Onslow
Essex	Chichester
Doncaster, (Buc- cleugh)	Powis
Bristol	Strathmore
Macclesfield	Roths
Graham, (Mon- trose)	Aboyne
Hardwicke	Balcarras, went away after 1st Charge
Chatham	Glasgow
Bathurst	Westmeath
Uxbridge	Longford
Camden	Lucan
	Limerick
	Caledon

Ss

VISCOUNTS.

VISCOUNTS.

Wentworth
Hampden

Lowther

BISHOPS.

Bath and Wells

Chichester

BARONS.

Spencer (Blandford)

Mulgrave

Hay

Bradford

Boston

Stuart, (Moray)

Irby

Harewood

Cathcart

Rodney

Elliot

Borrington

Berwick

Montague

Hawkesbury

Kenyon

Braysbrook

Amherst

Douglas

Douglas, (Morton)

Rolle

Carrington

Bayning

Bolton

Northwick

Eldon

St. Helen's

Thomond

Arden

Sheffield

Ashburnham

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS.

From DECEMBER 17, 1805, to DECEMBER 16, 1806.

Christened	{ Males.....10452 }	{ In all, |	Buried	{ Males.....9215 }	{ In all, |
	{ Females.. 9928 }	{ 20380 }		{ Females..8723 }	{ 17938 }

Increased in Burials this Year, 363.

Died under 2 years	5405	50 and 60.....	1503	102.....	0
Between.... 2 and 5.....	2029	60 and 70.....	1265	103.....	0
5 and 10.....	822	70 and 80.....	859	104.....	1
10 and 20	635	80 and 90	414	105.....	0
20 and 30	1329	90 and 100.....	99	110.	0
30 and 40.....	1732	100.....	2	115.....	0
40 and 50.....	1793	101.....	0		

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and still born.....	657	Cramp.....	5
Abscess.....	93	Croup.....	44
Aged.....	1380	Diabetes.....	1
Ague.....	13	Dropsy.....	763
Apoplexy and sudden.....	348	Evil.....	3
Asthma and Phthisic.....	382	Fevers of all kinds.....	1354
Bedridden.....	5	Fistula.....	4
Bile.....	3	Flux.....	4
Bleeding.....	24	French Pox.....	58
Bursten and rupture.....	24	Gout.....	101
Cancer.....	71	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	27
Chicken Pox....	1	Grief.....	3
Childbed.....	235	Headmouldshot, Horseshohead, and Water in the Head.....	199
Colds.....	12	Jaundice.....	63
Cholic, Gripes, &c.....	21	Jaw Locked.....	2
Consumption.....	3996	Inflammation.....	560
Convulsions.....	3602	Itch.....	1
Cough & Hooping Cough.....	623	Lethargy.....	2
		Livergrown.....	13
		Lunatic.....	146
		Measles.....	530
		Miscirriage.....	1
		Mortification.....	285
		Palsy.....	138
		Palpitation of the Heart.....	4
		Pleurisy.....	21
		Purples.....	2
		Quinsy.....	2
		Rash.....	1
		Rheumatism.....	6
		Scurvy.....	2
		Small Pox.....	1158
		Sore Throat.....	7
		Sores and Ulcers.....	5
		St. Anthony's Fire.....	2
		Spasm.....	16
		Stoppage in the Stomach.....	14
		Teeth.....	481
		Thrush.....	83
		Tumour.....	1
		Vomiting and Looseness.....	1
		Worms.....	6
		Broken Limbs.....	3
		Bruised.....	2
		Burnt.....	36
		Drowned.....	132
		Excessive Drinking.....	15
		Executed.....	4
		Found Dead.....	16
		Fractured.....	3
		Killed by Falls, and several other Accidents.....	74
		Killed themselves.....	31
		Murdered.....	3
		Poisoned.....	2
		Scalded.....	6
		Smothered.....	2
		Starved.....	1
		Suffocated.....	5
		Total	335

* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 15; of which number 4 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

TABLE of the Prices of the Quatern Loaf, in London, from Dec. 1805 to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		August.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	4	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	5	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	3	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	7	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	4	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	5	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ s.	3	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	7	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.
13	11	11	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	8	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	12	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	10	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	13	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	11	11	8	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	12	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ s.	10	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	14	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.
20	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	18	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	15	10	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ s.	17	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ s.	21	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	20	11	18	11	15	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ s.	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ s.	17	11	21	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.
27	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ s.	25	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	22	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	26	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ s.	24	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	28	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	27	10	25	11	22	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ s.	26	11	24	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ s.	28	11

TABLE of the Prices of Meat, Sugar, Salt, and Coals, in London, from Dec. 1805 to Nov. 1806, inclusive.

	Dec		Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.		July.		Aug.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Beef, ---	4	8	5	6	5	6	5	8	5	8	6	0	5	8	5	0	5	0	5	0	4	6	5	0	
Mutton,	5	0	5	8	5	8	6	0	5	8	6	0	4	10	5	0	5	8	6	0	5	2	5	2	
Pork, ---	5	4	5	8	6	0	6	8	5	8	6	0	5	4	5	4	5	4	6	0	5	8	6	0	
Sugar, ---	49	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	47	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	47	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	40	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	40	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	46	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	42	10	41	11	37	10	Cwt.
Salt, ----	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	Bushel.
Coals, ----	52	3	53	6	48	9	54	0	51	6	50	9	48	0	50	6	49	6	52	6	54	3	50	6	Chald.

Table of the Number of Bankruptcies in England, from Dec. 1805, to Nov. 1806.											
Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.
73	47	85	96	68	83	65	49	72	86	73	68

TABLE of the Prices of the French 5 per Cent. *Consolidés*, from December, 1805, to November, 1806.

Day.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	October.	Nov.
1	.	.	62. 0	62.50	62. 0	.	61.80	.	67.20	66.75	64.30	71.15
2	59. 0	.	62.10	.	.	.	62. 0	63.75	.	.	.	.
3	.	.	.	62.75	.	.	.	63.80	.	65.80	64.30	.
4	62.10	62.60	.	.	.	.	.	72. 0
5
6
7	.	.	62.10	63. 0	.	.	.	.	67.10	.	64.25	72.10
8	59.25	60.75	.	63.45	.	.	62.10	64. 0	.	66.80	.	.
9	62.20	61.90	.	64.10	67.20	64.25	.	.
10	64.50	.	65.50	64.30	72.80
11	62.15	64.75	.	.	.	.
12	61.85	.	.	67.25	.	.	.
13	60	61. 0	62.15	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
14	.	.	.	62. 0	.	.	.	.	.	.	64.30	72.80
15	63	65.20	.	66.25	.	.
16	59.75	61	62	.	.	61.70	.	.	67. 0	.	.	72.90
17	.	61.50	.	.	.	60.10	.	66. 0	.	.	.	72. 9
18	62.50	.	63.10	67.20	67. 0	66. 0	69. 0	.
19	63.10	.	66.90	.	.	.
20	67.20	.	.	.	.
21	.	.	.	61.50	.	.	.	.	66.90	.	69. 0	.
22	62.65	61.80	63.20	67.20	.	.	.	.
23	60.40	61.10	62.10	.	.	.	63.20	.	.	.	.	.
24	63.20	.	.	.	.	.
25	63.20	.	.	.	.	.
26
27
28
29	60.25	61.75	62. 0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
30	70.10	.
31

PRICES OF STOCKS.

Date.	Bank Stock	3 per C. Con.	4 per C. Con.	5 per C. navy	5 per C. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Exchequer Bills.	S. S. Stk.	Old An.	New An.	Omnium.	Irish Imp. 5 pr. 5 pr. C. C.	English Lottery Tickets.	English Prizes.
Jan.	198 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	51 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	79	90 ¹ / ₂	100	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	100	17 ¹ / ₂	100
Feb.	191 ¹ / ₂	58 ¹ / ₂	59	59 ¹ / ₂	75 ¹ / ₂	89 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂	16 ¹ / ₂	2	16 ¹ / ₂	1-16	16 ¹ / ₂	1-16	16 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂	16 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂
March.	208	62 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	80 ¹ / ₂	92 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂
April.	196	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	79 ¹ / ₂	90 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂
May.	208	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	80 ¹ / ₂	92 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂
June.	202 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	80 ¹ / ₂	92 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	100 ¹ / ₂
July.	213 ¹ / ₂	59 ¹ / ₂	59 ¹ / ₂	59 ¹ / ₂	77 ¹ / ₂	93 ¹ / ₂	98 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	98 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	98 ¹ / ₂
August.	212	64 ¹ / ₂	64 ¹ / ₂	64 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	2	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂
Sept.	215 ¹ / ₂	66 ¹ / ₂	66 ¹ / ₂	66 ¹ / ₂	85 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	2	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	99 ¹ / ₂
Oct.	214	63 ¹ / ₂	63 ¹ / ₂	63 ¹ / ₂	80 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂
Nov.	222 ¹ / ₂	63 ¹ / ₂	63 ¹ / ₂	63 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	2	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	1-16	18 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	18 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂
Dec.	218	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	78 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂
	223	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	78 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂
	222 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	78 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂
	215	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	79 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	96 ¹ / ₂
	212	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	78 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂
	212	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	60 ¹ / ₂	78 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	2	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	1-16	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	95 ¹ / ₂
	209	58 ¹ / ₂	58 ¹ / ₂	58 ¹ / ₂	76 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	16 ¹ / ₂	2	16 ¹ / ₂	1-16	16 ¹ / ₂	1-16	16 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂	16 ¹ / ₂	94 ¹ / ₂

The above are the highest and lowest prices of the Stocks for the Year 1806.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1806.

NAVY, &c.

January 28.

That 120,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1806 ; including 29,000 marines.	£.	s.	d.
For wages of ditto for 13 months	2,886,000	0	0
For victualling for ditto	2,964,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships	4,680,000	0	0
For ordnance for sea service	390,000	0	0

March 3.

For additional pay to officers and seamen, between May 1st and Dec. 31st. 1806.	193,158	2	4
For such measures as the exigency of affairs may re- quire for Great Britain	2,400,000	0	0
For like purposes for Ireland	600,000	0	0

March 4.

For ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers, for 1806	1,045,353	12	11
For building and repairing ships of war for ditto	1,980,830	0	0
For the line of transports	1,250,000	0	0
For defraying the charge of prisoners of war in health	400,000	0	0
Ditto, of sick prisoners of war	45,000	0	0
For hospitals for seamen	30,000	0	0

£. 18,864,341 15 3

ARMY.

February 1.

For 134,473 effective men for guards, garrisons, &c.
in his majesty's service in Great Britain and Ire-

land.

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land, and on the continent, from Dec. 25th 1805, to March 24th 1806, being 90 days	£.	s.	d
For the forces in the plantations, &c. including Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, in Ceylon, and in New South Wales	1,193,105	0	0
For the militia, fencible infantry, &c. in Great Britain and Ireland, from Dec. 25th 1805, to March 24th 1806	505,037	0	0
For 134,473 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from March 25th to May 24th 1806	617,584	0	0
For forces in the plantations, &c. for the same period	795,406	0	0
For the militia, fencibles, infantry, &c. for same period	336,693	0	0
For the militia, fencibles, infantry, &c. for same period	411,725	0	0

April 15.

For supernumerary officers, for 1806	35,315	2	0
For public departments in Great Britain and Ireland, and for exchequer fees, for 1806	176,977	15	0
For increased rates for quartering soldiers, lodging money in Scotland, allowance for small beer, &c. for 1806	486,666	12	8
For half pay to reduced officers of the land forces, for 1806	184,547	0	7
For allowances to reduced officers, for 1806	5,801	13	8
For reduced officers of British American forces, for 1806	50,000	0	0
For officers late in the service of the States General, for 1806	1,000	0	0
For Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals	244,711	6	5
For officers' widows in Great Britain and Ireland, ditto	31,970	17	6
For hospital expences in Ireland, and the royal military infirmary in Dublin	15,418	16	1
For the barrack departments in Great Britain	555,193	0	0
For the barrack departments in Ireland	458,647	4	0
For 134,473 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from May 25th to June 24th 1806	397,704	0	0
For forces in the plantations, &c. for the same period	168,347	0	0
For the militia, fencible infantry, &c. from May 25th to June 24th 1806	205,864	0	0

May 22.

For 121,529 effective men in Great Britain and Ireland, from June 25th to Dec. 24th 1806	1,929,309	7	2
For forces in plantations, &c. for the same period	946,518	15	3

For

	£.	s.	d.
For parties in Great Britain, recruiting for regiments serving in India, for 1806	21,998	0	0
For recruiting and contingencies of land forces.....	225,404	16	11
For general, staff, and hospital officers in Great Britain and Ireland, for 1806	234,104	17	11
For militia and fencible infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from June 25th to Dec. 24th	1,235,161	0	5
For contingencies for ditto	52,153	17	0
For cloathing the militia of Great Britain	157,227	16	4
For volunteer corps in Great Britain and Ireland	1,738,806	3	1
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain and Ireland, for 1806	985,909	1	10
For allowances to chaplains of the forces, for 1806 ..	15,000	0	0

July 15.

For augmentation of pay to certain classes of officers and privates of the forces, from June 25th to Dec. 24th 1806	161,700	9	11
For augmentation to the out pensioners of Chelsea hospital, from June 25th to Dec. 24th	50,000	0	0
For augmentation to the pensions of officers' widows, for the same period	3,723	8	6
For extraordinary expences of the army, for 1805 ..	272,368	15	10
For the extraordinaries of the army in Great Britain, for 1806	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto, for Ireland	600,000	0	0
	<hr/> L. 18,507,518 18 5 <hr/>		

ORDNANCE.

February 4.

For ordnance for land service in Great Britain, for 1804	79,432	13	2
Ditto, for 1805	351,322	18	10

March 17.

Ditto, for 1806	2,957,181	6	6
For ordnance for sea service for Great Britain, for 1806	130,000	0	0
For sums advanced by Irish exchequer, for ordnance services there, for 1805	129,230	15	5
Ditto, for ordnance in Ireland, for 1806	677,976	18	5
	<hr/> L. 4,328,144 12 4 <hr/>		

EXCHEQUER.

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

March 17.

For discharging exchequer bills made out under	L.	s.	d.
45 G. 3. c. 119	2,500,000	0	0
Ditto, made out 45 G. 3. c. 118	8,000,000	0	0
Ditto, made out 45 G. 3. c. 120	1,500,000	0	0

March 27.

Ditto, made out 39 and 40 G. 3. c. 28	3,000,000	0	0
For discharging certain exchequer bills issued for the service of 1805	4,500,000	0	0

L. 19,500,000 0 0

VOTES OF CREDIT.

July 8.

Issued pursuant to addresses of the commons	49,465	15	8
Issued further pursuant to address of the commons	4,715	11	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Irish currency, issued pursuant to addresses of the commons	3,250	0	0

L. 57,431 7 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

March 27.

For the civil establishment of Upper Canada, for 1806	8,250	0	0
For ditto of Nova-Scotia, &c.	7,165	0	0
For ditto of New Brunswick	4,650	0	0
For ditto of St. John in America	3,100	0	0
For ditto of Cape Breton	2,040	0	0
For ditto of Newfoundland	2,565	0	0
For ditto of the Bahama islands	4,400	0	0
For ditto of the Bermudas	1,030	0	0
For ditto of New South Wales	12,819	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
For the civil establishments at Sierra Leone	18,000	0	0
For forts, &c. in Africa	18,000	0	0

March 25.

For discharging 5 per cent. annuities under 2 lists of 37 and 42 Geo. 3.	695,076	15	9
To discharge annuities granted to the late duke of Gloucester	2,381	17	6
For the navigation between Inverness and Fort William	51,250	14	0

For

For roads and bridges in Scotland, for 1806	10,250	14	0
For the usher of the court of exchequer	1,934	4	5
For convicts at home	48,329	0	0
For reprinting journals, &c. of the house of commons	10,000	0	0
For printing and stationary for the two houses of parliament	29,300	0	0
For printing votes, bills, reports, and other papers of the commons, during the present session	20,000	0	0
For the French, Toulonese and Corsican emigrants, and American loyalists	143,849	17	0
For the public office in Bow-Street	12,000	0	0
For salaries and allowances to officers of the houses of lords and of commons	5,210	0	0
For the British Museum	3,400	0	0
For discharging the interest of exchequer bills	1,000,000	0	0
For bills drawn from New South Wales	30,000	0	0
For superintendence of aliens	1,420	0	0
For the royal military college	20,161	7	1
For ditto in the barrack department to Dec. 24 1805	28,323	18	6
For the royal military asylum	23,350	10	10
For additional allowances to clerks in the auditor's office to Jan. 5. 1806.	8,565	18	3
To lord Walsingham, as chairman of the committees of the house of lords	2,698	13	0
To T. Brodie, esq. for making an index to the thirty-two volumes of the "Lord's Journals"	534	14	0
To Dr. Clarke, for his attendance relating to the act for the residence of the clergy	278	6	6
To the Thames police office for the plan for the security of the shipping	974	8	0
To J. Clementson esq. for rent of a house, due at Midsummer, 1805	219	14	0
For a house in Downing-Street, for an office for the secretary of state	3,435	19	6
For attendance on the committee relating to sir Home Popham	457	1	6
To J. Vernon esq. for the purchase of premises for the new mint	7,062	12	6
To sir R. Ford, for a plan for a horse-patrol round the metropolis	4,346	12	6
For British subjects detained in France	1,059	2	0
For accommodation of the additional commissioners of public accounts	1,949	2	6
For carrying on the building of the new mint	25,000	0	0
To E. Stracey, esq. as counsel to the chairman of the house of lords, for session 1804-5	1,515	9	0
To pay bills on account of New South Wales, for 1806	1,592	12	2
For deficiency of expence of the public office in Bow-Street, in 1805	243	10	5

To J. White, esq. for charges of prosecution and defence of law-suits	5,000	0	0
For establishing a settlement in New Holland	302	10	4
For erecting buildings at Bethlem hospital	10,000	0	0
To earl Nelson	10,000	0	0
To be employed in the purchase of a house and estate to accompany the title of earl Nelson	90,000	0	0
For the use of the two sisters of viscount Nelson	20,000	0	0

May 22.

For the funeral of viscount Nelson	14,698	11	6
For the funeral of Mr. Pitt	6,045	2	6
For secret services for 1806	175,000	0	0
For building a new mint	50,000	0	0
For deficiency of grant for prosecutions relating to coin, in 1804-5	1,270	17	9
For extraordinary expences of prosecutions relating to coin, in 1806	2,500	0	0
For contingencies of the three secretaries of state, do.	12,400	0	0
For extra charge for messengers to the three secretaries of state	9,000	0	0
For ministers of the Vaudois churches, for 1806	1,828	5	4
To sheriffs, for conviction of felons	11,600	0	0
For law charges	20,000	0	0
For Protestant dissenting ministers and French refugees ..	10,336	3	0
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For the seamen who served in the battle of Trafalgar ..	300,000	0	0
As a compensation to Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie for loss sustained by cargoes of Swedish herrings	25,000	0	0

June 30.

For buildings in Palace Yard, Westminster	54,184	14	0
For work done at the two houses of parliament, and at the speaker's	12,600	0	0
To the trustees of the British museum	7,500	0	0
For fees on passing public accounts	3,000	0	0
For salaries to the additional commissioners for public accounts and their officers, to April 5, 1806	5,243	3	0
For additional allowances to clerks in the office for public accounts, to April 5, 1806	2,718	14	9
To H. C. Litchfield, esq. for prosecution and defence of law-suits	5,000	0	0
For the carrying on the building of the new mint ...	10,000	0	0
To the Thames police office	324	16	0
Treasurer's Remembrancer for preserving the records ..	40	17	0
For publishing the weekly returns of the average price of sugar	434	17	0
For carrying on the impeachment against viscount Melville	4,000	0	0
To the East India company, for the public service ...	1,000,000	0	0

For compensation for lands taken at Warley Common and Woolwich, for the ordnance	£.	s.	d.
For paying off 5 per cent. annuities, under 37 and 42 G. III.	55,507	18	8
For the establishment of a horse patrol on the public roads, to July 5, 1806	286,179	18	0
For printing by order of the commissioners of public records	3,167	5	6
For printing under the act for procuring returns of the poor	3,596	5	10
To the royal college of surgeons, for a building for the reception of Mr. Hunter's collection	393	1	0½
To the commissioners of naval inquiry	15,000	0	0
For allowance to the commissioners of military inquiry	26,500	0	0
To the veterinary college, for 1806	10,500	0	0
For deficiency of grant for printing and stationary for the houses of parliament, for 1805	1,500	0	0
For the military roads in Scotland	2,380	2	5
For deficiency of grants for Great Britain, in 1805 ..	4,994	1	8
	1,707,589	10	3

IRELAND.

April 3.

To S. More, esq. for preparing public accounts of Ireland, to be laid before parliament	310	0	0
To J. Smart, esq. for ditto	210	0	0
To P. Le Bas, esq. for keeping corn bounties accounts	200	0	0
To R. Marshall, esq. for preparing accounts of imports and exports of Ireland, for parliament	250	0	0
To R. Wetherall, esq. for preparing accounts for parliament	200	0	0
To G. Hatton, esq. for ditto	200	0	0
To S. Hood, esq. for ditto	130	0	0
To H. Haffield, esq. for ditto	200	0	0
For civil building in Ireland, for 1806	25,000	0	0
For printing and binding acts of 46 G. 3.	1,200	0	0
For proclamations and advertisements for 1806	10,500	0	0
For printing, stationary, &c. for the chief and under secretaries offices, &c. in Ireland	21,880	0	0
For criminal prosecutions, and other law expences in Ireland, for 1806	25,000	0	0
For apprehending public offenders in Ireland, for 1806	2,500	0	0
For completing the sum for support of the non-conforming ministers of Ireland, 1806	254	18	0
For support of ditto	9,429	18	0
For expence of practise in the port of Dublin	1,017	10	2
For expenditure at gold mine in the county of Wicklow	610	6	11
			For

	£.	s.	d.
For battle-axe guards	740	0	0
For incidents of the treasury of Ireland	2,000	0	0
To the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures	21,600	0	0
For raising hemp and flax	2,000	0	0
For the hempen and flaxen manufactures in Leinster, &c.	2,000	0	0
For the growth of flax	7,250	0	0
For promoting the said manufactures	10,350	0	0
For building and re-building churches, &c.	5,000	0	0
For a hall of the royal college of surgeons in Ireland ..	4,500	0	0
To the Dublin society for promoting husbandry, &c.	10,000	0	0
For the farming society of Ireland	3,000	0	0
For paving the streets, &c. of Dublin	10,000	0	0
To the commissioners for widening the streets in Dublin ..	4,500	0	0
For promoting the English protestant schools in Ireland ..	22,621	6	1
For the Foundling Hospital in Dublin	22,500	0	0
For the Hibernian marine society in Dublin	1,588	15	0
For re-building St. Andrew's church, in Dublin	2,700	0	0
For the Hibernian school for soldier's children	8,210	10	10
For the female orphan house near Dublin	1,081	2	2
To the association for discountenancing vice, &c.	1,391	2	6
For supporting the Lock Hospital, in Dublin	8,988	0	0
For the house of industry, and penitentiary in Dublin ..	22,862	17	10
For maintaining eighty patients in the House of Recovery, &c.	1,030	18	6
For the Lying-in hospital in Dublin	2,287	8	0
For the office of commissioner of charitable donations and bequests	400	0	0
For the Roman Catholic seminary in Ireland	8,000	0	0
For Madam Steevens hospital	4,743	3	0
	£.6,567,556	17	7½

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	18,864,341	15	3
Army	18,507,518	18	5
Ordnance	4,328,144	12	4
Exchequer Bills	19,500,000	0	0
Votes of credit	57,431	7	1½
Miscellaneous services	6,567,556	17	7½
	£.67,824,993	10	9½

* The Editor, not being able to procure the public papers on this head in time, has stated the supplies as collected by himself from the mass of papers in the Votes of the House of commons. The Ways and Means he has deferred until the end of this volume, or the volume for the next year, as it was found impossible to collect them in the same manner. The new taxes will be found in the following table of acts.

The following public Bills received the Royal Assent in the Course of the 4th Session of the 2d Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, commencing on the 21st day of Jan. 1806.

March 22.

February 7th, 1806.

An act to empower the auditor of the exchequer to constitute a trustee for the execution of the said office in the case therein mentioned.

February 12.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

February 28.

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to lady viscountess Nelson, in consideration of the eminent services performed by the late vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson to his majesty and the public.

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan, bart. in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

An act for raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

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An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom, as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of December, 1806, and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas Term, 1806.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An act for allowing, until the signature of preliminary articles of peace, vessels employed in the Greenland whale fishery, to complete their full number of men at certain ports.

An act for further continuing until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, for discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

An act for allowing the exportation of corn and other articles for the use of his majesty's forces and garrisons.

An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties, on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland; and for granting a duty upon malt and spirits made and distilled in Ireland, until the 29th day of September, 1806; and for granting certain inland duties

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of

of excise and taxes in Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1807.

An act for settling and securing certain annuities on Cuthbert, lord Collingwood, and the several other persons therein described, in consideration of the signal and important service performed by the said Cuthbert lord Collingwood to his majesty and the public.

An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1807, and to amend several acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

An act to continue until the 1st day of June, 1807, and amend an act passed in the 37th year of his present majesty, for carrying into execution the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America.

An act to permit, until the 25th day of March, 1809, the exportation to the United Kingdom, of wool from the British plantations in America.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1807, the operation of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, to suspend proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings, under certain acts relating to the woollen manufacture, and also under an act of queen Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain persons employed or concerned in the said manufacture.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the mili-

tia in Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1807, and amend so much of an act made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under act of the same session of parliament.

An act for making allowances in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March, 1807, the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

An act to extend the provisions of an act passed in the 44th year of the reign of his present majesty, for enabling subjects of foreign-states to enlist as soldiers in his majesty's service, and to indemnify those who have advised his majesty to land such soldiers in this kingdom.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1808, an act made in the 33d year of the reign of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

March 31.

An act for raising the sum of ten millions five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for

for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act for raising the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

An act for continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1811, so much of an act made in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of his late majesty, as relates to the landing of rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations, before payment of the duties of excise.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1813, several laws relating to the transportation of felons and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland.

April 2.

An act for reviving and continuing several laws of customs relating to the establishing courts of judicature in the island of Newfoundland; and to the prohibiting the exportation from, and permitting the importation to Great Britain, of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1809; and for continuing several laws relating to the granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens, exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great Britain, of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax; to the granting a bounty upon the importation into Great Britain of hemp, and rough and undressed flax, from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the encouragement of the Greenland whale fisheries; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the regu-

lating the prices at which corn and grain may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and to the admission to entry in Great Britain, of oil and blubber of Newfoundland, taken by his majesty's subjects carrying on the fishery from, and residing in the said island; and for continuing an act of the twenty-third year of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the manufactures of flax and cotton in Great Britain; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the permitting the importation into Great Britain, of hides and other articles in foreign ships; and to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, of corn or potatoes, or other provisions; and to the permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1808; and for reviving and continuing an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, in the 25th year of his present majesty, for the encouragement of the flaxen and hempen manufactures of Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1827; and for amending and further continuing an act made in the 7th year of his present majesty, for the free importation into Great Britain of cochineal and indigo, until the 25th day of March, 1809.

April 21.

An act to authorize his majesty, until the 25th day of March, 1807, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act made in the forty-fourth year of his pre-

sent majesty, for empowering his majesty to accept the services of such parts of his militia forces in Ireland, as might voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury of Ireland, to issue treasury bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1806; and for making forth duplicates of treasury bills lost or destroyed.

An act for raising the sum of twenty millions by way of annuities.

An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1807, an act made in the thirty-ninth year of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries.

May 5.

An act to revive and amend so much of an act made in the forty-third year of his present majesty, for granting certain stamp duties in Ireland, as provides for the exempting from the said duties, Bank notes, and Bank post bills, issued by the governor and company of the Bank of Ireland.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as charges a duty of three shillings upon certain tenements or dwelling-houses in Ireland.

An act to declare the law with respect to witnesses refusing to answer.

An act for repealing the several duties of customs upon tea imported into Great Britain, and granting a duty in lieu thereof; and for grant-

ing to his majesty additional duties of excise on tea.

An act for granting to his majesty, until twelve months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties of excise on tobacco and snuff.

An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain annuity to vice-admiral sir John T. Duckworth, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

An act for raising the sum of three millions, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1806.

An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and for six months after the expiration thereof, by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on certain goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into, and exported from, or brought or carried coastwise within Great Britain.

An act for granting to his majesty certain stamp duties on appraisements, and on licences to appraisers in Great Britain.

An act for carrying to the consolidated fund of Great Britain, the duties on wine granted by two acts of the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his present majesty.

An act for the better regulation of the office of treasurer of the ordnance.

May 23.

An act for raising the sum of five hundred thousand pounds by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1806.

An act for raising a certain sum of money, by way of annuities or debentures,

debentures, for the service of Ireland.

An act for continuing an act made in this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

An act for increasing the salary of the judge of the court of admiralty in Scotland, and the judges of the commissary court in Edinburgh.

An act for extending the annuity granted to earl of St. Vincent, to the two next persons to whom the title of viscount St. Vincent is limited.

An act to repeal several acts passed in the forty-third and forty-fourth years respectively, of his present majesty's reign, for the raising and establishing an additional force for the defence of the realm.

An act to prevent the importation of slaves, by any of his majesty's subjects, into any islands, colonies, plantations, or territories belonging to any foreign sovereign, state, or power; and also to render more effectual a certain order, made by his majesty in council, on the 15th day of August, 1805, for prohibiting the importation of slaves (except in certain cases) into any of the settlements, islands, colonies, or plantations, on the continent of America, or in the West Indies, which have been surrendered to his majesty's arms during the present war; and to prevent the fitting out of foreign slave ships from British ports.

An act for indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in advising, issuing, or carrying into execution, any order or orders, for

permitting the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in foreign bottoms, into and out of, his majesty's West India Islands, and the colonies, settlements, and territories, which have been conquered by his majesty's arms.

An act for the more speedy trial of offences committed in distant parts upon the sea.

June 9.

An act to provide for the payment, at the Bank of Ireland, of the interest on certain debentures, now payable at the exchequer of Ireland; and also for altering the days of payment of the interest or dividends on certain annuities in Ireland.

An act to amend an act of the last session of parliament, for continuing and amending several acts for regulating and securing the collection of the duties on spirituous liquors distilled in Ireland, and the warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

An act to amend an act made in last session of parliament, for the collection of the malt duties in Ireland, and regulating the trade of a maltster.

An act for establishing certain regulations in the collection and management of his majesty's revenues of customs, excise, and taxes, in Ireland.

An act to regulate the packing of butter in Ireland, for sale or exportation.

An act for amending an act passed in Ireland, in the 29th year of king George the Second, intituled, "An act for amending and making more effectual, the several laws relating to the first fruits, payable out of

ecclesiastical benefices in this kingdom; and for the better regulation and management of the charitable bequest of Dr. Hugh Boulter, late lord archbishop of Armagh, for augmenting the maintenance of poor clergy in this kingdom, so far only as relates to the said charitable bequest.

An act to authorize certain public officers to send and receive letters and packets by the post, free from the duty of postage.

June 13.

An act for granting to his majesty until the 29th day of September, 1806, certain duties on the importation, and to allow certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of certain sorts of iron, sugar, and tea, into and from Ireland.

An act to repeal several acts passed in the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his present majesty, for raising and establishing an additional force in Ireland for the defence of the realm.

An act to repeal the several duties, under the care of the commissioners for managing the duties upon stamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Ireland, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the laws relating to the stamp duties in Ireland.

An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and until the 6th day of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, further additional rates and duties in Great Britain, on the rates and duties on profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices; and for repealing an act passed in the forty-fifth year of his present majesty, for repealing

certain parts of an act made in the forty-third year of his present majesty, for granting a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades and offices; and to consolidate and render more effectual the provisions for collecting the said duties.

June 20.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt and spirits made in Ireland.

An act to continue until the 24th day of June 1807, and amend an act made in the last session of parliament, for appointing commissioners to enquire and examine into any irregularities and abuses which might have taken place in conducting and managing the paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Dublin.

An act for making better provision for soldiers.

July 3.

An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for regulating licences for the sale of spirituous liquors, wine, beer, ale, and cyder, by retail, in Ireland.

An act to amend several acts for the encouragement of finding and working mines and minerals within Ireland.

An act for enabling his majesty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from, the port of Road Harbour, in the island of Tortola.

An act for granting rates of postage on the conveyance of letters and packets

packets to and from Gibraltar and the island of Malta.

An act for permitting Prussian yarn to be imported in foreign ships, on payment of the like duties as if imported in British ships.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the duties of excise in England.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the stamp duties in England.

An act for continuing the encouragement of persons making discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto; and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty on the amount of the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes therein mentioned.

An act to confirm an agreement entered into between the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the most noble Augustus Henry duke of Grafton, in pursuance of an act of the forty-third year of his present majesty.

An act to provide for the more effectual examination of accounts of the expenditure of the public money in the West Indies, and for the better discovery of frauds and abuses therein.

July 12.

An act for better encouraging the manufacture of thread lace in Great Britain.

An act for abolishing fees received by certain officers and other persons employed in the service of the customs, in the port of London; and for regulating the attendance of officers and others so employed.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the post office in England.

An act to grant certain allowances out of the duties, under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, to persons in respect to the number of their children.

An act for reviving and continuing until the 25th day of March 1813, an act made in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for regulating the manner in which the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies shall hire and take up ships for their regular service.

An act for enabling his majesty to grant the castle of Norwich, with the common gaol, Castle Hill, and certain land adjacent thereto, in the county of Norfolk, and for vesting the same in his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, for the use thereof; and for other purposes relating thereto.

An act more effectually to regulate the collection of the duties on goods, wares, and merchandize imported or exported into or from Ireland; and the payment of bounties, allowances, and drawbacks thereon.

An act to provide for the regulating and securing the collection of the duties on spirits distilled in Ireland and the warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

July 16.

An act for consolidating and rendering

dering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings, and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster hall, and the two houses of parliament.

An act to enable his majesty annually to train and exercise a proportion of his subjects in England, under certain regulations, and more effectually to provide for the defence of the realm.

An act for the return of correct lists of persons liable to serve in the militia, under an act passed in the 42nd year of his present majesty; and to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years.

An act to amend three acts, made in the 35th, 41st, and 42nd years of his present majesty, relating to the conveyance of letters and packets by the post.

An act to enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

An act to enable the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer of Ireland, to contract for the purchase of the duties of prisage and butlerage in Ireland.

An act for the more effectually regulating and providing for the relief of the poor, and the management of infirmaries, and hospitals in Ireland.

An act to amend the laws respecting the accounting for money presented in Ireland for the making, repairing, widening, or fencing of public roads, and the building and repairing of bridges, pipes, or gulleys.

An act to permit the free interchange of every species of grain, between Great Britain and Ireland.

An act for making additional and further provisions for the effectual performance of quarantine in Great Britain.

An act for allowing a bounty on the exportation of oil of vitriol made in Great Britain.

An act to empower the commissioners and governors of the royal hospital for seamen at Greenwich, in the county of Kent, to make certain allowances to old, infirm, or wounded or disabled officers in the royal navy, and to provide a fund for the payment of such allowances, and for the increase of pensions to disabled seamen and marines.

An act for improving the funds of the chest at Greenwich, and amending an act passed in the 43rd year of his present majesty, relating to the said chest.

An act for repealing the duties of excise on stills used for distilling or rectifying low wines or spirits for consumption in Scotland; on worts or wash made for extracting spirits; and on spirits made for consumption in Scotland; and for granting and securing other duties in lieu thereof; and for better securing the duties on foreign spirits and on malt.

An act for allowing, until the 1st day of August 1807, the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, and for granting a bounty thereon.

An act for continuing, until the 1st day of August 1807, an act of the last session of parliament, for allowing, under certain restrictions, the bringing a limited quantity of coals, culm, or cinders to London and

and Westminster, by inland navigation.

An act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Portsmouth; and for extending the lines and works at Dover.

An act to provide for the better execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes in Ireland.

An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed by an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, an act for appointing commissioners for putting into execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1805; and an act made in the 38th year of his present majesty, for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1798; and for appointing other commissioners, together with those named in the first mentioned act, to put into execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present majesty; and for indemnifying such persons

as have acted as commissioners for executing the said acts.

July 21.

An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors.

An act for reducing the bounty payable on the exportation of refined sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing the like bounty on the exportation of sugar candy, as is payable on refined sugar.

An act for granting during the continuance of the present war, and until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an additional bounty on the exportation of the silk manufactures of Great Britain.

An act for authorizing his majesty in council to allow, during the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships, into and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America.

An act to amend the laws of excise, so far as relates to prosecutions for penalties, to the counterfeiting the stamps on the wrappers of paper, and to the punishing persons guilty of perjury.

An act to permit, for and during the continuance of the present war, French wines to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

An act to amend an act passed in the last session of parliament, for increasing the drawback on linens exported from Great Britain to the West Indies.

An act to permit raisins, currants,

and figs to be exported from Great Britain, duty free.

An act to allow certain articles to be exported from Gibraltar and Malta direct to his majesty's colonies in North America, in return for British American fish.

An act to permit until the 1st day of January 1809, the importation of masts, yards, and bowsprits, or of timber fit for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America duty-free.

An act to extend the time for purchasing the legal quays and warehouses in the port of London, and for authorising the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to purchase Somers and Lyons Quays in the said port.

An act to prohibit for two years after the conclusion of the present session of parliament, any ships to clear out from any port of Great Britain, for the coast of Africa, for the purpose of taking on board Negroes, unless such ships shall have been previously employed in the African trade, or contracted for, for that purpose.

An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland, until the 5th day of July 1807; and several acts for granting duties upon malt and spirits made and distilled in Ireland, and for the better collection and security of the revenues of customs and excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein, until the 29th day of Sept. 1807; and to amend several of the said acts.

An act to repeal so much of an act, made in the 1st year of king James the second, as prohibits the

importation of gunpowder, arms, and utensils of war, from Ireland.

An act to revive and amend an act made in the parliament of Ireland, for enabling the lord lieutenant to appoint commissioners for enquiring into the several funds and revenues granted for the purposes of education, and into the state and conditions of all schools in Ireland.

An act to amend several acts for the sale of his majesty's quit rents, crown, and other rents, and of certain lands forfeited and undisposed of in Ireland.

An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of volunteers from the militia of Ireland, under certain restrictions.

An act for regulating the rank of officers in yeomanry and volunteer corps.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act to amend and extend the benefits of an act made in the 35th year of his present majesty to enable petty officers, seamen, and marines, serving in his majesty's navy, to allot part of their wages or pay for the maintenance of their wives and families.

An act for making provision for such masters in ordinary of the high court of chancery as from age or infirmity shall be desirous of resigning their offices with the approbation of the said court; and for augmenting the income of the masters in ordinary of the said court.

An act to provide additional salaries to the present clerks in the office of the accountant general of the high court of chancery, and to provide additional clerks for the said office, with salaries; and to make other

other payments in respect to the said office.

An act for making compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, and for the use of his majesty's ordnance at Warley Common and Woolwich, in pursuance of an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty.

An act for exonerating the estates of Percival Lewis esq. and Marianne Lewis, spinster, in the parish of Putney in the county of Surrey, from the claims of his majesty against the estate of Edward Lewis, esq. deceased.

An act for erecting a light house on the Bell or Cape rock, on the eastern coast of Scotland, and for enabling the commissioners of the treasury to advance a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, towards that purpose.

July 22.

An act to amend an act passed in the 42d year of his present majesty, for consolidating the several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land tax, and to make further provision for exonerating small livings and charitable institutions from the land tax.

An act to provide for the security and expedition of the conveyance of letters by the post in Ireland.

An act to amend the laws relating to bankrupts.

An act to alter and amend two acts, made in the 28th and 30th years of his present majesty, for limiting the number of persons to be carried on the outside of stage

coaches, or other carriages, and regulating the conduct of the drivers and guards thereof.

An act to extend the provisions of an act made in the 43d year of his present majesty, for permitting certain articles to be warehoused in Great Britain, or other articles not therein mentioned, and to alter the condition of the bond directed to be given by an act of the 24th year of his present majesty, by the masters and owners of vessels and boats licensed by the lords of the admiralty.

An act to repeal part of the excise countervailing duty on Irish hops imported; for granting an excise countervailing duty on the importation of Irish window glass; and to exempt tiles made for the purpose of draining lands from the duties of excise.

An act for altering and amending several laws relating to the duties of excise upon malt, until the 25th day of March 1807.

An act to amend two acts, passed in the 42d year of his present majesty, relating to the militia of England and Scotland respectively as to the pay of the officers and men of the said militia.

An act for making more effectual provision for the more speedy and regular examination and audit of the public accounts of this kingdom.

An act for the better regulation of the office of surveyor general of woods and forests.

An act for enquiring into the state of Windsor forest in the county of Berks, and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said forest, and of the lands of the crown within the same.

An act to repeal an act passed in the

the forty-fourth year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, 'An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting his majesty's regular forces, and for the gradual reduction of the militia of England, so far as the same relates to the city of London.'

An act for enabling his majesty to settle annuities on certain branches of the royal family.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on the earl Nelson, and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of earl Nelson may descend; and for granting a sum of money to purchase an estate to accompany the said title; and also, for granting a sum of money for the use of the sisters of the late vice-admiral viscount Nelson; in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by the said late viscount Nelson, to his majesty and the public.

An act to enable his majesty to continue a certain annuity to George, now lord Rodney, grandson of George Brydges lord Rodney, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to his majesty and the public, by the said George Brydges lord Rodney.

An act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, for the year 1806; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

July 23.

An act for the better regulation of the office of receiver-general of the duties of customs in Great Britain.

An act to enable his majesty to grant new leases on former rents, for the benefit of charitable institutions, or augmentation of ecclesiastical corporations.

An act to stay, until forty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament, proceedings in actions, prosecutions, or informations, under an act made in the second year of king James the first, intituled, "An act concerning tanners, curriers, shoemakers, and other artificers, occupying the cutting of leather," so far as relates to the buying of oak bark and rough hides, and calves skins in the hair.

An act for the preservation of the public harbours of the United Kingdom.

An act for taking down the present building in which the treasury chambers, and offices of the court of exchequer in Scotland were situated, and erecting new buildings in lieu thereof.

An act for applying certain balances arising from the forfeited estates in Scotland, towards making canals, harbours, and other public works there.

An act for appropriating certain balances arising from the forfeited estates in Scotland, to the use of the British fisheries, and the erecting a lunatic asylum at Edinburgh, and the payment of the officers of the late board of annexed estates in Scotland.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution the purposes of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of his present majesty,

majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houstoun and Company, to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with, and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, James Mac Dowall, and Robert Houstoun Rae, in the West Indies and elsewhere, except in Scotland.

An act for more effectually car-

rying into execution the purposes of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houstoun and Company, to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, James Mac Dowall, and Robert Houstoun Rae, esquires, in Scotland.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the Meeting of the Fourth Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Twentieth, on the 21st Day of January, (47th of the King,) 1806.

My lords and gentlemen,

IN pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission, under the great seal, amongst other things to declare the cause of his holding this parliament, his majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless his majesty's arms at sea since you were last assembled in parliament.

The activity and perseverance of his majesty's fleets have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy, and every encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleet of France and Spain, off cape Trafalgar, has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprize

of his majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his majesty's dominions.

His majesty most deeply regrets that the day of that memorable triumph should have been unhappily clouded with the fall of the heroic commander under whom it was achieved, and he is persuaded that you will feel that this lamented but glorious termination of a series of transcendent exploits claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of his country; and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his majesty to annex to those honours, which he has conferred on the family of the late lord viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence as may preserve to the latest posterity the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example.

His majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that whilst the superiority of his arms at sea has been thus uniformly asserted and maintained, he has not been wanting in his endeavours to apply the means which were so liberally placed at his disposal, in aid of such of the pow-

ars of the continent as had evinced a determination to resist the formidable and growing encroachments of France. He has directed the several treaties to be laid before you; and though he cannot but deeply lament that the events of the war in Germany have disappointed his hopes, and led to an unfavourable issue, yet his majesty feels confident that, upon a review of the steps which he has taken, you will be of opinion that he has left nothing undone on his part to sustain the efforts of his allies, and that he has acted in strict conformity to the principles declared by him and recognised by parliament as essential to the interests and security of his own dominions, as well as to the general safety of the continent.

It is a great consolation to his majesty, and one in which he is persuaded you will participate, that although the emperor of Germany has felt himself compelled to withdraw from the contest, his majesty continues to receive from his august ally, the emperor of Russia, the strongest assurances of unshaken adherence to that generous and enlightened policy by which he has hitherto been actuated; and his majesty has no doubt that you will be fully sensible of the important advantage to be derived from preserving, at all times, the closest and most intimate connection with that sovereign.

Gentlemen of the house of commons.

His majesty has directed the estimates for the year to be laid before you, and he has commanded us to inform you that they are formed upon that scale of exertion which the present situation of the country renders indispensable. His majesty

fully relies upon your granting him such supplies as, upon due deliberation, the public exigencies may appear to require.

It is his earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people; and with this view he has directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the proceeds arising from the sale of such prizes made on the powers with which he is at war, as are by law vested in the crown, to be applied to the public service of the year.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty is fully persuaded, that, whatever pride and confidence you may feel in common with him in the success which has distinguished the British arms in the course of the present contest, you will be sensible how much the events of the war on the continent, by which the predominant power and influence of France have been so unhappily extended, require the continuance of all possible vigilance and exertion.

Under this impression, his majesty trusts that your attention will be invariably directed to the improvement of those means which are to be found in the bravery and discipline of his forces, in the zeal and loyalty of every class of his subjects, and in the unexhausted resources of his dominions, for rendering the British empire invincible at home as well as formidable abroad; satisfied, that by such efforts alone the contest can be brought to a conclusion, consistent with the safety and independence of the country, and with its rank amongst the nations of the world.

Treaties,

Treaties, &c. presented by His Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 3, 1806.

Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April, 1805.

ART. I.—As the state of suffering in which Europe is placed, demands speedy remedy—Their majesties the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for farther encroachments on the part of the French government. They have agreed, in consequence, to employ the most speedy and the most efficacious means to form a general League of the states of Europe, and to engage them to accede to the present concert; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, may amount to five hundred thousand effective men; and to employ the same energy, in order either to induce or compel the French government to agree to the re-establishment of peace, and the equilibrium of Europe.

ART. II.—The object of this league will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely:

a. The evacuation of the country of Hanover, and the north of Germany.

b. The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.

c. The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as

large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit.

d. The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.

e. The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

ART. III.—His Britannic majesty, in order to concur efficaciously on his side to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be determined upon in the general plan of operations. His majesty will moreover assist the different powers who shall accede thereto by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers in proportion to the exertions they may make, to contribute to the common success, it is agreed, that these subsidies, (barring particular arrangements) shall be furnished in the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, for each hundred thousand men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereafter specified.

ART. IV.—The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each power shall employ

employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled, so as to suit the convenience of each of the belligerent parties. His Britannic majesty will likewise be prepared to advance within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by particular arrangements to be entered into by each power, who shall take part in this concert: but his said majesty understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any power within the current year, as well on account of the said advance as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling for every hundred thousand men.

ART. V. The high contracting parties agree, that the different members of the league shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the commanders in chief of the different armies, to carry on the correspondence, and to attend to the military operations.

ART. VI.—Their majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the first article, they will not make peace with France but by the common consent of all the powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the continental powers shall not recal their forces before the peace; moreover, his

Britannic majesty engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.

ART. VII.—The present concert which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg, within the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have hereunto affixed the seals of their arms. Done at St. Petersburg, 30th March—(11th April,) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No 1. (A.)—*First Separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—30th March, 1805.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having made known to his Britannic majesty, his arrangements with their majesties the emperor of Germany and the king of Sweden. His Britannic majesty engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present treaty of concert towards each of those powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present instrument, both those powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France by virtue of the engagements they have taken with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

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This

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg this 11th April (30th March,) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No 1. (B.)—*Fourth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April—30th March, 1805.*

The collecting of 500,000 effective men, mentioned in article 1. of the treaty of concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an effective force of 400,000 men, composed in the following manner:—Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 115,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albania, in Greece, &c. and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article and have affixed thereto the

the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, this 11th April, (30th March) in the year 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (C.)—*Fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, 11th April, (30th of March), 1805.*

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, engages also to march as soon as possible an army of not less than 60,000 men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than 80,000 men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts in the proportion established by the treaty of concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the one hundred and fifteen thousand men, which his Imperial majesty of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.

It is moreover agreed, that, as the forces promised by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, his Britannic majesty will pay them the subsidies at the rate established by the present treaty of concert, until the return of the said forces to their houses; and moreover, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *première mise en campagne*.

The

The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies and of the *premiere mise en campagne*, stipulated in the present article, before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands to commence their operations against the French.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert, signed this day, and ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. — Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (D.)—*Sixth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.*

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being disposed to form an energetic concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations, by which they are constantly guided; are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding at this time upon several principles, which they will evince in pursuance of a previous concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.

These principles are in no degree to control the public opinion in France, or in any other countries where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and territories which may be wrested from the common enemy, in the name of the country or states to which, by acknowledged right, they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and finally to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure the observance by the establishment of a federative system calculated upon the situation of the different states of Europe.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1 (E.)—*Eighth separate Article.*

It being possible that the bias which the French government tries

to give to the counsels of the different states of Europe, may determine one or other of those states to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the object of the present concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, his Britannic majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias agree to make common cause against every power, which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the development of those measures, which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present concert.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, (30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (F) Eleventh separate Article.

The high contracting parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Buonaparte by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite his imperial and royal apostolic majesty to put

his armies in a state of readiness for action without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France.—His Britannic majesty, considering the extraordinary expences which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to his imperial royal majesty, immediately after his accession to the present concert, the sum of one million of pounds sterling for *premiere mise en campagne*, which the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, 11th April, (30th March), 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (G.) Separate and secret Article.

Although the high contracting parties have agreed by the first separate article of the treaty of concert established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall partake of the advantages of the said concert, but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France four months after its signature,

ture, by virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; yet his Britannic majesty, considering the advantage to the future security of Europe, which results from an union similar to that formed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias with their majesties the emperor of Germany and king of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further encroachments of Buonaparte, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

This separate and secret article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate and secret article, and have affixed thereunto the seals of our arms.—

Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th April—(30th March,) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (H.)—Additional Article.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprize concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he promised to bring into action, to an hundred and eighty thousand men.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland promises and engages to pay, in that case, to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to the 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *premiere mise en campagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the sixth separate article of the treaty of concert established between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the 30th March—(11th April,) 1805.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 10th May—(28th April,) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

(L. S.) Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (I.)—Additional Article of the Treaty of Concert, signed at St. Petersburg, the 11th April, 1805.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the object of these movements is to obtain securities for the continent, promises and engages to his Britannic majesty, in his own name, and in that of his allies, that should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected

connected with an existing concert, with his Britannic majesty, but that the powers of the continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet so soon as the war shall have broken out they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the concert of the 30th March—11th April, with all the clauses incorporated with it.

In return for this assurance, his Britannic majesty promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the emperor of all the Russias the stipulations of the above mentioned concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out, between Russia and France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the day on which they shall have quitted the frontiers of the empire; and moreover, the three months stipulated subsidy, under the name of *première mise en campagne*; with this condition, nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, his Britannic majesty shall not be bound to pay to Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *première mise en campagne* being therein comprised.

In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the above-mentioned concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of his imperial and royal majesty shall have signed the act of accession of his court: and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the

like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprize (except in the case of special arrangements), the subsidies which have been allotted for them by the abovementioned concert, and on the conditions therein specified.

This additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the above-mentioned concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburg, the 12th—24th July, 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

(L. S.) Adam prince Czartoryski.

No. II. (A.)—*Preliminary Declaration of Count Stadion to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, dated at St. Petersburg, July 28—Aug. 9, 1805.*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolical majesty, by order of his august sovereign, after having invited his excellency, the ambassador of Great Britain, to join with him in the preliminary declarations which he has exchanged this day with his excellency the prince of Czartoryski, has moreover declared as follows:—

His imperial and royal apostolic majesty, in acceding to the treaty concluded on the 30th March 13th April, 1805, and subsequently ratified by the courts of London and St. Petersburg, under the reservations, modifications, and demands, as an-

nounced in the above-mentioned preliminary declarations, limits the pecuniary succours, which he expects from his majesty the king of Great Britain for the current year 1805, to the three millions sterling, of which sum one million and a half is to be considered as *premiere mise en campagne*, and as such is to be furnished with as little delay as possible; and the other million and a half as subsidies, to be paid in equal monthly payments, until the last day of the year. These subsidies, as well as one million of the sum appointed for *premiere-mise en campagne*, are to be furnished to his imperial majesty, and shall remain in his possession, even though the vigorous demonstrations in which his forces are actually employed should not terminate in hostilities, but should lead by the way of negociation to the re-establishment of peace. Moreover, as these armed demonstrations afford the greatest and most efficacious aid for the promotion of the object of the concert, to which his imperial and royal apostolic majesty has acceded, he expects that, as long as they shall continue, the subsidy shall likewise continue to be paid, in the same manner as if his armies were employed in actual war; and that for the year 1806, and the subsequent years, in consideration of the great number of troops which he is opposing to the common enemy, the subsidy shall be increased to the sum of four millions sterling, payable in the same manner as is stated above, until the return of the regiments into the hereditary dominions.

His excellency the ambassador of Great Britain, having declared that the instructions and precise orders

of his court, precluded him from acceding, without restriction, to the above-mentioned demands, and having engaged, by a preliminary act, exchanged against the present, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to stipulations which differ from them considerably, as well with regard to the sum, as to the terms of the propositions made in the name of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty.

The undersigned accepts this act, given in by the ambassador of England, but he declares at the same time, that he does not consider the sums stipulated therein as sufficient, and that he expressly reserves for his court the power of reclaiming to this effect, and of effecting the fulfilment of its demands.

In transmitting the preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, to his excellency the ambassador of his majesty the king of Great Britain, he is authorized to declare to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately, on these same bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of Austria, to the concert of the 30th March—(11th April).

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in as short a time as is possible.

In faith of which the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th of July (9th August), 1805.
(L.S.) J. Philippe, Comte de Stadion.

No. II. (B.) *Declaration of Count Stadion to Prince Czartoryski, dated Petersburg, 28th July—9th August, 1805.*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, being especially authorized by the emperor, his august master, declares, in answer to the declaration which has been delivered to him by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, of this day's date, as follows :

1. His imperial and royal majesty in accepting the different articles announced in this declaration, accedes to the concert concluded between the courts of St. Petersburg and London, the 30th of March—11th of April, of this year, as well as to the last plan, which the Russian ministry has caused to be presented at Vienna. His majesty promises to fulfil the engagements thereof, with the exception of the modifications, clauses, and demands, included in the different official pieces to which his imperial majesty of Russia has given his consent in the preliminary declaration, which will be taken as the basis of the concert of measures which Austria and Russia are to employ for the attainment of their object.

2. His imperial and royal majesty engages to execute, without delay, the military arrangements agreed upon at Vienna, the 16th of July, as well for the armed demonstration, which is to facilitate the negotiation, as for the operations against the enemy, which may ensue; in the confidence and certain expectation that the present preliminary agreement shall be unexceptionably and literally fulfilled, and that the definitive agreement shall be concluded without delay, and on the same basis between the three powers.

3. His imperial and royal majesty engages, as soon as the whole, or a part of the Russian troops, shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on the basis which his majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and if hostilities shall take place, to make neither a peace nor truce, but with the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th of March—11th of April, of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, to his excellency the prince Czartoryski, is authorized to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March—11th April.

The present declaration, and that delivered to the undersigned by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the least possible time, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg.

In faith of which the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed thereto the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency prince Czartoryski, joint minister for foreign affairs of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 9th August,—28th July, 1805.
(L.S.) J. Phillippe, comtede Stadion.
No. II.

No. II. (C.)—*Copy of the Declaration delivered by Prince Czartoryski to the Ambassador Count de Stadion, on the 28th of July,—9th of August, 1805.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs, being authorized to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares to his excellency the ambassador count de Stadion, as follows :

1. The several observations and proposals announced by the court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice-chancellor of the court and state, count de Cobentzel, to the ambassador count de Razoumofsky, on the 7th of July, are assumed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the court of Russia and those of Vienna and of London. In like manner, the modifications proposed therein by his imperial and royal majesty, for the regulation of the affairs of the continent, are also adopted, in case of there being reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negotiation.

2. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias confirms the military arrangements detailed in the protocol of conferences between the general baron de Wintzingerode on one side, and the prince de Schwaryenberg, and general Mack on the other, and which was signed on the 16th of July. And his imperial majesty engages strictly to fulfil the whole of the measures therein arranged.

3. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages moreover, to endeavour to prevail on his Britannic majesty to consent to the modifi-

cations and demands contained in the paper, entitled, "Remarks on some particular Objects of the Convention signed between the Courts of Petersburg and London, the 30th March—11th April of this year."

4. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, promises to use his best endeavours to engage his Britannic majesty to grant the total amount of the subsidiary demands made by the court of Vienna: with this condition, nevertheless, that in case his imperial majesty, notwithstanding all his exertions, should fail in the attempt, this circumstance shall occasion no essential change in the measures concerted between Russia and Austria.

5. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages, as soon as the whole, or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on those bases which his imperial majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and when the war shall have broken out, to make neither peace nor a truce, without the consent of his allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March—11th April of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn act, to the ambassador of Austria, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March—(11th April.)

The present declaration, and that deli-

delivered in return by the ambassador count de Stadion, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the shortest possible term, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg.

In faith of which the undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused the seal of his arms to be affixed thereto, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the count de Stadion.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th

July—(9th August, 1805.)

Signed (L. S.) Le Prince Adam de Czartoryski.

No. II. (D).—*Declaration of Prince Czartoryski to Lord G. L. Gower, dated at St. Petersburg, 28th July,—(9th August, 1805.)*

The undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs, being authorized to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares to his excellency the ambassador, lord Granville Leveson Gower, as follows :

1. The undersigned has this day exchanged with his excellency the ambassador of Austria, the declarations, of which copies are hereto annexed.

2. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias expects that the ambassador of England will agree, in the name of his court, without reserve, to their contents ; and that if he does not consider himself sufficiently authorized thereto, he will express, in a formal declaration, the several points to which he can immediately consent.

3. The undersigned is authorized to exchange this declaration against

that which shall be delivered to him by his excellency Lord Granville Leveson Gower.

The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador of England, which are to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg in the shortest possible term.

In faith of which the undersigned joint minister for foreign affairs, has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed to it the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the ambassador of England.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 28th of July, 1805.

(L. S.) Adam Prince Czartoryski.

No. II. (E).—*Declaration, signed by his Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and delivered to Prince Czartoryski, and to Count de Stadion, 9th August, 1805.*

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, having been invited by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, joint minister for foreign affairs, and the count de Stadion, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial royal and apostolic majesty, to accede to the declarations reciprocally exchanged between the two imperial courts on this day, the 9th of August, in virtue of his full powers, declares as follows :

The several observations and proposals expressed by the court of Vienna in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice-chancellor of

of the court and state, the count de Cobenzel, to the ambassador count Razoumofski, on the 7th of July, and in the *Memoire Raisonné* of the 21st of July, are assumed by his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the three courts of London, Vienna, and Petersburg, and the modifications proposed therein, for the regulation of the affairs of the continent, are in like manner adopted, in case there should be reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negotiation.

The British ambassador, while he declares that his positive instructions preclude him from acceding to the pecuniary demands of the court of Vienna, engages, in the name of his sovereign, that the monthly subsidies agreed to by the concert of the 30th March (11th April), shall be payable from the 1st of October, 1805. He engages, likewise, to advance, with the least possible delay, the equivalent of five months subsidies, under the head of *première mise en campagne*, with this express condition, that his Britannic majesty may reclaim whatever payments shall have been made in favour of his imperial and royal majesty, beyond the million stipulated by the eleventh additional article of the above-mentioned treaty, whether as *première mise en campagne*, or as current subsidy, in case that the negotiations, which are about to be set on foot with the French government do not terminate in war.

He declares, moreover, that if the said negotiations shall not be brought to a conclusion before the 31st day of December, 1805, the expiration of the first three months shall be the term of the payments

which are to be continued monthly, until the commencement of hostilities.

His imperial and royal majesty having engaged to embody an armed force of not less than 320,000 men, the undersigned consents, that the advances to be made, under the head of *première mise en campagne*, shall be paid according to this calculation, with this condition, nevertheless, that if, contrary to all expectation, the Austrian armies do not amount to the force above specified, his Britannic majesty may deduct from this payment a sum proportionate to the numbers that are wanting.

The British ambassador cannot consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper, entitled, "Remarks on some particular objects of the Convention, signed between the Courts of Petersburg and of London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year; as he has hitherto received no instructions from his court, which authorize him to accede to such demands.

The British ambassador accepts the accession of his majesty the emperor and king, under the conditions specified in the preliminary declarations exchanged this day between the plenipotentiaries of their imperial and royal majesties, with this formal reservation, that this acceptance shall not be considered as valid, nor the above-mentioned engagements obligatory, unless the court of Vienna shall on their side conform themselves to the whole of the stipulations of the said act.

The undersigned, in delivering to his excellency prince Czartoryski, and count de Stadion, the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, is
autho-

authorized to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March, (11th April.)

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts, in the shortest possible term.

In witness whereof the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Britannic majesty, has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 28th

July (9th August) 1805.

(L. S.) Granville Leveson Gower.

No. III.—Preliminary and Secret Convention between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, 3d. of Dec. 1801.

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, being animated with a mutual desire to strengthen and draw closer the ties of friendship and harmony which so happily exist between the two courts, having thought proper, with this view, to regulate by a preliminary and secret convention, certain points of their mutual interests, relative to the present situation of affairs; their said majesties have named for that purpose, his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the sieur Henry Pierrepont, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary; and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Frederic d'Ehrenheim, president of his chancery, and commander of his order of the polar

star, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I. His Britannic majesty, in order to enable his Swedish majesty more effectually to provide for the defence of Stralsund, against any attack whatever on the part of the French, engages to pay, once for all, the sum of 60,000*l.* sterling, which is to be appropriated solely to that purpose: this sum shall be remitted in three payments, at the interval of a month between each, the first of which is to become due upon the ratifications of this convention being exchanged.

II. His majesty the king of Sweden engages, so long as the war between Sweden and France continues, or during the space of eighteen months, for the least, to permit the establishment of a *dépôt* in Swedish Pomerania, either at Stralsund, or in the island of Rugen, or in both those places, for the corps of Hanoverians which his Britannic majesty shall be desirous of raising there.

III. The officers appointed to raise the said levies, shall be allowed to clothe, arm, and victual them; to form them into battalions, and to remove them out of Swedish Pomerania, into such places, and in such proportions, as his Britannic majesty shall judge proper.

IV. The stipulations of the two preceding articles, being founded on the principle that Sweden is actually declared a belligerent party, it is understood the said Articles II, and III, are to be suspended in their operation, until his Swedish majesty shall find himself, by the return of the open season, in a situation to send additional reinforcements

ments into Pomerania, insomuch that no measure relative to these dispositions, can be adopted before that time.

V. His majesty the king of Sweden engages moreover to grant to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, during the continuance of the war between Great Britain and France, the right of an *entrepot* at Stralsund, for all the articles of the growth, produce, and merchandize, as well of Great Britain as of her colonies, shipped in British or Swedish vessels. All such articles intended for re-exportation, whether by sea or land, shall only pay a duty of three quarters *per cent*, *ad valorem*; and those for consumption such duties only as are actually established at the port of Stralsund, with respect to the most favoured nations. A more detailed arrangement of this branch of commerce, as likewise of other points, whereby the commercial interests of the two nations might be more closely connected, is to be reserved for a particular act.

VI. His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, mutually engage to ratify the present act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of its signature.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of our respective sovereigns, have signed the present convention, and thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm, this 3d of December, 1804.

(was signed)

(L. S.) Henry Pierrepont.

(L. S.) F. D'Ehrenheim.

No. IV.—*Convention between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Helsingborg, the 31st of August, 1805.*

ART. I. The preliminary and secret convention, concluded between the two sovereigns on the 3d of December, 1804, is renewed, and shall continue in full force and validity, during the period hereinafter specified in Art. VII.

II. His majesty the king of Great Britain, conceiving that the object stated in the preamble, cannot be more completely attained with respect to Swedish Pomerania, than by maintaining the fortress of Stralsund in a respectable state of defence, in order to preserve a rallying point and place of retreat for the forces of the allied powers, and especially for the troops of the emperor of all the Russias, in case his imperial majesty should be desirous of landing his forces at that place, in order to co-operate in the general plan, engages to pay monthly, the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, for every thousand of regular troops with which his Swedish majesty shall reinforce the usual garrison of the city of Stralsund.

III. A garrison of eight thousand men in the whole, being deemed sufficient for the defence of this place, and the usual garrison, including the burgher militia, amounting to upwards of four thousand; it is understood that the reinforcement spoken of in the preceding article, shall not exceed four thousand men of regular troops, so that the subsidies to be furnished by his majesty the king of Great Britain, will amount to the sum of seven thousand two hundred pounds per month.

IV. The payment of the above-men-

mentioned subsidies shall be made before the end of every month, and shall be computed from the 1st day of July last, for the Swedish troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, actually in Stralsund, and for the reinforcements which may arrive there, from the day of their landing.

V. The two high contracting parties not having been able to agree upon the expences of transport, his majesty the king of Sweden, desirous of affording a convincing proof of his wish to contribute to the success of the common cause, engages to be at the sole charge of conveying to Pomerania, the troops which are to be sent there, in pursuance of the present convention, and not to require any thing for their return.

VI. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having signified his desire to land a part of his troops in Pomerania, his Swedish majesty engages, in consequence of the present convention, to afford every facility in his power to such debarkation, and moreover to enter into particular stipulations with his imperial majesty on that head.

VII. As the conditions of the obligations contained in the Articles II. and III. of the preliminary and secret convention, limit the enjoyment of the privileges therein granted to the king of Great Britain, to the duration of the war between Sweden and France, or to the period of eighteen months for the least; and his Britannic majesty not having availed himself of the stipulations of the above-mentioned two articles, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to extend them as long as the subsidies fixed by the present convention, shall be discharged by Great Britain, and

whilst that power shall continue the war against France, in conjunction with Russia.

VIII. The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged at Stockholm, within six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Helsingborg, the 31st of August, 1805.

(Signed) (L. S.) Henry Pierrepont.
(L. S.) J. C. Baron de Toll.

No. VI. (A.)—*Act of guarantee by the Emperor of Russia, of the Convention, signed at Helsingborg, on the 3d of Dec. 1804.*

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December, 1804; the two high contracting parties have amicably requested his imperial majesty to consent to guarantee the execution of so desirable an object. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias has accordingly willingly agreed to a measure, which tends solely to so salutary an end; and having thereunto furnished us with his full powers, we, the undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty, declare and assure by this present act,

In virtue of our full powers, that his majesty the emperor of all the Russias guarantees the convention which has been signed this day, between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, in all its extent, as well as the two separate articles which are annexed to it, and which form part of the same, as of all the other conditions, clauses, and stipulations, which are contained therein, in the best possible form; and that his imperial majesty will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the particular ratifications of this act of guarantee.

In faith of which we have signed the present act, and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptance; as shall be likewise exchanged the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said acts of acceptance, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

Done at Helsingborg this 31st day of August, 1805.

(L. S.) D. Alopeus.

No. IV. (B).—*This is simply the acceptance by his majesty of the Russian Guarantee to the Treaty of Helsingborg, of 31st August, 1805.*

No. IV. (C).—*First Separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed 31st of August, 1805.*

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, having agreed by the present separate and additional article, that the subsidies fixed by

the 2d and 3d articles of the convention signed this day, shall continue to be paid by Great Britain, during the continuance of the war between that power and France, conjointly with Russia, or as long as the state of affairs, and the operations of the allies, shall require that the fortress of Stralsund be kept in a respectable state of defence, unless the two high contracting parties shall mutually consent to the cessation of such subsidies. In both cases, if the term of their payment should happen when the sea is not navigable, his Britannic majesty engages, nevertheless, to continue their payment, according to the same rate as heretofore, till the day of the return of the Swedish troops into Pomerania, which shall take place by the earliest opportunity.

No. IV. (D).—*Second Separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed the 31st of August, 1805.*

The Hanoverian troops, which, in pursuance of the stipulations of the 2d and 3d articles of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December, 1804, renewed by the 7th article of the present convention, may be hereafter assembled in Swedish Pomerania, shall continue, as long as they remain in that province, under the supreme orders of the commander-in-chief of the united forces, without any violation of the rights established in the three above-mentioned articles.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which we the under-
signed,

signed, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Helsingborg, this 31st day of August, 1805.

(Signed) (L. S.) Henry Pierrepont.
(L. S.) T. E. Baron de Toll.

No. V.—*Treaty between his Majesty and the king of Sweden, signed at Beckascog, 3d Oct. 1805.*

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity !

ART. I. There shall be a perfect understanding, friendship, and alliance, between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the king of Sweden.

II. The convention concluded between their said majesties on the 31st of August last, is hereby renewed, and shall remain in full force and validity, independent of the new stipulations contained in the present treaty.

III. His majesty the king of Sweden, desirous of co-operating with effect towards the success of the general plan, engages to furnish a corps of troops destined to act against the common enemy, in concert with the allies, and especially with the troops of his imperial majesty of all the Russias which shall be landed in Pomerania. The number of Swedish troops employed for this purpose, shall be fixed in every case at 12,000 men.

IV. His Britannic majesty, in order to facilitate to his Swedish majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and interest by which he is animated for the common

cause, engages to furnish him an annual subsidy, at the rate of twelve pounds ten shillings sterling for every man, which subsidy shall be paid in equal proportions at the end of each month.

V. His Britannic majesty moreover engages, as a compensation for the expences of assembling, equipping, and conveying the said troops, to furnish, under the head of putting them in motion, a sum equal to five months subsidy, to be calculated according to the scale laid down in the preceding article, and payable immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

VI. The two high contracting parties engage not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude peace with the common enemy, but by mutual consent ; but, on the contrary, to remain firmly and inseparably united, as long as the war lasts, and until the conclusion of a general pacification.

VII. In pursuance of the engagements agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, by virtue of the preceding article, not to lay down their arms but by common consent, his Britannic majesty engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until the end of the war.

VIII. His Britannic majesty, in order as well to cover the expences of the Swedish army, as of all other objects connected therewith, engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until three months after the peace.

IX. His Britannic majesty, impressed with the importance of putting the fortress of Stralsund in the best possible state of defence, engages to place, immediately after the exchange

exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, at the disposal of his Swedish majesty, the additional sum of 50,000*l.* sterling for that purpose.

X. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.

Done at Beckascog, the 3d of October, 1805.

(Was Signed) (L. S.) H. Pierrepont.

(L. S.) T. E. Baron de Toll.

Supplementary Papers relative to Treaties, &c. Presented by His Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament.

[This collection of diplomatic papers fills seventy-six folio pages. The greater part of them would be but little interesting to our readers, after the perusal of the treaties, to which they chiefly refer, but there are some passages well worthy of selection for the light they throw upon several political and military transactions of the last summer and autumn.]

The following extract furnishes a new instance of the fatal mismanagement of general Mack.

In consequence of this movement (whether by choice or by necessity I know not) general Mack divided his army, and general Jellachich was detached with, I believe, 15 or 16 battalions towards the Tyrol. Orders

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were sent at this time to the garrison at Memminghen, which consisted of 11 battalions, to evacuate that place, and join the above corps under general Jellachich. Whether the order arrived too late, or whether it was ill delivered, I am unable to decide; but the garrison capitulated to the French under general Davoust, after the town had been nearly reduced to ashes. It is to be observed, that the artillery destined for the fortifications of that place was still without the town. Upon this occasion, a great number of Bavarian peasants who had joined the French, and who were taking possession of the above artillery, were cut to pieces by the Austrian hussars, who carried the whole or the greatest part of it off.

I am sorry to say, that a general consternation or dismay is beginning to prevail here, at least in the public. The presence of the emperor of Russia, who is expected here on the 5th of next month, may perhaps tend to dispel the gloom, particularly should affairs take rather a more favourable turn in the interval. If in truth they bear an inauspicious aspect, they are not by any means desperate. There is an army of reserve of 50,000 men; there are as many more Russians on their march; some reinforcements may be drawn from Italy; 50 or 60,000 men may, it is to be hoped, be saved from the Austrian and Russian armies now in Germany; so that, in the course of three or four weeks, unless these armies should be absolutely and literally annihilated, we shall have considerably above 100,000 men ready to take the field.

In a very long plan of operations, proposed by the court of

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Vienna,

Vienna, we find the following estimate of the military force of France:—

“France, upon the new organization of her army, has on foot

112 Regiments of the line,	404,828 men.
80 Regiments of light infantry,	107,540
85 Cavalry,	64,226
16 Artillery,	21,430

598,024

This number, with the addition of the different corps in Corsica and the islands, of 21 regiments of Dutch soldiers, 11 Swiss regiments, 18 auxiliary corps from Italy, and the imperial guards, which consists of 15,000 men, makes a total of 631,964, the whole military force now on foot in France.—These troops are for the greater part already on the war establishment.”

The ensuing extract from a memoir of count Starhemberg cannot be overlooked, whenever the conduct of our late ministry, with respect to the continental campaign, shall come into discussion.

(Translation.)—Extract from a Memoir on the Situation of Affairs, communicated by Count Starhemberg.

Never were hopes, founded on the most salutary views and plans, destroyed by a more fatal blow, than the disastrous reverse which our army in Germany has experienced by a concurrence of unfortunate circumstances, the consequence of a single fault. The simultaneous co-operation of the two imperial courts of England and Prussia should have offered, at the commencement of the war, a chain of armed forces from north to south, and should have ob-

liged France, by mutual diversions, to separate hers. It was our first misfortune, that none of the hopes we had placed in diversions on the north of the continent, which might have obliged the emperor of the French to divide the troops that he had withdrawn from his coasts, were realised; and not only all these troops were able to be employed against our army in Germany, but even the Gallo-Batavian army, and that of Berhadotte, could quit Holland and Hanover also, without impediment, to join in the attack. It is to this circumstance, that the French troops, which were opposed to ours, owe the superiority of their numbers; for deducting these two armies, the troops arrived from the interior in the course of the month of October, have but little exceeded the number of Austrian troops on the Iller, where, in the strong position which they occupied, they would have been able to await the junction of the first army of his majesty the emperor of Russia. There was even a moment when they had the hope of preventing the junction of the French troops from the north with those arrived from the interior of France, by falling on a party of the latter, when, as a second misfortune, the violation of the Prussian neutrality suddenly changed the face of affairs, and reduced our German army to the alternative, either to fall back immediately on the Inn, or to see itself surrounded and destroyed.

Extract from the Answer of the French Government to the Declaration of Austria, dated Paris, Aug. 16, 1805.

England well knows, and has more than once declared, that Russia alone

alone can give her no effectual assistance; and that without the co-operation of Prussia and Austria, no diversion would be of any use. Prussia has declared that she will at no time, nor in any case, enter into any hostile design against France.

It is for the interests of Austria herself, and for the glory of her sovereign, that the emperor of the French desires that his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria should avail himself of the opportunity which now offers. He has now in his hands both the destiny of his own dominions and that of Europe. In the one he holds the troubles and the subversion of states; in the other a general peace: impartial neutrality will give him all that he desires for himself, and will enable him to ensure the peace of the world. The most effectual mediation that Austria can employ for a peace is, to observe the most perfect neutrality, not to arm, nor oblige France to make any diversion; not to allow to England any hope of engaging her in an offensive alliance.

Address of the City of London to His Majesty, Wednesday Feb. 19, 1806.

The humble, loyal, and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of

London, in common council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly approach your majesty with the warmest sentiments of loyalty and attachment to your majesty's sacred person and family.

We beg to assure your majesty, that while we contemplate with the deepest concern and disappointment, the late disastrous events, which have led, in so rapid and extraordinary a manner, to the defeat and humiliation of the Austrian power, we cannot refrain from offering to your majesty our sincere thanks and congratulations on the formation of an administration, combining men of the highest consideration and talents, affording, amidst these adverse events, the cheering prospect, that by such an union of wisdom and energy in your majesty's councils, a system of vigour, vigilance, and economy will be adopted,* [which] may support our public affairs, preserve and strengthen our national security, and prove most conducive to the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and the happiness and liberties of your people.

Viewing the high and distinguish-
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* Instead of the word which, as marked above, the committee which drew up the address inserted the following, "as may retrieve our public affairs." And instead of the words in italics, was inserted as follows: "that, by a revision of past errors, a reform of public abuse, a wise application of our resources, the most efficacious means of national defence, and a dignified and conciliatory conduct towards foreign powers, this country, surmounting every difficulty, may be restored to its ancient rank, power, and opulence, and the peace, happiness and security of your majesty's dominions be established on a firm and lasting foundation."

A motion was afterwards made in the Common-council, where the committee was charged with misconduct, and the address was presented as above.

ed characters composing your majesty's present government, we have perfect confidence, that, *under your majesty's direction, the national strength will be augmented, its resources improved and preserved, and the utmost energies of a free, loyal, and united people will be called forth into action; so that, with the blessing of divine Providence, this country may keep fast its liberties and independence, and may maintain its due rank among the nations of Europe.*

Permit us to assure your majesty of our firm co-operation, in every measure which may be deemed essential towards resisting any unreasonable pretensions on the part of your majesty's enemies, and for enabling your majesty to restore to your people the blessings of peace, on such terms as may be consistent with the honour, dignity, and safety of these realms.

Signed, by order of the court,
Henry Woodthorpe.

The following is his majesty's most gracious answer:

"I thank you for your loyal and dutiful address. I receive with the highest satisfaction your assurances of loyalty and attachment to my person and family, and you may rest assured that I have no other object in view, in the measures adopted for the administration of my government, than to maintain the honour and dignity of my crown, and the union, the happiness, and the essential interests of my people."

Prussian Proclamation for excluding British Trade, &c.

By a treaty concluded between his Prussian majesty and the emperor of France and king of Italy, it

has been stipulated that the ports of the German Ocean (the North Sea) and the rivers which empty themselves in it, shall be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as was practised whilst Hanover was occupied by French troops. The Prussian troops, therefore, have orders to refuse entrance to all British ships which may attempt to enter such ports and rivers, and to order them back. Measures will also be taken to prevent English goods from being landed and transported.

Given at Head-quarters, Hanover,
28th of March, 1806.

(Signed) Schulenberg.

Prussian Patent.

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:—

The wish to secure our faithful subjects, and the neighbouring States of the North of Germany during the war, and to preserve and confirm the duration of the blessings of peace, was at all times the intention of our indefatigable endeavours. These wholesome measures were made known, upon some recent occasions, as the object of our late patent, dated January 27th, 1806, according to which the Electoral States of Brunswick Lunenburg in Germany, were taken possession of by our troops, when the administration of the same passed into our hands. But in consequence of the exchange of the electorate of Hanover, in consideration of the cession of three of the provinces of our monarchy, and for the permanent tranquillity of our subjects, and the neighbouring states, we have found it indispensibly necessary to enter into

into and conclude a convention with his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and as the electoral states of the house of Brunswick, situated in Germany, were obtained by the emperor Napoleon by *right of conquest*, we hereby declare, that the *rightful possession* of the territory of that house has passed over to us, in consideration of the cession of three of our provinces, and is now subject to our power only; consequently, from the present time, the government and the administration of these countries, will be administered simply in our name alone, and under our supreme authority.

We therefore call upon all persons, whatever may have been the functions assigned them, to execute those functions only in our name, and under our authority.

Count Schulenberg Kehnert, and the commissioners who are attached to him, expect no less than that all the prelates, the burghers, and the inhabitants in general, will obediently conform themselves to the order of things, which a *new era* has rendered necessary for their tranquillity and well-being; and in so doing, they will afford his majesty a proof of their devotion to their country.

So, on our part, nothing shall be neglected to confirm them in the persuasion of our paternal affection, and our sincere wish to render them happy.

(Signed) Frederick William.
Schulenberg.
Haugwitz.

April 1, 1806.

*Order in Council for detaining
Prussian Ships.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 5th of April, 1806, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas his majesty has received advice that his majesty the king of Prussia has taken possession of various parts of the electorate of Hanover, and other dominions belonging to his majesty, in a forcible and hostile manner; and has also notified that all British ships shall be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, and not suffered to enter or trade therein, in violation of the just rights and interests of his majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the established law and practice of nations in amity with each other; his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, is thereupon pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Prussia, until further order; and his majesty is further pleased to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all Prussian ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours or roads, within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships and vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained; and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the Cinque Ports,

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are

are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

S. Cotrell.

Proclamation.—Francis II. Emperor of Germany, &c. &c.

I have given peace to my good and faithful people. My resolutions have united with their wishes. I renounced all hopes of a change in the fortune of war, to banish with promptitude all the dangers and sufferings to which my flourishing country, and even the heart of the monarchy, my capital and residence, were exposed. The sacrifices are great, and they were with difficulty wrung from my heart; but they could not stand in competition with the welfare, the domestic and civil welfare of millions. For these I made the sacrifice; and I expect my indemnification in the blessings which are promised to my people by the return of peace. I know no other happiness than that of my people; and no glory superior to that of the father of these people, who in loyalty, unshaken fidelity, and disinterested love to their sovereign and their country, give place to no nation in Europe. The fair fame of their national character has exacted an unwilling tribute of esteem, even from the enemy; but in my heart they have fixed a monument which time itself will not be able to destroy. Under these emotions I returned to my residence, in the circle of my loyal and estimable citizens and inhabitants, and to the resumption of the direction of my affairs. The wounds inflicted by the war are deep: several years may be necessary to heal them, and to obliterate

the impressions inflicted by the sufferings of this unfortunate period. The administration of the state has greater, and duties more difficult than ever, to fulfil; and they will fulfil them: but they have, at the same time, stronger claims than ever upon the co-operation of all classes, for the laudable purpose of restoring the vigour of the interior, by disseminating the true culture of the mind, and animating the national industry in all its branches, through the restoration and increase of the national credit; and by these means to establish the monarchy upon that basis which the variable fate of the states of Europe has rendered necessary. Every moment of my life will be directed to this object, and devoted to the improvement of the welfare of the noble and good people, who are dear to me as the children of my affection. United by the mutual obligations of reciprocal confidence, and the cordial love of my subjects, I shall only believe I have done enough for Austria, as a prince and a father, when its prosperity is again secured; when the sufferings of the citizens are forgotten, and nothing remains alive but the remembrance of my sacrifices, your fidelity, and your exalted and unshaken patriotism.

Francis.

Vienna, Feb. 1, 1806.

The President's Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

At a moment when the nations of Europe are in commotion; and arming against each other—when those with whom we have principal intercourse are engaged in the general contest,

contest, and when the countenance of some of them towards our peaceable country, threatens that even that may not be unaffected by what is passing on the general theatre, a meeting of the representatives of the nation, in both houses of congress, has become more than usually desirable. Coming from every section of our country, they bring with them the sentiments and the information of the whole, and will be enabled to give a direction to the public affairs, which the will and the wisdom of the whole will approve and support.

In taking a view of the state of our country, we, in the first place, notice the great affliction of two of our cities, under the fatal fever which, in latter times, has occasionally visited our shores. Providence, in his goodness, gave it an early termination on this occasion, and lessened the number of victims which have usually fallen before it. In the course of the several visitations of this disease, it has appeared that it is strictly local, incident to cities, and on the tide waters only, incommunicable in the country either by persons under the disease, or by goods carried from diseased places; that its access is with the autumn, and it disappears with the early frosts. These restrictions, within narrow limits of time and space, give security even to our maritime cities, during three-fourths of the year, and in the country always.—Although from these facts it appears unnecessary, yet to satisfy the fears of foreign nations, and cautions on their part not to be complained of in a danger whose limits are yet unknown to them, I have strictly enjoined on the officers at the head of the customs, to certify with exact truth, for every vessel sailing for a

foreign port, the state of health respecting this fever which prevails at the place from whence she sails. Under every motive from character and duty to certify the truth, I have no doubt they have faithfully executed this injunction. Much real injury has, however, been sustained, from a propensity to identify with this epidemic; and to call by the same name fevers of very different kinds, which have been known at all times, and in all countries, and never have been placed among those deemed contagious. As we advance in our knowledge of this disease—as facts develop the source from which individuals receive it—the state authorities charged with the care of the public health, and congress with that of the general commerce, will become able to regulate with effect their respective functions in these departments. The burthen of quarantines is felt at home as well as abroad; their efficacy merits examination. Although the health-laws of the states should be found to need no present revisal by congress, yet commerce claims that their attention be ever awake to them.

Since our last meeting, the aspect of our foreign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbours watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured, in the very entrance of our harbours, as well as upon the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication; but not daring to ap-

proach a court of justice, they have plundered and sunk them by the way, in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them; maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreachd by any control of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruize within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions, found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the gulph-stream, and to bring the offenders in for trial as pirates.

The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbours, under colour of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles, too, have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice, nor the usage or acknowledgment of nations. According to these, a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency, and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only umpire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed, the confidence we ought to have in the justice of others, still countenances the hope, that a sounder view of those rights will, of itself, induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them.

With Spain our negociations for a settlement of differences, have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formerly acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated, but on conditions affecting other claims, in no wise connected with them. Yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. On the Mobile, our commerce passing through that river, continues to be obstructed by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana, have not been acceded to.— While, however, the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the disputed territories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controlled. But in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence.

Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi; our citizens have been seized, and their property plundered, in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary, at length, to give orders to our troops, on that frontier, to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future. Other details, necessary for your full information of the state of things between this country and that, shall be the subject of another communication. In reviewing

reviewing these injuries from some of the belligerent powers, the moderation, the firmness, and the wisdom of the legislature, will be called into action. We ought still to hope that time, and a more correct estimate of interest as well as of character, will produce the justice we are bound to expect. But should any nation deceive itself by false calculations, and disappoint that expectation, we must join in the unprofitable contest, of trying which party can do the other most harm. Some of these injuries may perhaps admit a peaceable remedy. Where that is competent, it is always the most desirable. But some of them are of a nature to be met by force only, and all of them may lead to it. I cannot therefore but recommend such preparations as circumstances call for. The first object is to place our seaport towns out of the danger of insult. Measures have already been taken for furnishing them with heavy cannon, for the service of such land batteries as may make a part of their defence against vessels approaching them. In aid of these, it is desirable we should have a competent number of gun-boats; and the number, to be competent, must be considerable. If immediately begun, they may be in readiness for service at the opening of the next season.

Whether it will be necessary to augment our land forces, will be decided by occurrences probably in the course of your session. In the mean time, you will consider whether it would not be expedient, for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia, as would enable us, on any sudden emergency, to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old and those having fami-

lies. Upwards of 300,000 able bodied men, between the age of 18 and 26 years, which the last Census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces, after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service, cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present as well as future times, inasmuch as it engages to them in more advanced age, a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I cannot then but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system, as, by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an efficient corps, fit for real and active service, and to be called to in regular rotation.

Considerable provision has been made, under former authorities from congress, of materials for the construction of ships of war of 74 guns. These materials are on hand, subject to the further will of the legislature.

An immediate prohibition of the exportation of arms and ammunition is also submitted to your determination.

[The message then alludes to the events that have lately happened at Tripoli and Tunis; enters into a view of the transactions that have taken place with the Indian nations, and concludes in the following manner:]

The receipts of the treasury during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, have exceeded the sum of thirteen millions of dollars,

lars, which, with not quite five millions in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting other demands, to pay nearly two millions of the debt contracted under the British treaty and convention, upwards of four millions of principal of the public debt, and four millions of interest. These payments, with those which had been made in three years and a-half preceding, have extinguished of the funded debt nearly eighteen millions of principal.

Congress, by their act of Nov. 10, 1803, authorized us to borrow 1,750,000 dollars, towards meeting the claims of our citizens assumed by the convention with France. We have not, however, made use of this authority; because the sum of four millions and a half, which remained in the treasury on the same 30th day of September last, with the receipts which we may calculate on for the ensuing year, besides paying the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, appropriated to the funded debt, and meeting all the current demands which may be expected, will enable us to pay the whole sum of three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, assumed by the French convention, and still leave us a surplus of nearly a million of dollars at our free disposal. Should you concur in the provisions of arms and armed vessels recommended by the circumstances of the times, this surplus will furnish the means of doing so.

On this first occasion of addressing congress since, by the choice of my constituents, I have entered on a second term of administration, I embrace the opportunity to give this public assurance, that I will exert my best endeavours to administer

faithfully the executive department, and will zealously co-operate with you in any measure which may tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety, of our fellow-citizens, and to consolidate the republican forms and principles of our government.

In the course of your session, you shall receive all the aid which I can give for the dispatch of the public business, and all the information necessary for your deliberations, of which the interest of our own country, and the confidence reposed in us by others, will admit a communication.

Dec. 3, 1805.

T. Jefferson.

Message from the President of the United States, respecting the Violation of Neutral Rights; the Depredations on the Colonial Trade, and Impressments of American Seamen.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

In my message to both houses of congress, at the opening of the present session, I submitted to their attention among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation, by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory of the rights of neutrals, and unacknowledged by the usage of nations.

The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develop these principles and practices, which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.

The right of a neutral to carry on

on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country, (with the exception of blockaded ports, and contraband of war), was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide on that and other questions of difference between the two nations; and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them against Great Britain, for the infractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principles were revived, with others more novel and extending, the instructions were given to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him, on this subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the principle. He has, therefore, been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights too evident, and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of congress.

On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed, at one moment, of an arrangement which might have been submitted to; but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the different seas, has been constantly pursued in

those of our neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our minister at London, now communicated.

Th. Jefferson.

Jan. 17, 1806.

*Memorial of Baron Von Hardenberg,
Minister of State to the King of
Prussia, to Lord Harrowby.*

Berlin, Dec. 22, 1805.

My lord,

Conformably to the answer I have already had the honour to transmit to your excellency, to the question which you addressed to me, relative to the security of the troops of his Britannic Majesty, in the North of Germany, I hasten to lay before you the positive assurances which I have the pleasure to be able to communicate to you.

Your excellency is acquainted with the present state of affairs. You will first perceive that, at the point to which matters have now come, since the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz between Austria and France, in consequence of the return of the great Russian army, and the total uncertainty in which we are with regard to the intentions of Napoleon towards Prussia, the utmost caution is absolutely necessary. The bravest army cannot always reckon upon success; and it is undoubtedly the interest of Prussia, and the interest of the world, to prevent any attack upon her at the present moment, when she would have to bear the whole burthen of the war; and no confederacy adapted to circumstances, has been
formed;

formed; for, in case her armies should prove unsuccessful, the last ray of hope to maintain the security and independence of the continent, would be extinguished.

The king, still animated by the same wish to establish a general peace on a permanent footing, and, if possible, to the satisfaction of all parties, must consequently have been ardently desirous that his mediation, stipulated in the convention signed on the 3d of November, at Potzdam, should have been accepted by France. In an interview which count Von Haugwitz had with Napoleon, on the 28th of November, that monarch manifested a disposition to accept of this mediation on the two following conditions:—

1. That during the negotiation no troops of his Britannic Majesty, nor any Russians nor Swedes, should advance into Holland to commence warlike operations there, after their departure from the North of Germany.

2. That a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortress of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions.

The king could not accept these propositions, under the circumstances of the moment in which they were made; but these have totally changed, and in the present conjuncture, his majesty has not only judged them admissible, upon condition that the emperor Napoleon engages on his side, not to send any troops into the north of Germany, as long as the negotiations shall continue, and that he shall not undertake any thing against Hanover during the same interval; but even favourable, as time will thus be gained to take some deliberate

measures, and to prepare for every contingency; either in case a war should break out, or this intermediate state of things should lead to a definitive negotiation.

That no time may be lost, his majesty has sent major Von Pfuhl to the French head-quarters, that this arrangement may be carried into effect. At the same time count Haugwitz has received the necessary instructions, bearing date the 19th inst. and the king has given France to understand, that he shall consider the occupation of Hanover by French troops, as an act of hostility.

Agreeably to what I have just stated, his majesty has authorized me to inform your lordship, that, in conformity with the assurances already given, in case the troops of his Britannic majesty, and the Russians, should prove unfortunate, the king engages for the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty in Hanover, and grants them perfect liberty, in case of necessity, to retreat to the Prussian army, and to the states of the king, but with the following modifications, which circumstances render necessary:—

1. That they take their positions in the rear of the Prussian troops, and abstain, during the period of the intermediate negotiation, from every movement and step of a provoking nature towards Holland.

2. That in case the Prussian troops shall be attacked by the French, his majesty may rely with perfect confidence on the support and co-operation of the troops of his Britannic majesty, as long as they shall continue in the north of Germany. His majesty has given orders for a respectable corps to advance into Westphalia, and will adopt

adopt every necessary measure for security and defence. The Russian troops, under the command of general count Tolstoy, are already at the entire disposal of his majesty, as the emperor Alexander has fully authorized him to dispose of them at pleasure; and likewise of those which are under general Benningsen, in Silesia.

I therefore request your excellency to write as speedily as possible to lord Cathcart, the commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, and to prevail upon him to take, without delay, such steps as are necessary for these different purposes; and in particular to comply with the invitation that will be transmitted to him by the order of the king, through count Kalkreuth, to consult personally with him and count Tolstoy, on the positions which the troops of his Britannic majesty, the Russians, and Prussians, will have to take in consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements.

As the Swedish troops are in the same predicament with those of his Britannic majesty and the Russians, it would be extremely desirable to prevail upon his Swedish majesty to conform to this arrangement.

I hope that to this end your lordship will act in concert with prince Dolgorucki, whom his imperial majesty of all the Russias has charged with every thing relative to the destination of the Russian army. In case his Swedish majesty will resign the conduct of his troops to count Tolstoy, the king is ready to give them the same guarantee which he offers to the troops of his Britannic majesty, during their continuance in the north of Germany.

With regard to the provisioning of the fortress of Hameln, it is conceived, that the grant of a certain district, from which the garrison might themselves procure provisions, would be attended with great inconveniencies, both in respect to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and on account of the collusions which might thence ensue between the troops. It therefore appears preferable, to furnish necessaries from the Hanoverian territory, through an intermediate person, to whom general Barbou must send a statement of what he wants for daily consumption, and on whose requisition the Hanoverian ministry will take care that it be delivered at the places appointed for that purpose. But general Barbou must, on his side, engage to remain quiet within the town of Hameln.

Conformably to these ideas, the king has sent M. Von Krusemark, lieutenant-colonel of the Garde du Corps, and adjutant to field-marshal Von Mollendorff, to Hanover. I have given him, for my part, a letter to the minister of his Britannic majesty at Hanover, and another for general Barbou, that the necessary arrangements for providing instantaneously for the subsistence of the garrison of Hameln may be made, and put in execution without delay.

I have now nothing left, my lord, but to refer to the verbal communication I had the honour to make to you, and to intreat you to take in general such steps as you shall think expedient for carrying into execution the whole arrangement which I have had the honour to submit to you. I request you to have the goodness to inform the

commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic majesty, that it is only in case he shall think proper to accede to this arrangement, and to adopt such measures as depend upon him for carrying it into execution, his Prussian majesty can possibly engage to guarantee the security of the troops of his Britannic majesty. In case of an attack on the part of the French, it will, however, be necessary that the conduct of the whole should center in one point, and it appears natural that the oldest in-rank should then assume the chief command. It would consequently devolve upon general count Kalkreuth, both for the above reason, and likewise because he, being in the vicinity of the enemy, would be best able to judge what measures to adopt.

I repeat to your excellency the assurance of the highest consideration with which, I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's, &c.

(Signed)

Hardenberg.

Swedish Declaration.

From the moment his Swedish majesty had determined upon taking a part in the coalition against the usurpations of Napoleon Bonaparte, his majesty had fixed his attention upon the preservation of the electoral possessions of the king of England upon the continent, which had been evacuated by the French troops. Ready to enter them with a Swedish and Russian army, united under his orders, his majesty hastened, upon the first intelligence of the movement of a Prussian corps towards that country, to enquire into the intentions of his Prussian

majesty, and in full confidence to demand of him, whether the march of his troops had the same object as the combined army; namely, that of restoring the electorate of Hanover to its legitimate possessor, and in that case to concert with his Prussian majesty the joint measures to be taken. The king of Prussia from that period, evaded entering into any explanation relative to this important object, and that in a manner far from friendly. The irresolution since manifested by this sovereign, in joining the cause of the allies, could not but tend to augment his majesty's suspicions; and his majesty did not hesitate to anticipate events, in causing it to be publicly made known at a period when the intentions of the court of Prussia, with respect to the states of his Britannic majesty, could only be matter of conjecture, that the country of Lauenburg should still remain under the protection of the Swedish troops, until a convention for that purpose was concluded with the king of England. It was the sole right of this monarch only, as proprietor of the country, to decide upon the future fate of his hereditary states: every arrangement, therefore, relative thereunto, between France and Prussia, was inadmissible.

It was, notwithstanding, upon this arrangement, that the king of Prussia, in his proclamation of January 27, which was published soon after, endeavoured to assert his right to the complete occupation of the electorate of Hanover. The reiterated protestations made by the court of Berlin on this occasion, of being induced to take this step merely to save the country from greater calamities, ought to have been

been received as a guarantee for its future independence. This language, however, did not last long; instead of regarding the electorate as a depot till the return of a general peace, as his Prussian majesty had solemnly announced in the proclamation before cited, a new proclamation, issued from Berlin, dated April 1, announced, on the contrary, the definitive union of these provinces to the Prussian monarchy; a measure which the court of Berlin pretended was founded upon the right of conquest, and a formal treaty with France.

In this state of things, the king, faithful to his engagements with his Britannic majesty, thought he could not use too much circumspection when the abandoning of the German states of his ally became the subject of consideration, which being once delivered from the presence of the Swedish troops, soon have fallen under the power of the Prussians. His majesty, therefore, confining himself to the protection of the countries on this side of the Elbe, on his departure from Ratzeburg, declared, that having left in this duchy a corps of Swedes, under the orders of his aide-de-camp, general commandant, Count Lowenheilm, he should look upon any attack upon these troops, and the independence of the country, as a measure of aggression against his own states. This declaration has been repeatedly made, and particularly in the letter of Count Lowenheilm, dated April 13, to the Prussian military commandants in Hanover, and the country of Mark. Count Lowenheilm said expressly that he had the strictest orders to defend Lauenburg against any foreign troops that should attempt to

enter it. Notwithstanding this, a detached corps passed that frontier at Marienstett, on the 23d of this month, and in spite of the brave resistance of the Swedish troops, by the superiority of their numbers, they took forcible possession of the country.

Under the present circumstances, the king could not regard this violent measure otherwise than as an act of hostility on the part of his Prussian majesty; consequently he has ordered an embargo to be laid on all the Prussian vessels in the Swedish ports.

If his majesty has so long delayed to resent the outrages committed upon him and his allies by the court of Berlin, it has arisen from his majesty's constant wish to avoid every thing that might lead to a rupture as long as possible. The intimate connection subsisting between the king of Prussia and Napoleon Bonaparte, the declared enemy of the three allied courts; the exclusion of the English commerce from the ports and rivers of the north of Germany, together with the unjust authority established in the electorate of Hanover—all these were sufficient indications of the real system of his said majesty; and the attack which has just been made upon the Swedish troops in Lauenburg, has put the last seal to it.

The undersigned, specially charged by the king, his master, to treat with the accredited ministers of the two allied courts, has received his majesty's express orders to expose the above-mentioned facts, in order to enlighten the public opinion, upon the present situation of affairs between the courts of Stockholm and Berlin.

Count de Fersen, grand marshal of Sweden.

Answer

Answer of Baron Hardenbergh to the Note in the Moniteur, of March 21.

The *Moniteur*, of the 21st of March, No. 80, in printing a letter addressed by me, on the 22d of December, 1805, to lord Harrowby, then his Britannic majesty's minister at Berlin, has called upon me to declare, whether that letter is real or fictitious, and has accompanied this demand with several remarks.

That which renders the duties and obligations of a statesman peculiarly painful, is the frequent necessity under which he finds himself, in being compelled to observe a profound silence, at the same time when he is either misunderstood or calumniated.

However, I owe it to the king, as well as to myself, to declare that the letter in question, though altered in several essential expressions, is official, and was written by his majesty's orders. I owe this declaration to the king, because at the court of Berlin, whatever may be the usage cited by the *Moniteur*, the ministers dare not use the liberty of taking such steps unknown to their sovereign. I owe this declaration to myself, because I cannot remain indifferent to the supposition, that I am capable of such a failure in my duty, or that I should expose myself to his majesty's disavowal, after having acted in his name.

On the 22d of December the king, as well as every other person at Berlin, was ignorant that a treaty had been signed at Vienna, on the 15th, by M. le Comte Haugwitz, he having reserved every kind of information upon this subject, till he should make an oral report: and

not arriving at Berlin till the 25th of December, as it is expressed in my letter to lord Harrowby, we were quite uncertain as to the intentions of his majesty the emperor of the French; in the mean while the armies of both powers were in the field, and upon the war establishment.

M. le major-general Pfuhl was sent to the French head-quarters, and count Haugwitz was dispatched to explain himself upon the intermediary arrangement, which forms the subject of the letter to lord Harrowby, and which had been proposed by count Haugwitz. M. le Pfuhl met this minister on his way, returning to Berlin, bringing with him a definitive treaty; of course the intermediary arrangement fell to the ground. This is the whole fact, according to the strictest truth. Every impartial judge will know how to appreciate the remarks of the *Moniteur*. I feel myself honoured in the esteem and confidence of my sovereign and the Prussian nation. I am honoured by the sentiments of respectable foreigners, with whom I have been connected, and I have the satisfaction of reckoning some French among the number. I was not born in Prussia, but I will not yield in patriotism to any native. I have obtained my rights, as much by my services, as by transferring my patrimony, and thus becoming a proprietor. If I am not a soldier, I feel that I should not have been unworthy of the profession, if fate had destined me to defend my sovereign and his rights, the dignity, safety, and honour of the state, by force of arms. Thus much in answer to the remarks of the *Moniteur*. As to the rest, neither the *Bulletins* of the *Gazettes*,
nor

nor the remarks of their conductors, will ever be able to disgrace me.

The real copy of my letter of the 22d, to lord Harrowby is annexed. In comparing it with that inserted in the *Moniteur*, among other things it may be observed, that there is not any question, *either of a confederation to be formed which may adapt itself to events; but of that want of concert adapted to circumstances; nor yet of gaining time to take measures more decisive*, but only of the advantage of seeing things in a clearer point of view, which might be expected to result from the intermediary arrangement. Neither is there any thing said of a plan that I should have submitted to lord Harrowby; but the intermediary arrangement only is mentioned, which was presented to him, to prevent any thing that might have impeded the negotiations which promised the continuance of peace between Prussia and France, and which would probably have led to a general pacification.

Hardenberg.

Berlin, April 8, 1806.

Message from his Majesty to the Parliament, on Hostilities with Prussia.

G. R.

His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that he has found himself under the necessity of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia. His majesty deeply regrets this extension and aggravation of calamities, already so

severely felt by the nations of the continent, whose independence and prosperity he has never ceased to consider as intimately connected with those of his own people. But measures of direct hostility, deliberately adopted against him, have left him no alternative.

In a moment of confidential intercourse, without even the pretence of any cause of complaint, forcible possession has been taken by Prussia of his majesty's electoral dominions. Deeply as this event affected the interest of this kingdom, his majesty chose nevertheless to forbear, on this painful occasion, all recourse to the tried and affectionate attachment of his British subjects. He remonstrated, by amicable negotiation, against the injury he had sustained, and rested his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representations, and on the common interest which Prussia herself must ultimately feel, to resist a system destructive of the security of all legitimate possession. But when, instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his majesty was informed that the determination had been taken, of excluding by force the vessels and the commodities of this kingdom, from ports and countries under the lawful dominion, or forcible controul of Prussia; his majesty could no longer delay to act, without neglecting the first duty which he owes to his people. The dignity of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, equally forbid his acquiescing in this open and unprovoked aggression. He has no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the

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the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and he will look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy, on the part of Prussia, shall remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power, with whom his majesty has no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts.

Papers relative to Prussia, presented by his Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament, April 21, 1806.

(Translation of Inclosure in No I.)

Sir,—I hasten to fulfil the promise given to lord Harrowby, on the 8th of this month, to communicate to you, sir, as soon as a final decision should be taken on the subject, the additional circumstances relating to the security of the north of Germany, and to the guarantee by the king of the safety of those British troops which are in that part of the continent.

A messenger from Munich has just brought his majesty intelligence of the consummation of the arrangements, which the present conjuncture of affairs has induced him to enter into with France, in order to save those countries, and especially the states of Hanover, from the misfortunes of another ruinous war, and to insure their tranquillity. As these arrangements stipulate particularly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, *until the conclusion of a peace between England and France*; his majesty could not

delay taking the necessary measures for the entry therein of a corps of his army, which will be under the orders of his excellency the general of cavalry, count Schulenberg Kehnert, to whom also the king has confided the administration of the country. His majesty, animated by the most lively desire to see the importance and the urgency of the motives which have induced him to take these steps, justly appreciated by his Britannic majesty and his enlightened ministers, has directed baron Jacobi to give a detailed explanation thereof at London.

It would be superfluous to point out to your attention, how urgent and indispensable, in the present state of affairs, the re-embarkation of the English troops in the north of Germany is become; since the retreat of the foreign troops is the condition upon which France has promised not to order her troops to re-enter Hanover, and since also it was upon this supposition alone that the king guaranteed their security. I presume that lord Cathcart has already received, and is upon the point of executing, the orders of his court for the return of those troops, for which transports have been waiting for some time past. I have, however, to request, sir, that you would, for the purpose of still further dispatch, write to that commander-in-chief on the subject; and, acquainting him with the present circumstances, that you would induce him to hasten, so far as depends on him, a measure, in which these circumstances, and the approaching arrival of our troops, will not admit of any delay.

I request you to accept the reiterated

rated assurance of my high and perfect consideration.

Berlin, 26th Jan. 1806.

(Signed) Hardenberg.
To Mr. Jackson, his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary.

No. II. *His Prussian Majesty's Proclamation on taking temporary Possession of the Electorate of Hanover, dated 27th January, 1806, has already been given.*

No. III. *Copy of a Note from Mr. Secretary Fox to Baron Jacobi Kloest, dated 17th March, 1806.*

The undersigned is commanded by his majesty, to state to baron Jacobi Kloest, for the information of his court, the great anxiety felt by his majesty, at the manner in which possession has been taken of the electorate of Hanover. If his Prussian majesty judged it expedient, in order to prevent French troops from approaching so near that part of his frontiers, to take to himself the military occupation of the electorate, it does not appear to his majesty that it was by any means necessary that the civil government of that unhappy country should be subverted, or that an army more numerous, and consequently more injurious to the inhabitants, than necessity required, should be maintained there. His majesty relies with the greatest confidence on his Prussian majesty's declaration, that the present occupation is merely temporary; but his majesty cannot but express a wish that the declaration on this point were more solemnly made in the face of Europe. The honour of the court of Berlin, as well as the con-

sideration mutually due to each other, from two princes so nearly connected in blood and alliance, seems to call for a clear explanation on this important subject.

His majesty on his part desires to be equally explicit, and to put an end to all hopes (if such, indeed, have been entertained by the court of Berlin) that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, will ever induce his majesty so far to forget what is due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate.

His majesty learns with concern, that it is in agitation to give up Anspach, and other parts of his Prussian majesty's dominions, to Bavaria, in consequence of a convention with France; but he does not pretend any right to interfere, or to give any opinion with respect to the propriety of the measures, whatever they may be, which his Prussian majesty may deem eligible for the interests of his crown and people; at the same time it is to be observed, that his majesty, whether in his capacity of king of Great Britain, or in that of elector of Hanover, was in no way a party to the convention alluded to, or responsible for its consequences. The cessations, therefore, which his Prussian majesty may make to his majesty's enemies, can surely never be alleged as a justification of taking to himself his majesty's lawful inheritance.

His majesty, therefore, hopes, that his Prussian majesty will follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and will demonstrate to the world

world, that whatever sacrifices the present circumstances may induce him to make with respect to his own territories, he will not set the dreadful example of indemnifying himself at the expence of a third party, whose sentiments and conduct towards his Prussian majesty and his subjects, have been uniformly friendly and pacific.

Downing-street, March 17, 1806.

(Translation of No. IV.—*Note Verbale.*)

Until the explosion of the last continental war, his Prussian majesty had no other object in view, than to secure the tranquillity of his monarchy, and that of the neighbouring states.

He was then able to effect this upon terms which met the entire approbation of every court. He has been desirous of doing the same since the breaking out of the present war. But the choice of the means has no longer been in his power. France has considered Hanover as her conquest, and her troops were on the point of entering it, for the purpose of disposing of it definitively, according to the pleasure of the French emperor, without the possibility of his Britannic majesty preventing it.

The occupation of that country by his Prussian majesty, and the shutting of the ports in the German Seas, and that of Lubeck, against the British flag (as was the case during the possession of Hanover by the French) were the indispensable conditions of an arrangement by which the country is secured against the entry of

foreign troops, and the quiet of the north of Germany preserved.

This has not been obtained without painful sacrifices on his majesty's part. Those of the house of Hanover are in no degree to be attributed to the king's measures, but are the inevitable consequences of a war, which his conciliating policy has endeavoured in vain to prevent. This war might have produced still more serious consequences. The treaty between Prussia and France, at least protects the northern states from farther evils, and could every power but duly appreciate how much they are indebted to the system he has adopted, the king would with justice obtain the gratitude of all.

No. V.—*Proclamation of Count Schulenburg, announcing the shutting of the Ports of the North Sea, against the British Ships and Trade, dated Hanover, the 28th of March, 1806.*

Declaration.

George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. &c.

The court of Prussia has avowed those hostile designs, which she thought to conceal by her friendly professions.

The Note Verbale*, delivered on the 4th of April by the Prussian envoy, baron Jacobi Kloeest, to the

* See No. IV. in the preceding Article.

British ministry, announces that the electorate of Hanover has been taken possession of, and that the ports of the German Sea, and of Lubeck, have been closed against the British flag.

This declaration gives the lie to all those assurances by which the cabinet of Berlin has hitherto endeavoured to cloak its proceedings: to which it moreover adds the pretension that his Prussian majesty has acquired, by his system of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the northern powers.

Thus actually dispossessed of the ancient inheritance of my family, and insulted in my rights as a sovereign, I have ordered those measures to be taken which the honour of my crown require: but I still owe it to myself, to Europe, and to my subjects, to make a public declaration of my sentiments, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, upon the unjust usurpation of my German possessions.

It is not necessary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations, or to the laws of the German empire. Their infractions are too evident to be required to be proved. It is the most sacred principles of good faith, of honour, and in fact of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal safety of different states amongst themselves, and of each civil society in itself, repose, which are trodden under foot in such a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cause the facts to be laid before them; which are authenticated in the narrative which I have ordered to be prepared.

The proceedings of the court of Berlin, when the electorate was occupied by its troops, in 1801—its

conduct, far from being friendly during the negotiation for the indemnities which followed the peace of Luneville—the declaration which it made, when France prepared to invade the electorate—and, lastly, the burthensome conditions under which it endeavoured to cause it to be evacuated, to substitute her own troops instead of those of France, had given too many proofs to the government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all sort of intervention on the part of this power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a dispute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, gave the Prussian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the electorate.

This step was accompanied by the most friendly protestations on the part of Prussia. She invited the Hanoverian government to resume its functions in my name, and to collect the wreck of the army.

The country, already so unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requisitions extorted by the Prussian corps, without the least regard to the situation in which the French left it.

After the unfortunate result of the campaign of the allies in the south of the empire, an attack in the north was to be expected. His imperial majesty of Russia, to obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the convention of Potsdam, his troops under Count de Tolstoy, and the corps of general Benningsen, under the orders of his

majesty, and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect. This, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The secret treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by count Haugwitz and the French general Duroc, the 15th of December, 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which count Haugwitz was to make to her in consequence of the convention of Potzdam.

Seven days after, Dec. 22, the cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador, the arrangements to be taken in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the allied armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, lieutenant-colonel baron de Krusemark, with a letter to the Hanoverian government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hameln.

It was necessary to concur in this arrangement, (which was only provisionally terminated the 4th of January) because it was to prevent the French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negotiation.

Was the court of Berlin then ignorant in what manner count Haugwitz had concluded this negotiation? Did it not know, before the signature of the treaty, what would be the end of it? or, did that minis-

ter dispose as he pleased of the good faith of his master?

It was on the 27th of Jan. that the cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian government, "That, in consequence of a treaty signed and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops; that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian majesty, and to his exclusive administration." The Hanoverian government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian commission of administration, excluding all *foreign reference*.

The dispatch addressed the 25th of January to the Prussian minister and intended to justify his proceedings, was signed with the king of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words: "I think it unnecessary to observe how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness of the country and its inhabitants; and by that means *satisfactory to his Britannic majesty*, to whom I desire nothing more than to give in this instance, as in all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power."

The experience of the past, and a well-

a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my electoral government was instructed not to enter into any negotiation, the object of which might have been to avoid a new French invasion, by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.

The protest made upon this occasion by my electoral minister of state, was ineffectual. The king of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked; and his measures were executed without the least regard.

It was too easy to foresee that count Haugwitz would find means at Paris to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, *announced here as ratified by the contracting parties*, to its original intention.

This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation according to the treaty of December 15, the very day that the marquis de Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the articles agreed upon at Vienna.

The answer returned by the British cabinet to the communication of January 25, did not arrive at Berlin until after the minister of state, Baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British envoy the hostile measures which have compelled me to suspend my relations with a court which could so far forget itself.

The Prussian note of April 4, can furnish no good arguments, to establish an unjustifiable measure.

It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia. This disposition is no further sincere

than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The note delivered by the cabinet of Berlin to the French minister on the 14th of October, at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges that the conduct which she had followed to that time had proved of advantage to France.

Her actions had much less pretensions to the character of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops, who seized on the electorate of Hanover, a passage through the Prussian territory; she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies.

France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.

She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia would terminate, which in fact appeared to be stifled when his imperial majesty of Russia engaged in a personal communication with the king.

Prussia then demanded subsidies of Great Britain, which were promised to her, and she signed the convention of Potzdam, *the conditions of which she would doubtless have been more disposed to fulfil, if I could have so far forgotten my duty, as to consent to the proposition of ceding the electorate of Hanover for some Prussian province.*

Prussia affirms, that from the events of the war, she has not had the choice of means to secure the safety of its monarchy; and of the states of the north. She wishes to make it appear, that she has been compelled to aggrandize herself, and

to become the instrument rather than the object of the vengeance of my enemies.

Such an avowal does not become a great power. All Europe knows that it depended on Prussia, before the battle of Austerlitz, to give repose to Europe, if she had taken the part which her real interests, and the outraged honour of her monarchy dictated to her. She can no longer be excused, after having missed such an opportunity; and even since the event of the 2nd of December, did she not command an army of 250,000 men, who still remember the victories it obtained under the great Frederick, which was in the best dispositions, and supported by the whole Russian army, two corps of which were actually under the command of the King of Prussia?

She would, without doubt, have been subject to certain risks; but she found herself in a situation, when every danger must be encountered, to save the honour of the state. The prince who hesitates in making a choice, destroys the principle which serves as the basis of a military monarchy; and Prussia ought already to begin to feel the sacrifice she has made of her independence.

The note of April 4 affirms, "that France had considered the electorate as its conquest, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive disposal of it."

The electorate of Hanover, as an integral part of the Germanic empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheless, it has been unjustly invaded by that power, which has, notwithstanding, frequently indicated the object for which she was disposed to restore it.

France was at length compelled to abandon the country, and forty thousand of my troops, and those of my allies, were established there, when the Count de Haugwitz signed the treaty which disposes of my states. It is true that the Russian corps was then at the disposal of his Prussian Majesty; but its chief, with the genuine spirit of an honourable man, was not the less determined to fight, if the allies of his master were attacked: we shall not speak of the French garrison which remained at Hameln, insufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being besieged, when the promises of Prussia caused the plan to be abandoned.

The intention of France to dispose definitively of the electorate, would have been contrary to the assertions she has so often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the usage of war, since even a conquest is not definitively disposed of before a peace; and particularly at a moment when a wish might exist to manifest a pacific disposition.

Prussia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of opposing the return of my enemies to the electorate. Her power furnishes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the interests she defends; but it is difficult to conceive in what light Prussia pretends that her measures removed troops that are *strangers* to the electorate, and ensure the repose of the north. Her troops, in consequence of the treacherous conduct of her cabinet, will remain as much strangers to the electorate as the French troops.

Prussia should not speak of her sacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandise herself, unless

less she feels the loss of her independence to be such, and how much she has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldest possessions of her house, and of subjects who implored, in vain, her assistance.— Besides, her sacrifices have no connexion with my system of policy, and confer no right on her to usurp the government of my German subjects, whose fidelity nothing has hitherto shaken, and which they will retain towards my person, and a family of princes who for many ages have only sought their happiness.

It is evident that the conduct of the court of Berlin is not the free expression of the will of its sovereign, but the consequence of the influence exercised by my enemies in the cabinet of that prince. All the courts, and all the states, however, who can judge of circumstances, and all that they owe to the system adopted by the court of Berlin, will agree that the act committed against a sovereign united to his Prussian majesty by the ties of blood, and until now by those of friendship, places the safety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hostility on the part of a power with which one might be at open war.

Convinced of the justice of my cause, I make my appeal to all the powers of Europe, who are interested in resisting the consolidation of a system, which, by threatening the political existence of an integral part of the German empire, brings into question the security of the whole. I demand, most earnestly, the constitutional aid which is due to me as elector, from the empire, its august head, as well as Russia and Sweden, the powers who have guaranteed its constitution, and who have already manifested, and still continue to manifest, the most honourable dispo-

sition for the preservation of my states.

Lastly, I protest, in the most solemn manner, for myself and my heirs, against every encroachment on my rights in the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in quality of elector, the declaration made by the minister of my crown at the court of Berlin, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements, much less any offer whatever of an indemnity, or equivalent, shall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian subjects, so as to yield my consent to the alienation of my electorate.

Given at the Palace of Windsor, the 20th day of April, 1806, in the 46th year of my reign.

(L. S.)

George R.

E. Count de Munster.

The Grand Pensionary of the Batavian Republic, to their High Mightinesses.

High and mighty lords,

Notwithstanding the unsettled state of my health for a long time past, and particularly the unfortunate diminution of my sight, would have afforded more than sufficient grounds for withdrawing myself from the fatigues of public business, I have hitherto continued in office from a sense of duty to my country, and with a view of doing it some essential service; being further influenced by the persuasion, that the renewal of the late war, and the consequences arising from the approach of the enemies' bands towards our frontiers, rendered such a step, on my part, the least doubtful. At present, high and mighty lords, these imperious motives exist no more: and my con-

viction.

viction, that any further service of mine, in my present situation, is not essential to the good of the country, has determined me to leave a post, which being no longer beneficial to my countrymen, nor advantageous to myself, I think it unadvisable any longer to fill. I therefore make that use of the privilege which the 41st article of the regulation of the state acknowledges, by virtue whereof, I again deposit my post, as pensionary of the council, in the hands of your high mightinesses.

This post I leave with an entire consciousness, that every thing that has depended upon me, has been directed to the happiness of my fellow-citizens. I leave this situation thoroughly penetrated with the sense of, and the most cordial acknowledgment for, the repeated proofs of the confidence of this assembly, and of my countrymen in general. I therefore offer my most sincere thanks to all the members of this assembly, to your high mightinesses, and to the whole nation, with the assurance that my remembrance of the same, will prove to me the most agreeable companion of my retirement. Waving the more intimate relationship by which I have been connected with your high mightinesses, by virtue of my office, I pray that the all-bountiful Providence will take my country, dear to me beyond every other consideration, under its special guidance and protection, and that the Almighty will further the prosperity, the welfare, and improvement of its inhabitants; and that your high mightinesses may also experience the best of blessings in your persons and your families.

(Signed) R. J. Schimmelpenninck.
(L. S.) G. G. Huitman, General
June 6, 1806. Sec. of State.

*Proclamation of Louis Napoleon;
King of Holland.*

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitutional laws of the state, king of Holland!

To all whom it may concern, health!

We publish and make known to all, that, with the approbation of his majesty the emperor king Napoleon, our illustrious brother, we have assumed, and do assume, the royal dignity of king of Holland, agreeably to the wishes of the people, to the constitutional laws, and to the treaty and mutual ratification this day presented to us by the deputies of the Dutch nation.

On our coming to the throne, our most anxious care shall be to watch for the interests of our people! We shall be always solicitous to give them constant and unremitted proofs of our love and attention; preserving for that purpose the liberty of all our subjects, with their rights, and continually employing ourselves in promoting their welfare.

The independence of the kingdom is guaranteed by his majesty the emperor and king! The laws of the constitution, and our fixed determination, extend equally to all, for the security of their demands on the state, for their personal safety, and their liberty of conscience!

Conformably to this declaration, therefore, we have decreed, and do decree by these presents,

Art. I. Our ministers of marine and finance, nominated by our decree of to-day, will enter effectually on their functions. The other ministers shall continue in their functions, till others are appointed in their places.

II. All the constituted authorities of every description, civil and military, shall continue to discharge their

their functions till others are provided.

III. The constitutional laws have been made public in the fullest manner, with the treaty concluded at Paris, of the 24th of May, of the present year, between his majesty the emperor and king, and the Batavian republic, as is stated hereafter, together with this decree.

Accordingly we order and command these to be announced, and every where made public, with an injunction to all whom it concern, to take care that this decree be punctually executed.

Given at Paris, the 5th June, 1806, being the first year of our monarchical government.

(Signed)

Louis.

(Countersigned)

Verheul.

CONSTITUTIONAL CODE.

FIRST PART.

General Definitions.

Article 1. The constitutional laws at present in force, particularly the constitution of the year 1805, together with the civil, political, and religious institutions now subsisting in the Batavian republic, the exercise of which is stipulated in, and conformable to the conditions of the treaty concluded on the 23d of May, of this year, between his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and the Batavian republic, shall remain in full force, with the exception of such only as shall be expressly repealed by the present constitutional code.

2. The government of the Dutch colonies shall be regulated by a special code. The receipts and expenditure of the colonies shall be considered as forming a part of the receipts and expenditure of the state.

3. The public debt of the state is hereby guaranteed.

4. The Dutch language shall continue to be exclusively employed for all laws, proclamations, ordinances, decrees, and all other public documents, without exception.

5. No alteration shall be made in the value or weight of the current coin, unless by virtue of a special statute.

6. The former flag of the state shall continue to be used.

7. The council of state shall consist of thirteen members. The ministers shall have rank, seats, and deliberative voices in the council of state.

SECOND PART.

Of Religion.

Art. 1. The king and the law extend equal protection to all the modes of religion professed by the state. By their authority shall be regulated every thing that may be judged necessary relative to the organization, the protection, and the exercise of all kinds of worship.—The exercise of religious duties shall in all cases be performed within the walls of the churches of the different sects.

2. The king shall enjoy in his palaces, and in any and every place where he may fix his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion.

THIRD PART.

Of the King.

Art. 1. The king possesses exclusively, and without restriction, the complete exercise of the government, and of all the powers necessary to carry the laws into effect, and cause them to be respected. He appoints to all the offices and places, the nomination to which was, by the former

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mer laws, vested in the grand pensionary. He shall enjoy all the titles of pre-eminence heretofore attached to that dignity.—The national coin shall be stamped with his effigy.—Justice shall be administered in his name.—He has the power of pardoning offences, and of remitting punishments, ordered to be inflicted by courts of justice. This power shall, nevertheless, not be acted upon, but after an audience given to the members of the national court at a privy council.

2. On the demise of the king, the care of his son, being a minor, shall be committed to the queen mother, and in default of her surviving, to such person as should be nominated by the emperor of the French.

3. The regent shall be provided with a council of natives, whose constitution and powers shall be determined by a special law.—The regent shall not be personally responsible for the acts of his administration.

4. The government of the colonies, and all that relates to their internal administration, is exclusively vested in the king.

5. The general government of the kingdom, is under the immediate conduct of four ministers of state, viz.—a minister for foreign affairs, minister for naval and military affairs, a minister of finance, and a minister of the interior.

FOURTH PART.

Of Law.

Law is established in Holland by the union of the legislative body, being the assembly of their high mightinesses, and of the king.

The legislative body shall consist of 38 members, chosen for five years, and nominated in the following proportion, viz.

For Holland	17
For Guelderland	4
For Brabant	4
For Friesland	3
For Overyssel	3
For Zealand	2
For Groningen	2
For Utrecht	2
For Drenthe	1

The number of members of the assembly of their high mightinesses may be increased by law, in case of the extension of their territory.

2. In order, on this occasion, to nominate nineteen members of the assembly of their high mightinesses, by which the number fixed in the preceding article shall be completed, their high mightinesses shall present to the king a nomination of two persons for each of the places to be filled up.

The departmental assembly of each department shall in a similar manner present a nomination of two persons, and the king shall from the persons presented make the choice.

3. The present grand pensionary shall take the title of president of their high mightinesses, and hold the office for life.

The election of his successors shall take place in the manner prescribed by the constitution of the year 1805.

4. The legislative body shall nominate from its own members a secretary, by a majority of votes.

5. The legislative body shall in general assemble twice a year; namely, from the 15th of April to the 1st of June, and from the 15th of November to the 15th of January. It may be assembled on any extraordinary occasion, by authority of the king.

On the 15th November of each year, the oldest fifth part of the members

bers constituting the legislative body shall go out. The first vacating of seats, shall take place on the 15th of November, 1807; and on this occasion, lot shall determine the members to go out. The persons going out, shall always be eligible again.

FIFTH PART.

Of the Judicial Power.

Art. 1. The judicial tribunals shall be continued as established in the year 1805.

2. The king shall, with regard to the judicial power, exercise all the rights, and all the powers which were assigned to the grand pensionary, by the 49th, 51st, 56th, 79th, 82d, and 87th articles of the constitution of the year 1805.

3. All that relates to the exercise of criminal justice in military affairs, shall be fixed by a particular law.

A Proclamation by Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America.

Whereas satisfactory information has been received, that Henry Whitby, commanding a British armed vessel, called the *Leander*, did, on the 25th day of the month of April last past, within the waters and jurisdiction of the United States, and near to the entrance of the harbour of New York, by a cannon shot fired from the said vessel *Leander*, commit a murder on the body of John Pierce, a citizen of the United States, then pursuing his lawful vocations within the same waters and jurisdiction of the United States, and near to their shores, and that the said Henry Whitby cannot at this time be brought to justice by the ordinary process of the law.

And whereas it does further ap-

pear, that both before and after the said day, sundry trespasses, wrongs, and unlawful interruptions and vexations on trading vessels coming to the United States, and within their waters and vicinity, were committed by the said armed vessel, the *Leander*, her officers and people; by one other armed vessel, called the *Cambrian*, commanded by John Nairne, her officers and people; and by one other armed vessel, called the *Driver*, commanded by Slingsby Simpson, her officers and people, which vessels being all of the same nation, were aiding and assisting each other in the trespasses, interruptions, and vexations aforesaid.

Now, wherefore, to the end that the said Henry Whitby may be brought to justice, and due punishment inflicted for the said murder, I do hereby enjoin and require all officers having authority, civil or military, and to all other persons within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, wheresoever the said Henry Whitby may be found, now or hereafter, to apprehend and secure the said Henry Whitby, and him safely and diligently to deliver to the civil authority of the place, to be proceeded against according to law.

And I do hereby further require, that the said armed vessel the *Leander*, with her other officers and people, and the said armed vessels, the *Cambrian* and *Driver*, their officers and people, immediately and without delay, depart from the harbours and waters of the United States. And I do for ever interdict the entrance of all the harbours and waters of the United States to the said armed vessels, and to all other vessels which shall be commanded by the said Henry Whitby, John Nairne, and Slingsby

Slingsby Simpson, or either of them.

And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or shall re-enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do, in that case, forbid all intercourse with the said armed vessels, the *Leander*, the *Cambrian*, and the *Driver*, or with any of them, and the officers and the crews thereof, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished them, or any of them. And I do declare and make known, that if any person, from or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, shall afford any aid to either of the said armed vessels, contrary to the said proclamation, either in repairing such vessel, or in furnishing her officers or crew with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them, in the first instance, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences: and I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the same, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this proclamation, and every part thereof, into full effect.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed (L. S.) to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Given at the city of Washington, the 3d day of May, in the year of

our Lord, 1806, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States the thirtieth.

(Signed) Thomas Jefferson,
By the President.

(Signed) James Madison,
Secretary of State.

Definitive Treaty of Amity and Alliance between the Honourable the English East India Company, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah Bahadur, and his Children, Heirs, and Successors.

Whereas many doubts and misunderstandings have arisen respecting the clear meaning and interpretation of parts of the treaty of peace, concluded between the British government, and Dowlut Row Scindiah, at Serjee Anjengaum, on the 30th December, 1803: with a view of doing away with all such doubts, and of preventing the recurrence in future of any misunderstanding, this definitive treaty of amity and alliance is concluded between the two states, by lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, acting under the immediate direction and superintendence of the right honourable general Gerard lord Lake, commander in chief of his majesty's and the honourable company's forces, &c. &c. &c. and vested with full powers and authority from the honourable sir George Hilario Barlow, baronet, appointed by the honourable the court of directors of the said company, to controul and direct all their affairs in the East Indies: and Moonshee Kavi Nynce, vested with full powers and authority on the part of the said Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah.

Article I. Every part of the treaty

of peace concluded by general sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. at Serjee Anjengaum, except what may be altered by this engagement, is to remain binding upon the two states.

Art. II. The hon. company can never acknowledge that Dowlut Row Scindiah has any claim or right grounded on the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, to possess the fort of Gualior, or the territories of Gohud, but from considerations of friendship, it agrees to cede to the maharajah that fortress, and such parts of the territory of Gohud as are described in the accompanying schedule.

Art. III. As a compensation for this cession, and to remunerate the English government for the annual expence incurred in supporting the rajah of Gohud, Dowlut Row Scindiah agrees on his own part, and that of his sirdars, to relinquish, after the 1st of January, 1806, all right and claim whatever to the pensions of fifteen lacks of rupees, granted to several of the chief officers of his state, by the 7th article of the aforesaid treaty of Serjee Anjengaum.

Art. IV. The hon. company agree to pay to Dowlut Row Scindiah the arrears due upon the pensions granted by the 7th article of the treaty of peace, as above mentioned, up to the 31st of December, 1805, and also the balance due upon the revenues of Dholepoor, Rajah Kerrah, and Barree, up to the same date, making deductions on the following heads:—

1st. Pensions forfeited by Bappoo Scindiah and Sudasheo Row, by acts of hostility towards the British government, to be stopped from the date of their hostility.

2nd. Plunder of the British residency.

3rd. Cash advanced by Mr. Jenkins to parties of the Maharajah's troops.

4th. Charges of collection, &c. for the provinces of Dholepoor, Barree, and Rajah-Kerrah.

Art. V.—With a view of preventing any misunderstanding relative to their respective possessions in the quarter of Hindostan, it is agreed that the river Chumbul shall form the boundary between the two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east, and within that extent of the course of the Chumbul, Dowlut Row Scindiah shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on its north bank, and the hon. company shall have no claim, or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on the south bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadek and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the hon. company.

Art. VI.—By the 5th article of this treaty, which makes the river Chumbul the boundary of the two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east, the Maharajah resigns all pretensions and claims to any tribute from the rajah of Boondee, or any other on the north bank of the Chumbul, within the aforementioned limits, as also to the countries of Zemcendah, Dholepoor, Rajah Kerrah, and Barree, anciently in the possession of the Maharajah, all which now remains in the possession of the hon. company.

Art.

Art. VII.—The hon. company, on consideration of the benefits derived from the article which makes the Chumbul the boundary between the two states, and from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments through the resident at the Durbar; and the hon. company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum to Bacezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and a jaggeer amounting to the sum of one lack of rupees per annum to Chumnah Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

Art. VIII.—The hon. company engage to enter into no treaties with the rajahs of Oudeepoor and Joudpoor and Kottah, or other chiefs, tributaries of Dowlut Row Scindiah, situated in Malwa, Me-war, and Marwar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Scindiah may make with those chiefs.

Art. IX.—The hon. company are now engaged in a war with Jeswunt Row Holkar, and using every exertion for his reduction, but should they hereafter make a peace, or enter into any agreement with that chief, they engage not to restore to him, or desire to be restored to him, any of the possessions of the family of Holkar, in the province of Malwa, lying between the river Tapti and Chumbul, which may have been taken by Dowlut Row Scindiah, nor will the hon. company interfere in any manner whatever in the disposal of those

provinces, and they will consider Dowlut Row Scindiah at full liberty to make such arrangement as he chuses with Jeswunt Row Holkar, or with any other branch of the Holkar family, respecting the claims of that family to tribute from the rajahs or others, or to any possessions situated to the north of the river Tapti, and to the south of the river Chumbul: but it is clearly to be understood, that as the company's government agrees not to concern itself with the arrangements which Scindiah may make with the family of Holkar, respecting their claims or hereditary possessions situated between the Tapti and the Chumbul, that government will not take part in any dispute or war which may be the result or consequence of any such arrangement or settlement.

Art. X.—As Serjee Row Ghautka has acted in a manner calculated to disturb the friendship between the two states, the Maharajah agrees never to admit that chief to share in his councils, or hold any public employment under his government.

Art. XI.—This treaty, consisting of eleven articles, has been this day settled by lieut. colonel Malcolm, acting under the directions of the right hon. lord Lake, on the part of the hon. company, and by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, on the part of Dowlut Row Scindiah; lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, and has received from the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne, a counterpart of the said treaty signed and sealed by the

the said Moonshee. Lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the honourable the governor-general, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty, now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Moonshee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the Maharajah, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the Maharajah, the treaty executed by lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm, under the immediate direction of the right hon. lord Lake, shall be returned: and Moonshee Kavil Nyne, in like manner engages, that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to lieutenant-colonel John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the honourable the governor-general, within the period of one month from this date, and on the delivery of such copy to the honourable the governor-general, the treaty executed by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, by virtue of the full powers and authority vested in him, as abovementioned, shall also be returned.

Done at Mustafahpoor, this twenty-second day of Nov. Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and five, or twenty ninth of Shaban, in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed) John Malcolm.
Kavil Nyne.

Row Scindiah, on the 22d of November, 1805.

Whereas objections have arisen to the terms of the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the aforesaid treaty, it is hereby agreed and declared, that in lieu of those three articles, the two following shall be substituted.

Article I.—With a view to prevent any misunderstanding relating to the respective possessions of the honourable company and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in the quarters of Hindostan, the Maharajah hereby agrees to cede to the honourable company all the territory north of the river Chumbul, which was ceded to the Maharajah by the 7th article of the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, that is to say, the whole of the districts of Dholepore, Barree, and Rajah Kerrah; and the honourable company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, or revenues, or possessions on the south bank of that river. The Talooks of Bhadeck and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will, however, remain in the possession of the hon. company.

Art. II.—The honourable company, from friendship to the Maharajah, agree to grant him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments, through the resident at the Durbar; and the honourable company, also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum, to Bacezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah;

Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty concluded between the Right Honourable Lord Lake on the Part of the Honourable Company, and Maharajah Dowlut
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Scindiah; and a jaggeer amounting to one lack of rupees per annum, to Chumna Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

Done at Illahabad, the third day of December, one thousand eight hundred and five.

(Signed) G. H. Barlow.

Published by order of the honourable the vice-president in council.

Thos. Brown,

Acting chief sec. to the Govt.

Treaty of Peace and Amity between the British Government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Whereas disagreement has arisen between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and it is now the desire of both parties to restore mutual harmony and concord, the following articles of agreement are therefore concluded between lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, on the part of the honourable company, and Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; the said lieutenant colonel John Malcolm, having special authority for that purpose from the right hon. lord Lake, commander in chief, &c. &c. His lordship aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from the hon. sir G. H. Barlow, bart. governor general, &c. &c. and the said Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla, and Bala Ram Seit, also duly invested with full powers on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Art. I.—The British government engages to abstain from all prosecution of hostilities against Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and to consider

him henceforth as the friend of the hon. company; Jeswunt Rao Holkar agreeing on his part, to abstain from all measures and proceedings of an hostile nature, against the British government and its allies, and from all measures and proceedings in any manner directed to the injury of the British government or its allies.

Art. II.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all right and title to the district of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondee, Lakherie, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Daece, and other places north of the Boondee hills, and now in the occupation of the British government.

Art. III.—The honourable company hereby engage to have no concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowtee, or with any of the rajahs, situated to the south of the Chumbul, and the honourable company agree to deliver over immediately to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, such of the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in the Dekhan, now in the occupation of the honourable company, as are south of the river Taptee with the exception of the fort and pergunnah of Chandore, the pergunnah Ambar and Seagham, and the villages and pergunnahs situated to the southward of the Godavery, which will remain in the possession of the honourable company. The honourable company, however, in consideration of the respectability of the Holkar family, further engage, that in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, being such as to satisfy that state of his amicable and peaceable intentions towards the British government

ment and its allies; it will, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of this treaty, restore to the family of Holkar, the fort of Chandore and its district, the pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the districts formerly belonging to the Holkar family, situated to the south of the Godavery.

Art. IV.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims to the district of Koonch, in the province of Bundelcund, and all the claims of every description in that province; but in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar being such as to satisfy the British government of his amicable intention towards that state and its allies, the honourable company agree, at the expiration of two years from the date of this treaty, to give the district of Koonch, in jagghire, to Beemah Bhye, the daughter of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, to be holden under the company's government on the same terms as that now enjoyed by Bhalla Bhye.

Art. V.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims of every description upon the British government and its allies.

Art. VI.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages never to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British government.

Art. VII.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages never to admit into his council or service, Serjee Rao Ghautka, as that individual has been proclaimed an enemy to the British government.

Art. VIII.—Upon the foregoing conditions, Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall be permitted to return to Hindostan without being molested by

the British government, and the British government will not interfere in any manner in the concerns of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. It is, however, stipulated, that Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall immediately upon this treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindostan by a route which leaves the towns of Puttecala Khytult, Iheend, and the countries of the honourable company and the rajah of Jypoor, on the left; and Jeswunt Rao Holkar engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder, and that they shall commit no act of hostility in any of the countries through which they may pass.

Art. IX.—This treaty, consisting of nine articles, being this day settled by lieut. colonel John Malcolm, on the part of the honourable company, and by Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla, and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; lieut. colonel John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, and confirmed by the seal and signature of the right hon. lord Lake, to the said Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, who on their part have delivered to lieut. colonel John Malcolm, a counterpart of the same, signed and sealed by themselves, and engage to deliver another copy thereof, duly ratified by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, to the right hon. lord Lake, in the space of three days: the said lieut. colonel John Malcolm also engages to deliver to them a counterpart of the same, duly ratified by the honourable the governor general in council, within the space of one month from this date.

Done in camp at Raipoor Ghaut, on the banks of the Bheah river,
Z z z this

this twenty-fourth day of December, Anno Domino 1805, corresponding with the second of Shawwal in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed) John Malcolm.
Shaikh Hubeeb Oolla.
Bala Ram Seit.

Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded between the British Government and Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, through the Agency of the Right Hon. Lord Lake, on the 24th December, 1805.

Whereas by the 2d article of the abovementioned treaty, Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar renounces all right and title to the districts of Tonk, Rampoorah, Boondce, Leckherree, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Daee, and other places north of the Boondce hills, and now in the occupation of the British government: and whereas it has been understood that the Maharajah attaches great value to the district of Tonk Rampoorah and other districts in that vicinity, which constituted the ancient possessions of the Holkar family; and the relations of amity and peace being now happily restored between the British government and Maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the British government is desirous of gratifying the wishes of the Maharajah to the utmost practicable extent, consistent with considerations of equity, and of manifesting its solicitude to cultivate the friendship and good will of the Maharajah; therefore the British government thereby agrees to consider the provisions of the 2d article of the treaty aforesaid, to be void

and of no effect, and to relinquish all claim to the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, and such other districts in their vicinity, as were formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, and are now in the occupation of the British government.

Done on the river Ganges, the 2d day of February, 1806.

(Signed) G. H. Barlow.

Published by order of the honourable the vice president in council.

Thomas Brown,
Acting chief secretary to the government.

Papers relative to the Negotiation with France, presented by His Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, 22d. Dec. 1806.

No. I.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street, 20th Feb. 1806.

(Translation.*)

Downing-street, 20th Feb. 1806.

Sir,

I think it my duty as an honest man to communicate to you, as soon as possible, a very extraordinary circumstance which is come to my knowledge. The shortest way will be to relate to you the fact simply as it happened.

A few days ago, a person informed me, that he was just arrived at Gravesend without a passport, requesting me at the same time to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate to me which would give me satisfaction. I sent for him—he came to my house the following day

* The originals of Mr. Fox's Letters were written by him in French.

day—I received him alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the Ruler of France; and that for this purpose, a house had been hired at Passy, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. I did not perfectly understand if it was to be done by a common musket, or by fire arms upon a new principle.

I am not ashamed to confess to you, sir, *who know me*, that my confusion was extreme, in thus finding myself* *led into* a conversation with an avowed assassin; I instantly ordered him to leave me, giving, at the same time, orders to the police officer who accompanied him, to send him out of the kingdom as soon as possible.

After having more attentively reflected upon what I had done, I saw my error in having suffered him to depart without having previously informed you of the circumstance, and I ordered him to be detained.

It is probable that all this is unfounded, and that the wretch had nothing more in view than to make himself of consequence, by promising what, according to his ideas, would afford me satisfaction.

At all events, I thought it right to acquaint you with what had happened, before I sent him away. Our laws do not permit us to detain him long; but he shall not be sent away till after you shall have had full time to take precautions against his attempts, supposing him still

to entertain bad designs; and when he goes, I shall take care to have him landed at a seaport as remote as possible from France.

He calls himself here, Guillet de la Gevilliere, but I think it is a false name which he has assumed.

At his first entrance, I did him the honour to believe him to be a spy.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect attachment,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. II.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, Mar. 5, 1806.—Received Mar. 19.

(Translation.)

Paris, 5th March, 1806.

Sir,

I have laid your excellency's letter before his majesty. His first words, after having read it were, "I recognize here the principles of honour and of virtue, by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated. Thank him on my part." I will not allow myself, sir, to add any thing to the expressions of his imperial and royal majesty. I only request you to accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

No. III.

Extract from a Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, March 5, 1806.—Received Mar. 19.

(Translation.)

Paris, 5th March, 1806.

It may be agreeable to you to receive news from this country.

Z z 3

I send

* The original is *dans le cas de converser*, in the act of conversing.

I send you the emperor's speech to the legislative body. You will therein see that our wishes are still for peace. I do not ask what is the prevailing inclination with you; but if the advantages of peace are duly appreciated, you know upon what basis it may be discussed.

No. IV.

Extract from a Speech delivered by the Chief of the French Government to the Legislative Body on the 2d of March, 1806.

(Translation.)

"I desire peace with England. On my part, I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens."

No. V.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-street, Mar. 26, 1806.

(Translation.)

Downing-street, Mar. 26, 1806.

Sir,

The information which your excellency has given me of the pacific disposition that prevails (in your councils), and of the basis upon which peace may be discussed, has induced me to lay that part of your private letter before the king.

His majesty has repeatedly declared to his parliament his sincere desire to embrace the first opportunity of re-establishing peace upon a solid basis, such as may be compatible with the interests and permanent security of his people: his wishes are uniformly pacific; but it is a safe and lasting peace that his majesty has in view, not an uncertain truce, which, from its very uncertainty, would be the source of disquietude

as well to the contracting parties as to the other powers of Europe.

With regard to the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, which are proposed as the basis of the negotiation, it has been observed here that this phrase has been interpreted in three or four different ways, and consequently that further explanations would be necessary, which could not fail to produce great delay, even did no other objections exist.

The true basis of such a negotiation between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicanery, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle, viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and, at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe.

England cannot neglect the interests of any of her allies; and she is united to Russia by such close connections, that she would not treat, still less conclude upon any thing, but in concert with the emperor Alexander: but whilst awaiting the actual intervention of a Russian plenipotentiary, some of the principal points might however be discussed, and even provisionally arranged.

It might seem, that Russia, on account of her remote situation, should have fewer immediate interests to discuss with France than other powers; but that court, so respectable in every point of view, interests herself, like England, warmly in every thing that concerns the greater or less degree of independence enjoyed by the different princes and states of Europe.

You see, sir, how inclined we are

are here to remove every difficulty that might retard the discussion in question. With the resources that we possess, it is most assuredly not on our own account that we need fear a continuance of the war. Of all the nations of Europe, England, perhaps, is that which suffers the least by its prolongation; but we do not the less commiserate the misfortunes of others.

Let us, then, do all in our power to terminate them, and let us endeavour, if it be possible, to reconcile the respective interests and the glory of the two countries, with the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of the human race.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.

No. VI.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, April 1st, 1806.—Received April 7.

(Translation.)

Paris, April 1, 1806.

Sir,

The very instant I received your letter of the 26th March, I waited upon his majesty, and I am happy to inform you, that he has authorized me to send you, without delay, the following answer:—

The emperor covets nothing that England possesses. Peace with France is possible, and may be perpetual, provided there is no interference in her internal affairs, and that no attempt is made to restrain her in the regulation of her custom duties; to cramp her commercial rights; or to offer any insult to her flag.

It is not you, sir, who have displayed in many public discussions,

an exact knowledge of the general affairs of Europe and of France, who require to be convinced that France has nothing to desire except repose, and a situation such as may enable her, without obstruction, to give herself up entirely to the labours of her industry.

The emperor does not imagine, that any particular article of the treaty of Amiens produced the war. He is convinced, that the true cause was the refusal to make a treaty of commerce, which would necessarily have been prejudicial to the manufactures and the industry of his subjects. Your predecessors accused us of wishing universal conquest. In France, England has likewise her accusers. Very well! We only ask equality. We shall never require an account of what you do at home, provided that, on your side, you never require an account of what we do at home. This principle is reciprocally just, reasonable, and mutually advantageous.

You express a desire that the negotiation may not terminate in a short-lived peace. France is more interested than any other power that it should be permanent. It is not her interest to make a truce; since a truce would only pave the way for fresh losses. You know very well that nations, similar in this respect to individuals, accustom themselves to a state of war, as well as to a state of peace. All the losses that France could sustain, she has sustained. This will ever be the case, in the first six months of war. At present, our commerce and our industry* have taken the channel dictated by the circumstances of our country,

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* Se sont répliez sur eux mêmes.

country, and are adapted to our state of war. Consequently a truce of two or three years would be the thing of all others the most opposite to our commercial interests, and to the emperor's policy.

As to the intervention of a foreign power, the emperor might accept the mediation of a power possessing a great naval force, because, in that case, the participation of such power in the peace would be regulated by the same interests that we have to discuss with you; but the mediation you speak of is not of this nature. You do not wish to deceive us: and you are well aware there is no equality betwixt us in the guaranty of a power which has three hundred thousand men on foot, and which has no naval force. For the rest, sir, your communication has a character of openness, and precision, which we have hitherto never seen in the communications between your court and us. I will make it my duty to employ the same openness, and the same precision, in my reply. We are ready to make peace with the whole world! We wish to dictate to no one! But we will not be dictated to; and no one possesses either the power or the means of doing it. It is in the power of none to make us relinquish treaties which are already carried into effect. The integrity and the complete and absolute independence of the Ottoman empire, form not only the sincerest desire of the emperor, but constitute also the undeviating object of his policy.

Two enlightened and neighbouring nations would be wanting in the opinion they ought to entertain of their power and wisdom, should they call for the intervention of fo-

reign and distant powers in the discussions of the great interests which divide them: thus, sir, peace may be treated upon and concluded immediately, if your court really entertains the desire of attaining it.

Our interests are reconcileable, inasmuch as they are distinct. You are the rulers of the ocean: your naval forces are equal to those of all the sovereigns of the world united. We are a great continental power: but there are many who equal our power by land; and your maritime preponderance will always place our commerce at the mercy of your squadrons, immediately after your declaring war. Do you think it reasonable to expect that the emperor should ever consent to submit himself to your discretion in continental affairs also? If, masters of the sea through your own power, you propose being masters of the land likewise by a combined force, peace is impossible; for, in that case, you will be striving for an object which you can never attain.

The emperor, accustomed as he is to encounter every risk, which holds out the prospect of greatness and of glory, wishes for peace with England—he is a man—after so many fatigues he is desirous of repose—the father of his subjects, he wishes, as far as it is compatible with their honour and with security for the future, to procure for them the blessings of peace, and the advantages of a successful and uninterrupted commerce.

If then, sir, his majesty the king of England really wishes for peace with France, he will appoint a plenipotentiary to repair to Lisle. I have the honour of sending you passports for this purpose. As soon as the emperor shall be informed of the

the arrival of the minister from your court, he will appoint one and will send him without delay. The emperor is ready to make every concession, which, from the extent of your naval forces, and of your preponderance, you may desire to obtain. I do not think that you can refuse to adopt the same principle of making him proposals conformable to the honour of his crown and the commercial rights of his dominions. If you are just—if you desire only what is possible for you to obtain, peace will be soon made.

I conclude, by declaring that his majesty fully adopts the principle laid down in your dispatch, and offered as the basis of the negotiation, “that the peace proposed should be honourable for the two courts, and for their respective allies.”

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient,
humble servant,

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

No. VII.

*Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to
M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-
Street, April 8, 1806.*

(Translation.)

Downing-street, 8th April, 1806.

Sir,

I did not receive until yesterday evening your dispatch of the first instant. Before I reply to it, allow me to assure your excellency that the frankness and obliging tone which prevail in it have produced the greatest satisfaction here. A spirit of conciliation manifested on both sides is already a great advance towards peace.

If what your excellency says respecting domestic affairs relates to political affairs, an answer is scarcely requisite. We do not interfere in such concerns in time of war, much less shall we do so in time of peace; and nothing can be further from the ideas which prevail here than any wish either to interfere with respect to the internal regulations which you may judge proper for the management of your custom duties and for the support of your commercial rights, or to offer insult to your flag. As to a treaty of commerce, England supposes that she has no greater interest in desiring it than other nations. There are many who think that such a treaty between Great Britain and France would be equally beneficial to the two contracting parties; but this is a question upon which each government must decide according to its own ideas, and the party rejecting it gives no offence, and is no way responsible to the party proposing it.

It is not my individual opinion alone, sir, but it must be acknowledged by every reasonable man, that the true interest of France is peace, and consequently that the true glory of her rulers ought to be placed in the preservation of it.

It is true that we have mutually accused each other, but it can answer no purpose at the present moment to discuss the arguments upon which those accusations were founded. Like you we desire to treat upon equal terms. Assuredly we are not accountable to each other for what we do at home; and the principle of reciprocity that your excellency has proposed on this point appears just and reasonable.

It

It cannot be denied that your arguments respecting the inconveniences to which France would be subject by a short-lived peace, are well-founded: But on the other hand, those which we should suffer would likewise be very considerable. It is perhaps natural, that in such cases each nation exaggerates its own dangers, or at least that she examines them more minutely, and with a more penetrating eye than those of others.

With respect to the interposition of a foreign power, one cannot refrain from observing, that in whatever relates to peace and war between England and France, Russia can never be considered a foreign power, inasmuch as she is in actual alliance with England, and at war with France. For which reason the interposition of the emperor Alexander was proposed in my letter, not as a mediator, but as a party. Your excellency, in the last paragraph of your dispatch, acknowledges, that the peace "ought to be honourable, not only for England and France, but also for their respective allies." This being the case, it appears to us impossible, considering the close alliance subsisting between the two governments, that that of England can commence any other than a provisional negotiation, without the concurrence, or, at the very least, the previous consent of her ally.

As to what relates to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, no difficulty can present itself, those objects being equally dear to all the parties interested in the present discussion.

It is perhaps true, that the power of France on land, compared with

that of the rest of Europe, is not equal to the superiority that we possess at sea, considered in the same point of view: But it can no longer be concealed, that the project of combining the whole of Europe against France, is to the last degree chimerical; besides, it is in truth carrying the apprehension of what may happen hereafter rather too far, to consider the alliance between England and Russia, (the two powers of Europe the least calculated to attack France by land) as tending to produce such a consequence.

Nor can the intervention of Russia in the negotiation, be considered as the formation of a congress, either in appearance or in reality, inasmuch as there will be only two parties, England and Russia on one side, and France on the other. A congress might be desirable in many respects, after the signature of preliminaries, in case all the contracting parties should be of that opinion; but this is a proposition that may be freely and amicably discussed, after the principal points shall have been arranged.

Thus, Sir, I have laid before you, with all the clearness in my power, the sentiments of the British ministry upon the ideas which you have suggested. I entertain the gratifying persuasion that there remains only one essential point upon which we are not agreed.

As soon as you consent that we shall treat provisionally until Russia can take a part in the negotiation, and from that moment, conjointly with her, we are ready to begin without the delay of a single day, at whatever place, and in whatever form, the two parties may judge best adapted to bring to an happy
issue

issue the object of our labours, as expeditiously as possible.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. VIII.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, April 16, 1806.—Received April 19.

(Translation.)

SIR, Paris, April 16, 1806.

I have taken the pleasure of his majesty the emperor and king, before whom I lost no time in laying the dispatch which your excellency did me the honour of writing to me, under date of the 8th instant.

It appeared to his majesty, that, admitting as you do the principle of equality, you nevertheless still persist in requiring a form of negotiation which cannot accord with that principle. When in a discussion between two equal powers, one of them calls for the interference of a third, it is evident that she seeks to destroy that equilibrium so favourable to a fair and free discussion of their interests. It is manifest that she is not willing to content herself with the advantages and the rights of equality. I am ready to believe, sir, that in entering for the last time upon this discussion, I shall succeed in persuading your excellency, that, under no plea and on no account, should Russia be called upon to take part in the proposed negotiation between England and France.

When the war broke out between the two countries, Russia was at peace with France. This war has produced no alteration in the relations which existed between her and us. She first proposed her media-

tion; and afterwards, in consequence of circumstances foreign to the war which divides us, a coolness arose between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and the Thuilleries; the emperor Alexander thought proper to suspend his political relations with France; but at the same time declared in the most positive manner, that it was his intention to take no part in the existing disputes between us and England.

We do not think that the conduct which Russia has since held has in the smallest degree altered this determination. She has, it is true, concluded a treaty of alliance with you; but it is easy to see from what has been made public of this treaty, from the object it had in view, and still more from the consequences of it, that it had no connection with the war which has been carrying on nearly two years between us and England.

This treaty was an agreement to take a part in a war of a different nature, more extensive and more general than the first. From this war the third coalition sprung, in which Austria was a principal and Russia an auxiliary power. It was only in intention that England participated in this war. We have never had to oppose her forces in conjunction with those of her allies. Russia acted only a secondary part in it. No declaration addressed to France informed us that she was at war with us; and it is only upon the field of battle where the third coalition was destroyed, that we have been officially informed that Russia was a party to it.

When his Britannic majesty declared war against France, he had an end in view which he made known by

by his manifestoes. This object directed the nature of the war; when, eighteen months afterwards, his Britannic majesty formed an alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, he had other objects in view. This was a new war, the motives of which must be sought for in the official papers which have been published by the different powers; amongst these motives the direct interests of England are never mentioned. These two wars therefore have no common connection: England in reality never participated in that which is terminated. Russia never took any part directly or indirectly in that which still exists. There is, therefore, no reason why England should not singly terminate a war, which she singly has waged against us. If his majesty the emperor were now to adopt the principle of negotiating with England jointly with her new allies, he would implicitly admit the actual existence of the third coalition, the continuance of the German war, and the identity of this war with that which France sustains against England. He would implicitly accept for the basis of the negotiation the conditions of monsieur Novosiltzoff, which excited the astonishment of Europe, and were revolting to the character of the French people; and the conqueror of the coalition, the emperor, would voluntarily place himself in the situation of the conquered.

At present, the emperor has nothing to discuss with the coalition. He is entitled to refuse his recognition of the relations which you have had with it; and in treating with you there can be no other question, than the object and the interests of the war which was entered into pre-

vious to your alliances, and which has survived them.

Notwithstanding only six months have elapsed since the veil which concealed the secret combinations of the last war has been removed, it is nevertheless true that the continent is at peace. Your principal ally, Austria, has made a separate peace. Prussia whose armies were for some time on the war establishment, has concluded a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with us. Sweden is not worthy a remark. As to Russia, there exist between her and us direct proposals of negotiation. Powerful as she is, she requires the protection of no one, and she cannot call for the intervention of any court to terminate the disputes between us. Her remote position places her so entirely out of our reach, and deprives her so completely of all means of annoying us, that the alteration in our respective connections, occasioned by a state of war or a state of peace, is purely of a diplomatic nature. If in such a situation, the emperor were to accept the condition of negotiating jointly with England and Russia would he not resign all his advantages? Would he not admit the existence of a war which he has gloriously terminated? Would he not, in fine, abandon, in favour of England the principle of equality already agreed upon between us? If sir, you will only examine with the discernment which belongs to you the considerations which I have the honour to lay before you, you will agree that such a negotiation would be far more prejudicial to us than war, and even than a congress.

In fact, in a congress, if England, Sweden, and Russia contended in support of the principles which
formed

formed the basis of the third coalition, Prussia, Denmark, the Porte, Persia, and America, would protest against those principles, and would require equal laws for navigation and a just division of the empire of the seas. Doubtless in this discussion, the diminution of the power of France would be frequently voted; but as frequently would the diminution of the power of England also be voted. The balance of power in the south of Europe would be demanded by some, but others would demand the balance of power in the north. Many would bring forward the balance of power for Asia; all would feel an interest in the balance of power on the seas; and if it were possible to hope that any result could be formed in the midst of such complicated and turbulent discussions, that result would be just because it would be complete; and certainly his majesty has declared, under every circumstance, that he would have no repugnance to make sacrifices for the public tranquillity, whenever England, Russia, and all the great powers shall be disposed to recognize established rights, to protect the weaker states, and to adopt the principles of justice, moderation and equality; but the emperor knows mankind too well to allow himself to be led away by chimerical ideas, and he feels that it would be in vain to seek for peace in a labyrinth of ten years of discussions, which during that period would perpetuate war, and would only have the effect of rendering its termination still more difficult and uncertain. It would then become necessary to change the system, and, as was done at Utrecht, leaving the allies to perplex

themselves in vain and endless disputes, to enter into a separate negotiation; to discuss, as was then done, the interests of the two powers and of their respective allies; at last to make peace for ourselves, and to make it so equitable and so honourable as to be immediately agreed to by all the powers concerned. This is the mode in which it becomes two such nations as England and France to terminate, not at the distance of ten years, but immediately, the differences which divide them, and at the same time to establish the regulation of their rights and of the interests of their allies.

To resume, sir; I see in the proposed negotiation, only three possible forms of discussion:

Negotiation with England and the allies which she acquired at the time of the formation of the third coalition:

Negotiation with all the powers of Europe, with the addition of America:

Negotiation with England alone.

The first of these forms is inadmissible, because it would subject the emperor to the influence of the third coalition, which no longer exists. The emperor would have negotiated in this manner if he had been vanquished. The second form of negotiation would eternalize the war, if the unavoidable occurrences to which it would at every instant give rise, and the passions which it would let loose without controul, did not cause the discussions to be broken off with violence a few years after they should have been entered into. The third therefore is the only one which can be desired by those who really wish for peace. His majesty is confident, that the
just

just and moderate dispositions which he has the satisfaction of observing in the tone and the language of the ministers of his Britannic majesty, seconding, in conformity to his desires, the pacific sentiments of which he is more than ever determined to afford proofs to his allies, and even to his enemies, the nations exhausted by the efforts of a war, the interest of which it is as difficult to perceive as its real object is difficult to discover, will thus see a peace, which is called for by all their wants and all their wishes, result from the proposed negotiation.

I request, sir, you will accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

No. IX.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing-Street, April 20, 1806.

(Translation.)

Downing Street, April 20, 1806.

SIR,

I received the day before yesterday, your excellency's dispatch of the 16th instant.

After having repeatedly read it with all possible attention, I do not find in it any argument sufficient to induce our government to change the opinion which it has already declared, namely, that any negotiation in which Russia is not included as a party, is absolutely inadmissible.

We wish for peace: but we cannot wish for any thing which may be injurious either to the dignity of our sovereign, or to the honour and the interests of the nation. But if we negotiate without Russia, considering the intimate ties by which we are united with that power, we should conceive ourselves open to the reproach of having failed in that

scrupulous fidelity to our engagements on which we pride ourselves; whilst, on the other hand, by persisting in our demand that Russia be admitted, we do not conceive that we do any thing contrary to that principle of equality to which both of us lay claim. When the three plenipotentiaries are assembled, how can it be thought that any question could be carried by the majority of voices; or even that such an assembly could have any thing in common with a general congress? There would be in fact but two parties in it; on one side, France, on the other, the two allied powers. Moreover, if it is thought so advantageous in an affair of this nature, to have two against one, no objection would be made to your introducing whichever of your allies you may judge most expedient.

Sincerely desirous of avoiding useless disputes, I do not allow myself to enter into a discussion of the consequences which your excellency draws from the events of the last campaign.

I will only remark, that I do not see any reason why an alliance should be considered as null with regard to the powers who adhere to it, because a power who formerly belonged to it has been detached from it by the misfortunes of war.

With regard to the overture which Russia has made you, we have no knowledge of it; but, whatever may be the nature of it, we are persuaded that that court will never conduct itself so as to commit the acknowledged honour of its character, or to weaken the ties of friendship and of confidence which subsist between England and Russia.

To return to the point; your excellency

excellency mentions that, in the proposed negotiation, you know but of three possible forms of discussion.

The first appears to you inadmissible.

According to what I have had the honour to write to you, you must be convinced, sir, that the third is incompatible, both with our fundamental ideas of justice and honour, and with our conception of the interests of our country. The second is not perhaps bad, so far as regards its principle; but besides the delays which it would occasion, it would scarcely be practicable in the present conjuncture.

It is therefore with much regret, that I am obliged to declare frankly to your excellency, that I see no hope of peace at this moment, if you should not be disposed to negotiate in the manner which we have proposed.

I think myself obliged to add, that this form is essential to us, not only for the reasons which I have had the honour to explain to your excellency, but in so much as any other form might create suspicions that you really entertain the chimerical project with which you are charged (wrongfully as I willingly believe) of excluding us from any connection with the continental powers of Europe; and even, that such an idea is less revolting to us than it ought to be, and that it in reality is.

It is not necessary to declare to a minister, so enlightened as your excellency, that England can never consent to an exclusion which would degrade her from the rank which she has hitherto held, and which she believes that she may ever hold, among the nations of the world.

The affair, in fine, is reduced to

one single point. Will you negotiate conjointly with Russia? We answer, Yes: But if you require us to negotiate separately, we answer, No.

Although we have not succeeded in the great object which we proposed to ourselves, the two governments may well pride themselves on the candour and frankness which have characterised the discussion of their differences; and I owe to you, on my own account, sir, thanks for the obliging manner in which your excellency expresses yourself with regard to me.

I am, &c.

C. J. Fox.

No. X.

Letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, 2d June, 1806.—Received June 4th.

(Translation.)

SIR, Paris, June 2d, 1806.

I have laid before the emperor the last letter, which your excellency did me the honour to write to me. I can only, by his orders, repeat to you, that to require of France that she should treat with you upon the principle of your alliance with Russia, is wishing to reduce us to a constrained form of discussion, and supposing us in a state of humiliation, into which we have never fallen. The enemies of France must not hope to dictate to her either the conditions of peace, or a mode of negotiation contrary to the established usages. Such an attempt with respect to either of these points, would equally affect the French character; and I do not hesitate to say, that to overcome all our repugnance on this point, it would at least require that an English army should have invaded Belgium, and
should

should be at the point of entering Picardy, by the mouth of the Somme.

I must, sir, again repeat to you, that his majesty is truly desirous of peace; and why should not I add, what we might have said, what we really have said at the rupture of every negotiation for peace, that the continuance of the war has never been prejudicial to the grandeur of France, and that, in time of peace, a great nation can use its power only to maintain itself, and preserve in their present state its relations with the neighbouring countries.

France, sir, does not object to your right of chusing and preserving your allies. In war she has not the choice of her enemies, and she must fight them separately or united, as it may suit their convenience to concert among themselves, for the accomplishment of their views of aggression and resistance, and for the formation of alliances so little conformable to the real interests of their respective countries, that the first clause of them has always been a condition of secrecy.

Because we wish, in this case, to follow the form of negotiation which has been customary at all times and in all countries, you conclude that we desire that you should have no connection with the continent. I do not conceive that we ever gave you any reason for drawing such an inference. We cannot hinder any government from forming an alliance with you, and we cannot wish either what is unjust, or what is absurd. It is one thing, that you should form alliances according to your own choice, but it is another that we should concur in them, and aid you in contracting them. But to consent to treat upon the princi-

ple of your alliances, and to introduce them into the discussion of the direct and immediate interests that divide us, is doing much more than suffering and acknowledging them; it is in a manner consecrating, cementing, and guarantying them. I have already, sir, observed to you, that we cannot yield upon this point, because the principle is in our favour.

To leave, however, from henceforward, no room for any misunderstanding, I think it my duty to propose to you, 1st, To negociate in the same preliminary forms which were adopted during the administration of the marquis of Rockingham, in 1782; forms, which were not renewed with so much advantage in the negotiations of Lisle, but which were perfectly successful in the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Amiens: 2dly, To establish as a basis, two fundamental principles, the first, which I take from your letter of the 26th of March, namely, "*That the two states should have for their object that the peace be honourable for them and their respective allies, and at the same time of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe.*" The second principle shall be, an acknowledgment on the part of the two powers of their mutual right of intervention and guarantee in continental and maritime affairs. His majesty, far from being unwilling to make this avowal, delights in raising it to a principle; and, in thus explaining his real intentions, I think I have given you a decisive proof of his pacific dispositions. His majesty is at the same time persuaded, that, in preventing for ever all subject of complaint, uneasiness, and remonstrance on this

this point, he has, in a case which is of essential interest to the good of human nature, done his duty as a man and as a sovereign.

I should sincerely regret, sir, that a discussion, began under such favourable auspices, should terminate without the attainment of its object. Should the hopes which I cherish vanish, I shall, at all events, have the consolation of thinking, that the fault cannot be imputed to France, who demands and wishes nothing but what is just and reasonable.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

No. XI.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, dated Downing Street, June 14, 1806.

(Translation.)

Downing-street, June 14, 1806.

SIR,

I received a few days ago your excellency's dispatch of the 2d instant.

I cannot understand how, in treating conjointly with England and Russia, you will acknowledge the *principle* of the alliance subsisting between the two courts; at most you will only acknowledge the *fact*; much less can I conceive how you can consider yourselves in any degree lowered by this mode of treating. We do not by any means pretend to dictate to France, either the conditions of peace, or a mode of negotiation contrary to the established usages.

In 1782, the epoch which your excellency alludes to in your dispatch, we did not think ourselves in

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a state of degradation, yet when M. de Vergennes informed us that it was necessary for the honour of his court, that we should treat conjointly with France, Holland and Spain, we did not think ourselves in any degree lowered by adopting the mode of negotiation to which that minister appeared to attach so much consequence. Your government is sincerely desirous of peace. In this country the same sentiment prevails; and yet I could very well say of England what your excellency says of France; namely, that the continuance of the war has never been prejudicial either to its glory or to its grandeur; perhaps indeed, it has been so to its real and permanent interests, but it has been equally so to those of France.

With respect to the secret conditions of our alliance with Russia, your excellency is too enlightened not to allow, that in what concerned the war and the propositions to be made to Prussia and Austria, secrecy was absolutely necessary. All that is now at an end; to act in concert for the establishment of the repose of Europe, and for its subsequent preservation, is the principal, and I may even say the only object of our present communications.

After the open disavowal which you have made of the intention falsely imputed to you with respect to our continental connections, no doubt can exist upon that essential point, and it would be the more distressing that difficulty, in *form* rather than in *substance*, should prolong a war which the two governments equally desire to terminate.

Let us now come to what your excellency proposes.

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The form of negotiation which took place during lord Rockingham's administration is more particularly present to my memory, as I then held the same office with which his majesty has lately been pleased to honour me. Let France and England change situations, and the form you mention is exactly similar to that which I have proposed.

We then treated with France and her allies; let France now treat with us and our allies. The basis offered in your second proposition is exactly conformable to the views of our government, provided it be well understood that, whilst we mutually acknowledge our respective rights of intervention and guaranty with regard to the affairs of Europe, we also mutually agree to abstain from all encroachment upon the greater or lesser states which compose it.

I should regret equally with your excellency that this discussion should break off. If we can only act so as not to incur the reproach of a breach of faith towards an ally, who for so many reasons deserves our entire confidence, we shall be content, and the more so as we know that an honourable peace would be no less conformable to the wishes of Russia, than to those of France and England.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. XII.

Communication made by the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated June 13, 1806.

A few days after my arrival at Paris from the dépôt at Verdun, Mons. Talleyrand desired me to call upon him; having done so, he told me that the French government had

been looking out for some means by which a secret and confidential communication might be made, explanatory of the sentiments and views of France, as well as the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries.

Having mentioned the extreme desire of making this communication in such a manner that no publicity might in any case ensue, should the object of it not be obtained, Mons. Talleyrand proceeded to state, in a long argument, which it is useless to repeat, as it forms the substance of several of the French government's dispatches; the reasons which prevent their treating for a general peace jointly with Russia.

He said, that in a dispatch sent some weeks before to Mr. Fox he had been ordered to name Lisle rather than Amiens for the negotiation of a definitive treaty, in order to remove all former discussions, and to facilitate to England the possession of Malta.

I then took the liberty of interrupting M. Talleyrand, to say that, however flattering the confidence he was ordered to place in me might be, yet that, feeling as I did, the interests, and above all the honour of my country, it was impossible for me to be the bearer of a communication having peace for its object, against which I should feel obliged to vote in parliament; and viewing the restoration of Hanover in this light, I could not receive any further communication till I had explicit declaration with regard to his majesty's German dominions.

M. Talleyrand then broke off the conversation,

conversation, desiring me to return the third day after. At the expiration of this time I waited upon him again, when he informed me that, considering the extreme stress which appeared to be laid upon this point, Hanover should make no difficulty.

Authorized by the concession of that in which the honour of the king, and that of the nation appeared most interested, I enquired whether the possession of Sicily would be demanded, it having been so said, “* *Vous l'avez, nous ne vous la demandons pas; si nous la possédions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés.*” Considering this to be very positive both from the words and the manner of delivering them, I conceived it improper to make further questions. “† *Nous ne vous demandons rien*” amounting to an admission of *uti possidetis* as applicable to his majesty's conquests.

M. Talleyrand mentioned strongly the recognition of the emperor and the different branches of his family as absolutely expected. On this I took occasion to state the solidity which the recognition of Great Britain would give to their establishment, and enquired whether the French government would guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman empire. The answer was Yes, but it must be soon. “‡ *Beaucoup se prepare mais rien n'est fait.*” Reverting to the first conversation, I

desired to know whether a middle term might not be found at the same time to obtain the object desired by the French government, and that desired by Great Britain, of not treating in a manner unconnected with Russia. To this he answered that they were entirely ready to give every facility to the arrangement of the respective interests of the two powers, or that a British minister should, being authorized by the emperor Alexander, stipulate for both.

The last words of M. Talleyrand were, § “*Les sentiments de la France sont entièrement changés; l'aigreur qui caractérisoit le commencement de cette guerre n'existe plus, et ce que nous désirons le plus c'est de pouvoir vivre en bonne intelligence avec une aussi grande puissance que la Grande Bretagne.*”

(Signed) Yarmouth.

No. XIII.—Is a note from Mr. secretary Fox to M. Talleyrand, June 14, 1806, approving of lord Yarmouth's conduct, &c.

No. XIV.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, June 19, 1806.—Received June 21.

Paris, June 19, 1806.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you
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* You are in possession of it, we do not ask it of you; if we possessed it, it might very much augment our difficulties.

† We ask nothing from you.

‡ A great deal is in preparation, but nothing is yet done.

§ The sentiments entertained in France are entirely different from what they were. The asperity which characterized the commencement of this war, no longer exists; and what we most desire is, to live in harmony with so great a power as Great Britain.

that, in obedience to your orders, I made all the haste in my power to arrive at Paris as soon as possible ; calm at sea, however, prevented my getting here till the afternoon of the 16th.

I immediately waited upon M. Talleyrand to deliver to him the dispatches you entrusted to my care, and requested to put off any conversation on the subject of my journey till next day. I intended employing this interval to endeavour to see M. d'Oubril, if at Paris, and communicate with him previously to seeing again M. Talleyrand, or at any rate to obtain some knowledge of his motions.

Previous, however, to my leaving M. Talleyrand, he expressed to me that although the desire of peace was equally sincere now as it was when I quitted Paris, yet that some changes had taken place which he had hinted at the possibility of, when I last saw him, alluding to the readiness of Russia to treat separately ; and further mentioned that the emperor had received reports from his brother and the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held without Sicily, and the probability they saw of gaining possession of that island. I answered him, that, being ordered to require the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily as a necessary article of peace, there would be no question of their separation.

I conceive Sicily to be the great difficulty, though, perhaps, were there no other, it might be got over. M. Talleyrand often and seriously stated the absolute determination of the emperor not to consent to our

demands of Naples, Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, or to alienate any part of his Italian states to form a provision for the king of Sardinia.

Against cessions in the West Indies or elsewhere I solemnly protested ; nor do I think they care sufficiently about these objects to give any sufficient continental equivalent for them.

M. Talleyrand often repeated that the emperor had enquired whether I had any powers, adding, * “ qu' en politique on ne peut parler la même langue si on n'y est également autorisé ;” and as frequently said that they considered that Hanover for the honour of the crown, Malta for the honour of the navy, and the Cape of Good Hope for the honour of British commerce, to be sufficient inducements to induce his majesty's ministers to make peace.

P.S. On Tuesday 17th June I waited upon M. Talleyrand, and begun the conversation by alluding to the changes he had hinted at the night before, and desired leave to repeat the substance of what had passed at my former interviews with him, and which I had by his desire communicated. He agreed that the statement was accurate.

No. XV.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, June 26, 1806.

Downing-street, June 26, 1806.

MY LORD,

I had the honour on Saturday evening to receive your lordship's letters of the 19th, and should sooner

* “ That in politics it is impossible to hold the same language, unless both parties are equally authorized.”

sooner have answered them, if I had not been for these three days past totally incapable of attending to business.

I am very happy to learn that M. Talleyrand acknowledges your accounts of former conversations to be accurately correct; but when he does acknowledge this, I have no conception on what ground he can recede from what he said so distinctly to your lordship before, upon the subject of Sicily: “* *Vous l'avez, nous ne vous demandons rien,*” are words that made the more impression on me, because, those contained in the latter clause of the sentence had been used by his excellency in one of his letters to me. It was on the faith of the *uti possidetis* being to be strictly observed as the basis, and particularly Sicily, on which satisfaction had been given to your lordship, that his majesty was induced to authorize your lordship to hold further conferences with M. Talleyrand. Any tergiversation or cavil therefore on that article, would be a breach of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To say that Hanover is an exception to the principle is in vain, inasmuch as Hanover is to be yielded expressly in honour of the crown; while, on the other hand, the recognitions proposed with regard to the French empire and its dependants, are not only in honour of the crown of France, but tend substantially to establish the solidity of her power. With regard to the complaint of the want of full powers; to avoid all pretence of cavil on that account, I am commanded by his majesty to transmit to you the instrument accompanying this letter.

But your lordship should fairly state to M. Talleyrand, that you are not authorized to make any use of them formally until M. Talleyrand returns to his former ground with respect to Sicily. Your lordship is directed further to acquaint that minister, that, if Russia offers to treat separately, it is only in the way in which we do; that is to say, separately in form, but in substance, in concert with each other. And here you will recollect that this very circumstance was canvassed in your former conversations with M. Talleyrand, when that minister expressed himself clearly that there would be no objection on the part of France to such preconcert.

The result of what I have stated to your lordship is this: 1st, That Sicily is a *sine quâ non*; on which subject, if the French minister recedes from his former answer, it is in vain that any further discussion should take place. It is clearly within his first opinion delivered to your lordship; it is clearly within his last description of places which are reciprocally possessed by the two countries, and cannot in all probability be recovered by war.

If, according to the hope conceived by your lordship, this matter should be arranged, you may open your full powers; stating at the same time the determination of this court not to come to any final agreement without the consent of Russia. You will of course again mention the questions of Naples and Istria. If we could attain either of them, it would be well; but if we cannot, your lordship will not state these points as conclusive reasons against agreeing on preliminary articles,
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* You are in possession of it; we ask nothing from you.

provided such articles be considered as provisional and subject to the approbation of Russia.

With regard to the mode of provisional agreement, two suggest themselves to my mind: The one, to send the agreement we shall have entered into, either to Petersburg, or to some authorized agent of the emperor Alexander, at Vienna, Paris, or elsewhere, for his approbation; the other, to copy the precedent adopted by lord Lansdowne and doctor Franklin in the year 1782. At that time a provisional treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the united states of America, with the reservation, that the said treaty should not have effect till a peace should be agreed upon between France and England. Of these two modes I should prefer the latter.

It does not appear that there has been any conversation between your lordship and M. Talleyrand on a point which was mentioned to you, and which appears to be of considerable importance; I mean, the future admission of Russia and Sweden to become parties in a definitive treaty. I do not say that this is a point that must be determined upon previous to your settling the basis proposed; but it is one which should not be lost sight of, but, on the contrary, urged as far as possible.

No. XVI.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris July 1, 1806.—Received July 4.

SIR, Paris, July 1, 1806.

I had the honour to receive, on Saturday night, the full powers with

which it has graciously pleased his majesty to entrust me, and your dispatch of the 26th of June.

I waited upon M. Talleyrand next morning, and stated to him in the strongest manner the impossibility of my conversing any further upon the general outlines of peace, until he should return to the former ground, and consider Sicily in its true and real situation, namely, a state not conquered by France, or likely to be so, and coming most strictly within the meaning of his own words; that it had been clearly expressed by him, and repeated to you in the first instance, that France did not intend to make Sicily an obstacle to peace. M. Talleyrand answered, that whilst the war continued, and till terms were actually agreed upon, change of circumstances were always to be considered as reasons for a partial change of terms; that Bonaparte had been but lately convinced of the facility of taking Sicily at some future period of the war; but that, above all, he felt more and more its absolute necessity to make Naples and the neighbouring territories tenable; that had any confidential overture been made three months ago, they would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the manner most satisfactory to Great Britain: the same a month later with regard to Holland. Those subjects were now arranged, and the emperor would consider any retrograde measure as equivalent to abdication. I observed to that minister, that however much good faith may be necessary in every transaction of the world, yet that being more peculiarly so, when a communication is made secretly and verbally, I had a right to be doubly surprised at any change

change of ground. He defended himself by his former argument about altered circumstances, and said, that when no change of disposition was manifested towards Great Britain herself, as to the restoration of Hanover, or the possession of Malta and the Cape, he thought we might suffer them to possess themselves of a part of the states of their enemy, necessary to the tenure of the rest, which no consideration would now induce France to restore.

M. Talleyrand then asked whether I had any powers, I told him that I must decline answering that question, until he should inform me that there would be no further discussion about Sicily; but that he might easily draw a conclusion that I had, from the honourable manner in which Great Britain endeavoured to remove every obstacle not in its own nature insurmountable.

The minister then mentioned his being obliged to go to St. Cloud, and asked, what I said, I answered, "That I was ordered to continue no conversation till I should be informed that this new demand, changing entirely the proposed basis, should be urged no more." He appointed next morning for me to receive an answer.

I accordingly returned to the office yesterday morning, when M. Talleyrand repeated the same demand, offering to desist from the recognition by Great Britain of any or all the new states, waving this concession to the honour of the powers created by France, and setting Hanover against Sicily, and pleading that no such recognition being demanded, Hanover would then appear a fair equivalent for that island. He read the draft of an ar-

ticle to this effect: that Great Britain and France should not oppose each other's arms against such of the powers now at war, as should not be named in the preliminary articles.

To this I declined making any answer, repeating my orders not to converse further till he should abandon this proposition, and return to the former basis. I added that, unless he did so, I could expect nothing but your order to return to England.

M. Talleyrand wished to revert to the old topic, on which I repeated to him that it was impossible for me to converse on any part of the subject, till he should entirely relinquish every mode of seeking for the possession of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand desired me to inform you, that on the 29th of June the French troops were to take possession of Cattaro.

No. XVII.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 1, 1806.—Received July 4.

Paris, July 1, 1806.—Midnight.
SIR,

After closing the dispatch I had the honour to address to you this morning, I went for the passport M. Talleyrand had promised to have prepared for the messenger's return.

Instead of giving me the passport, he made many excuses for its having escaped his memory, requesting me to wait till he should come back from St. Cloud.

When I returned, M. Talleyrand proposed to me to offer the Hans Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples, and that the British

troops should occupy them the same day they retake possession of Hanover. On a little further conversation, I had little doubt that were England to provide in any other manner for his Sicilian majesty, the king might add the Hans Towns and their territories, in full sovereignty to his German dominions.

The proposition about the Hans Towns being entirely new, I promised to refer it without any comment to you for his majesty's consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Yarmouth.

No. XVIII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 5, 1806.

Downing-street, July 5, 1806.

MY LORD,

Your lordship's dispatches of the 1st instant, were received here early yesterday morning, and I lose no time in apprizing you of his majesty's commands upon the present state of the discussion with the French government.

The abandonment of Sicily is a point on which it is impossible for his majesty to concede. Your lordship has already stated unanswerably to M. Talleyrand, that this demand is inconsistent with his express declarations, and with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests. It is, besides, a proposal in itself quite inadmissible. The king's troops occupy Sicily for its defence, but with no right to cede it to France. It is not easy to contend, that the possession of Sicily can be necessary to that of Naples; nor, if it were so, could that be assigned as a reason for his majesty's

consenting to abandon that island, which he may justly hope his naval and military forces will be able to defend against all attacks. The Hans Towns could not, in the present circumstances, answer the purpose of an equivalent for Sicily, even if there were not other obvious objections to such a proposal. Nor would it be possible that any solid basis for the public tranquillity of Europe could be established on the idea thrown out to you by M. Talleyrand, of leaving Great Britain and France at liberty to prosecute the war against the allies of each other; a state of things in which their respective fleets and armies would in fact be as much opposed to each other, as they are now, and the peace between them would be merely nominal.

It is, therefore, to be hoped; that the French government will revert to its original proposals with which your lordship was charged by M. Talleyrand. To that basis of negotiation it must be your lordship's endeavour to recal him; and if, unfortunately, you should find this to be impracticable, nothing can remain but that you should state, in perfectly civil, but decided terms, that you are not at liberty to treat on any other ground, and must therefore desire your passports to return to England.

I have stated in my last letters the different ideas that had occurred here for combining our negotiation with that of Russia; providing, at the same time, for the safety of Sweden and Portugal.

Until we are informed what other proposal is made in this respect by M. Talleyrand, I can only desire that your lordship will keep this subject in view, so as not to admit
of

of any thing inconsistent with the principle of good faith to which his majesty must in substance adhere ; but in such form as may best facilitate the great work of peace.

I am, &c.

No. XIX.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 9, 1806.—Received July 12.

Paris, July 9, 1806.

SIR,

I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 5th instant early yesterday morning, and as soon as possible after waited upon M. Talleyrand to communicate to him that the offer made by France was by no means admissible, and that I had no authority to listen to any proposals whatsoever for the restoration of peace till he should desist from all pretensions to the island of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand not being willing to make any such declaration, I asked him to give me a passport to return to London : he desired me to wait one day, till he should again have taken the emperor's orders.

I accordingly returned this morning, when he desired me to propose Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa, as an indemnity for the loss of Sicily to his Sicilian majesty ; to this I answered that as a messenger was returning I should communicate this proposition, but that it by no means authorized me to expect an answer, and therefore I must beg leave to return to England.

Had M. d'Oubril not been here I should immediately have insisted on passports.

I must now inform you that on Monday, M. Talleyrand took me aside and told me that the tele-

graph announced the landing of Basilico, expressing at the same time a wish that the dispatches he would bring might lead to peace. I answered that I could expect no such result whilst France demanded Sicily ; and added, that if I might believe public report, the emperor, so far from shewing any pacific disposition, every day threw new obstacles in the way.

I then mentioned the changes in Germany. M. Talleyrand said that they were determined upon but *should not* be published if peace took place. He has since repeated this to M. d'Oubril and myself, saying if peace was made, Germany should remain in its present state.

M. d'Oubril writes both to you and to the comte de Strogonoff ; his letters will probably contain more than mine, as I conversed very little with M. Talleyrand. I felt on very delicate ground. Had I entered sufficiently into the question of indemnities for the king of Sicily, to obtain a precise idea to what extent they could be carried, monsieur de Talleyrand might have formed an opinion that I had some instruction, and was prepared to abandon Sicily whenever I was assured of sufficient compensation.

No. XX.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-Street, July 18, 1806.

Downing-street, July 18, 1806.

MY LORD,

Your lordship's last dispatches have been received, and considered with all the attention which their importance naturally demanded.

It is unnecessary for me to recal to your lordship's recollection that the

the demand of Sicily, in whatever shape it may be brought forward by France, is an express contradiction to the offers originally made to your lordship by M. Talleyrand. But it is material that this topic should never be lost sight of in the course of these discussions; and that your lordship should observe to M. Talleyrand that whatever difficulty now obstructs the conclusion of the negociation, arises solely from this unexpected departure from the basis originally established.

An exchange is now offered for Sicily, and it is in that view, and not in that of an absolute and uncompensated cession, that the question is to be considered. In this shape of the business it is obvious that the value of that exchange must be to be judged of, not only by this country and by Russia, but also by his Sicilian majesty. As the king, whose troops were admitted into Sicily for its defence and protection, naturally feels insuperable objections to any proposal for abandoning that island, unless with the free and full consent of its sovereign, and in consequence of such an arrangement as should provide for his interests by a compensation really satisfactory both in point of value and of security.

The plan of creating for him a new kingdom, to consist of Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania, does not appear likely to answer this description. Albania, which forms so large a part of this proposed sovereignty, is now a province of the Turkish empire; the dismemberment of which it is a principal object of the policy both of Great Britain and Russia to prevent. That province has indeed been frequently involved in the same sort of confusion which prevails in many other parts of that empire. But this

circumstance only increases the difficulty of giving any consistence to a state to be formed out of such materials. It does not lessen the other objections to such a plan.

There are in like manner many and strong objections to that part of the proposal which respects Ragusa, an independent state whose territory has never been ceded to France by any treaty, and of which she can consequently have no right to dispose, her occupation of it being indeed of very recent date.

But even with Albania and Ragusa and much more without them, his majesty sees no hope that such a power could be formed in that quarter as would, either in extent of territory or in amount of revenue, afford the means of opposing any barrier for Austria, or Turkey, or even of maintaining its own independence.

What advantage then could be gained to the allies by creating a nominal kingdom, without any sufficient power either to reduce the countries of which it would be composed under any uniform system of government, or to defend itself against the first attack which may be made upon it from without.

If there could, with the consent of his Sicilian majesty, be any question of an exchange for Sicily, by the creation of a new state in that quarter, it is obvious that this could no otherwise be done than by annexing to Dalmatia not only the whole of Istria, but also a very large proportion, if not the whole of the Venetian states, including, if possible, the city of Venice itself. In some such shape as this it is possible that the proposition might be rendered not wholly unacceptable to his Sicilian majesty. And although the interests

rests of this country separately would be far less consulted by such a plan than by the continued occupation of Sicily, yet the sense which the Russian minister at Paris appears to entertain of the advantage which might result from it to Austria and to Russia from the recovery of Dalmatia, if it were well combined with future arrangements of defence, might induce his majesty to accede to proposals of this description; on the supposition above mentioned of a *bona fide* consent on the part of his Sicilian majesty.

There appears, however, so little probability of inducing France so to extend her offer, that any further discussion of it might scarcely have been worth pursuing; had not M. d'Oubril so strongly expressed his wish, that this court might rather seek to temporize than abruptly to break off a negotiation now brought to a state which affords so little promise of success. It is only in compliance with that desire that his majesty has been pleased to direct your lordship to continue the conferences with M. Talleyrand, so as to ascertain whether any more practical shape can be given to the proposal of an exchange for Sicily. If this cannot be done, your lordship's attention will then, of course, be directed to the object of recalling the French government to the basis on which the negotiation was originally placed by themselves, and on which his majesty is still ready to conclude it.

M. d'Oubril has stated to count Strogonoff the proposals which have been made to him for the conclusion of a separate peace, and the inducements which, he thinks, might lead his majesty to judge such an arrangement useful to the general

interests of Europe. His majesty has undoubtedly been at all times ready to make great sacrifices for those interests; but very little expectation is entertained here, that Russia could, in such course, obtain any effectual security for them, at a time when so much new danger is to be apprehended, and in so many quarters, from the projects of France with respect to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, the Porte, Spain, and Portugal.

In the present circumstances of Europe, the last hope of averting these dangers is to be found in the union of the only two powers on whom France has yet made no impression, Great Britain and Russia.

And although the mutual good dispositions and confidence of those two powers should in fact remain, (as his majesty trusts they would) unimpaired by the difference of the situation in which a separate peace would place them, yet it is obvious that the enemy would build the most extensive hopes on that foundation, and would be more encouraged by that, than by any other circumstance that could be stated, to proceed in the execution of the plans already announced to your lordship and to M. d'Oubril.

His majesty, therefore, directs that you should express to that minister how material it is in every case, that the two courts should continue to combine their measures both of peace and war, and that no expectation should be held out to the enemy of success in any endeavour to conclude a separate peace with either of the allies; a line to which, as your lordship will have informed M. d'Oubril, his majesty has, on his part, strictly adhered.

No. XXI.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 19, 1806.—Received July 22.

Sir, Paris, July 19, 1806.

On the 10th general Clarke was named plenipotentiary to treat with monsieur d'Oubril: they have since had daily conferences of many hours; yesterday of fourteen. I hear every where that peace will be signed to-morrow between Russia and France. On the 17th M. d'Oubril admitted to me that he had produced his powers, and that if conditions, such as he should judge necessary to ensure the repose of the continent could be obtained, he should sign a truce of ten months; and this night, on pressing him, and remonstrating both upon his conduct, and the impropriety of disguising his intention, I drew from him these words, which I wrote down in his presence. “** Que voyant le danger immédiat de l'Autriche si'l pouvoit la sauver il croiroit de son devoir de la faire, même par une paix particulière.*” All he now appears to claim is the return of troops from Germany; and if he is willing to make peace on receiving an assurance that orders to that effect should be sent, nobody can doubt but that it will be signed, and probably not a battalion make a retrograde movement of fifty miles.

M. Talleyrand says, that M. d'Oubril is willing to abandon Sicily and Dalmatia, and even to engage to solicit the junction of the former to Naples, &c.

I have used every argument to dissuade M. d'Oubril from so unadvised and unwise a measure, I hope, more than I believe, with success. Indeed, I feared from the first hour I met him, that he was come determined to make a peace, good or bad, with or without Great Britain. I may, perhaps, gain a day, which may be a great deal, if that day should produce dispatches from M. de Strogonoff.

On the 17th, at night, the new arrangements for Germany were finally determined upon. The princes and the ministers who signed were scarce allowed time to read the deed.

There is a considerable army forming at Bayonne: thirty thousand men are there already. This army is ostensibly destined against Portugal, but will take Spain likewise. M. Herman, one of the secretaries of the foreign office, set off for Lisbon with a mission on the 13th.

All the officers of the army now in Germany, received yesterday orders to join their regiments instantly. The court say, this is to have troops to occupy the states seized by the new confederacy. The public ascribe this measure to a desire to frighten the emperor of Germany; and myself, to a wish to hurry M. d'Oubril, who has shewn so much anxiety for the evacuation of Germany.

M. d'Oubril and M. Talleyrand have, as I have learnt, fixed upon Majorca, Ivica, and Minorca, for his Sicilian majesty, if they can prevail upon us to evacuate Sicily.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

Yarmouth:

* “That being aware of the immediate danger of Austria, if it was in his power to save it, he should think it his duty to do so, even by a separate peace.”

No. XXII.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 20, 1806.—Received July 24.

Paris, July 20, 1806, 11 at night.
Sir,

At nine this morning, having had the honour to receive your letters by Mr. Longuinoff, and written a few lines to you in addition to my dispatches of last night, I went to M. d'Oubril; and as I am happy since to find, anticipated the contents of your dispatch of the 18th instant.

I used every argument and means to obtain delay; engaged to break off if he did: and, finally, authorised him to hold out hopes that I would listen to propositions of indemnity in lieu of Sicily for his Sicilian majesty, if proposed by him and accompanied by a joint negotiation.

I begged he would do nothing till after Basilico should have arrived, as I had learned by the telegraph, that he had landed last night.

I did not find him disposed to listen to me; and, not being willing to be too communicative towards him at that moment, I went away.

At twelve I waited upon M. Talleyrand: he was not to be seen.

At four I heard from good authority that peace was signed. At six Basilico arrived. I then went to M. d'Oubril. He was said not to be at home; but, seeing his carriage, I forced my way. He admitted the fact, *peace is signed*; the conditions, the evacuation *instantly* of Germany by the French troops; the integrity, &c. of the Ottoman empire; no attempt to be made upon Swedish Pomerania; and, by a secret article,

Russia promises to obtain his Sicilian majesty's consent to an exchange of Sicily for Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica: Russia to use her good offices to restore peace between France and England.

I have not seen the treaty, but I believe it contains nothing else material.

M. d'Oubril sends a copy to count Strogonoff, and goes himself to St. Petersburg. I had no patience to listen to M. d'Oubril's defence of his conduct, so I did not claim his good offices. I must have asked him officially to stay, which I did not choose to do.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.
Yarmouth.

No. XXIII.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 21, 1806.—Received July 24.

Sir, Paris, July 21, 1806.

I saw M. Talleyrand to-day. I can perceive that the terms of France are increased, but still not so much as the sudden defection of Russia had led me to apprehend. Hanover, Malta, the Cape, and India, remain pure and unsullied; and I took an opportunity in conversation to protest, that come what come might, these were points I never would suffer to be mentioned, but as points agreed upon.

M. Talleyrand demanded my powers. I did not think myself authorized, in the present circumstances, to withhold them.

General Clarke is named to treat with me.

No. XXIV.

Full Powers given to the Earl of Yarmouth, which were communicated

cated to M. Talleyrand on the 21st of July, 1806, and exchanged with General Clarke, the French Plenipotentiary, on the 23d.

No. XXV.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 24, 1806.—Received July 28:

Sir, Paris, July 24, 1806.

I had the honour to send, by M. de Longuinoff, dispatches, acquainting you, for his majesty's information, of the peace signed between the Russian and French plenipotentiaries, and with as accurate a statement of the terms as I was able to obtain. M. d'Oubril himself set out for Petersburg early on the morning of the 22d.

On the 22d I received the official notification of the appointment of general Clarke to treat on the part of France, (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, marked A.) preceded by a private communication from M. Talleyrand, saying, that the Russian peace being signed, and the season of the year favourable to the accomplishment of the ulterior views of France, no arrangement, which might remove for some weeks, or even months, a definitive treaty, could now take place.

I answered the official note (marked A.) with one, a copy of which I enclose (marked B.)

In the evening general Clarke proposed a conference for the following morning, at which we should mutually exchange our full powers. We accordingly did so, and I have the honour to inclose (marked C.) a copy of those of general Clarke.

This conference began by an historical recapitulation of what had previously passed, general Clarke

saying, he had not yet received his final instructions on all the different points in discussion; it was therefore agreed to adjourn the conference to this day, when each should come prepared with a memorandum of the intentions of his government, founded on what had already passed; general Clarke at the same time declaring, that a separate peace with Russia was to be considered equal, or superior, in the present circumstances of the world, to any great success in war, and consequently as entitling France to terms much more advantageous than those to which she would have subscribed some days ago. This was accompanied by some animadversions on the conduct of Russia, to which I could only answer, that I felt it my duty to abstain from any remark, and should, therefore, be entirely silent upon that subject: but that I could assure him, that if any intention existed of making any change in the great points upon which we had had such positive, though certainly not official, assurances, namely, his majesty's German dominions, Malta, and the Cape, I must consider the negotiation as stopped *in limine*; and that there would remain only for me to return to England, and acquaint the king, that no peace, consistent with his majesty's honour, or that of the country, could be made. General Clarke reverted to his want of full instructions, and promised to meet me, properly prepared, the next day.

At three o'clock this day I again met general Clarke, when I read a paper, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose (marked D.) containing the abstract of what I had always stated to be the basis and terms on which his majesty could alone

alone consent to treat. I did not, however, deliver it to him, considering it merely as the heads of past conversations.

General Clarke then said, that as it was impossible I could be prepared with the assent of his majesty to the arrangement proposed by Russia for his Sicilian majesty, on which the terms might much depend, I must consider the communication he made, as not strictly official in point of form, but as depending only on that circumstance to make it so.

General Clarke proceeded to state, that, in the situation France was in at this moment, the emperor would feel authorized to withhold some of the great points; but that having repeatedly said the contrary, though not in an official manner, he would abide by it.

General Clarke first conversed about his majesty's German dominions. On this subject, by secret articles, any thing his majesty thinks right may be stipulated: by the public article, the promise not to object to some acquisition of territory to be made by Prussia. I stopped general Clarke here to say, that his majesty never could consent to the king of Prussia's obtaining the Hanse Towns. General Clarke said, that it was Fulda, Hoya, and some other trifling principalities, over which it was proposed to extend the sovereignty of his Prussian majesty, but that the independence and present state of the Hanse Towns should not be meddled with.

On the subject of Malta—Malta, Gozo, and Connio, in full sovereignty to his majesty, with a clause

in the article declaratory of the dissolution of the order, and the two powers, “* n'en connoissent plus l'existence.” Some pensions for the chevaliers and others, having “† des droits reels dans l'isle.”—This not to extend to foreign commanderies of the order, or to any claim not local.

The Cape in equal full sovereignty; as a condition it is desired, “‡ qu'il y soit établi un port franc” to all nations: either the port itself declared so, or a part appropriated to that purpose.

On the subject of the maintenance of the integrity of the territories and possessions of the Sublime Porte, general Clarke proposed an article, a copy of which I have the honour to send (marked E.) I told him the usual full clause would be sufficient: he persisted that I should send it for his majesty's consideration.

To the usual full clause of the integrity of the territories and possession of his most faithful majesty, general Clarke weighed upon a proposed addition of the word “§ partout,” and when asked for explanation, said, he thought his Britannic majesty might occupy some of his most faithful majesty's foreign possessions.

The integrity of his Swedish majesty's dominions in the usual manner.

Having dismissed these points, general Clarke stated the demands of France:

Pondicherry,
St. Lucie;
Tobago,
Surinam;

* No longer recognize the existence of it.

† Real rights in the island.

‡ That there should be established there a free port.

§ In every part of the world.

Goree,

Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo.

The recognition in the usual words, “*est reconnu,” of the different branches of the reigning family; of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings; of the new dukes of Cleves, Baden, and Darmstadt.

In discussing for many hours these demands, I never for an instant admitted the possibility of his majesty consenting to the cessions required. I sought, however, to ascertain to what extent, and in what manner, they could be modified.

The Inclosures (A. B.) concern the appointment of general Clarke.

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of general Clarke's Full Powers, in French.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

Extract from a Paper read to General Clarke by the Earl of Yarmouth.

(Translation.)

The situation in which the two belligerent powers are now placed, by the course of the events of the war, leaving few points of immediate contact between them, or on which they may not, according to all appearance, come now to an understanding, his Britannic majesty, animated no less than the emperor of the French, with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, has authorized the undersigned (furnished with the full powers of his majesty) to discuss the basis, and to give full effect to this reciprocal desire.

The immense acquisitions made

by France since the commencement of hostilities, and the direct and immediate influence which she has obtained, having entirely changed the political system of Europe, his Britannic majesty finds himself obliged to seek in the conquests he has made, and in the possession of Malta, a just and reasonable counterpoise. His majesty would consequently treat generally on the basis of the *uti possidetis*.

It is at the same time understood, that the German possessions of his Britannic majesty, of which he was deprived from motives foreign to the war between the two powers, shall be restored to him entire.

It is likewise understood, that the peace shall secure the integrity of the territories and possessions of the Sublime Porte, of his most faithful majesty, of his majesty the king of Sweden, and the present state of Switzerland.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)

Copy of an Article proposed by General Clarke to the Earl of Yarmouth, for the Maintenance of the Integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

(Translation.)

The two contracting powers reciprocally guarantee the entire and absolute integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire. They will mutually oppose the pretensions of any power to any thing contrary to the usages, the rights of sovereignty, and the possessions of the Sublime Porte.

No. XXVI.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth,

* Is recognised.

mouth, dated Downing-street, July 26, 1806.

Downing-street, July 26, 1806.

MY LORD,

Your lordship's dispatches conveying the mortifying intelligence of the signature of a separate treaty between Russia and France, were received here yesterday; and his majesty's ministers have since had the opportunity of being acquainted with the precise terms of that treaty, which it appears had not in all respects been accurately represented to your lordship.

The king was most particularly struck with the great difference which was perceived between the actual arrangement made respecting Sicily, and that which had been described to your lordship.

In writing to your lordship, it is not necessary to dwell on the humiliating conditions to which M. d'Oubril has thought proper to bind his sovereign. Of that minister's misconduct your lordship appears fully sensible; and I doubt not you exerted yourself to the utmost to prevent it. When this was found impracticable, your lordship was naturally placed in circumstances of considerable difficulty, and for which every allowance is to be made. But it is necessary for me to say, frankly, that it would on the whole have been more satisfactory to the king's servants if your lordship had waited to know the impression which this new event might create here before you had produced your full powers.

It was originally declared by your lordship to M. Talleyrand, that your full powers were not to be produced till the French government should have reverted to the basis of negotiation originally pro-

posed by themselves; that of the *uti possidetis* universally, with the single exception of Hanover. By subsequent instructions, your lordship had indeed been acquainted that, in compliance with the wish so strongly expressed by the Russian negociator at Paris, his majesty would not refuse to enter into the consideration of such proposals as might be made to him for a fair equivalent to be given to his Sicilian majesty in lieu of Sicily, with the full and free consent of that monarch. The proposal of such an equivalent, and its acceptance by his majesty's government, would have replaced the negotiation on its original footing, that of a *uti possidetis*, to be departed from only by mutual consent, in those cases where any exchange for a reasonable equivalent might meet the ideas of both parties; and the case for the production of your lordship's full powers would thus have arisen clearly and unequivocally. Even as the matter now stands, it does not certainly preclude discussion. But this might have been continued unofficially. And it is apprehended that, by producing your powers on the very day after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression may have been created very unfavourable to the further progress of the negotiation.

In the situation to which the business is now brought, his majesty thinks it necessary to lose no time in taking every proper step for replacing the discussions between the two countries on their original footing.

The first proposals made by France were, that a plenipotentiary should be sent from hence with full powers to treat, and to conclude

3 B

a separate

a separate peace with France and her allies. This was declined here, not from any unwillingness to enter into discussions for peace on just and honourable terms, an object which his majesty has uniformly expressed himself desirous of accomplishing, but because the king was bound by engagements to Russia, which precluded him from treating otherwise than in concert with that power. Subsequently to this, a proposal was conveyed through your lordship for the conclusion of peace on the basis so often referred to; and the intermediate communications received from Russia, enabled his majesty, consistently with good faith, to entertain those proposals and to express his disposition to accede to them, provided that, in the mode of treating and concluding, the most intimate concert should still be maintained with Russia.

The extraordinary step taken by M. d'Oubril has now removed all necessity of further reserve on this point.

His majesty, in this state of things, thinks it proper to combine together the two proposals which he has at different periods received from France; and, as the difficulty which before prevented the sending from this country a public minister, openly accredited, to treat for peace, now no longer subsists, and as an acceptable basis of negotiation has been proposed to him by the enemy, his majesty directs, that your lordship should apply to M. Talleyrand for passports for a public minister so authorized and accredited, to whom, it is his majesty's gracious intention to join your lordship, in the full powers to be granted by his majesty.

The great advantages which the king's service will derive from the employment of a person fully instructed as to the sentiments of his majesty's government on all the various points of discussion that may arise, cannot fail to strike your lordship in the same light in which they are seen here; and the king's servants entertain no doubt of your lordship's zealous and hearty co-operation in the execution of the joint instructions which such a person will bring with him. I have only, therefore, to add, that your lordship may assure M. Talleyrand, that as soon as the necessary passports are received, there shall not be an hour's delay in his setting out; and that his majesty's government continues ardently to wish for the conclusion of peace, provided it can be accomplished on the same grounds of national honour, which have never been lost sight of here.

XXVII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox, to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 28, 1806.

Downing-street, July 28, 1806.

MY LORD,

Your lordship's dispatch of the 24th instant was received here this morning, and, as it is probable that, in the course of this day, or tomorrow at farthest, your lordship will receive mine of the 26th instant, I do not think it necessary to do more at present, than to request that your lordship will assure M. Talleyrand, that, immediately on the receipt of the passports which you have been instructed to demand, the earl of Lauderdale, who has been humbly recommended to his majesty for this important trust, will

will be prepared to set out; and that he will therefore of course be with your lordship in a very few days from this date. I need hardly observe to your lordship, that it is of the utmost importance, that in the interim, your lordship should avoid taking any step, or even holding any language, which may tend in the smallest degree to commit the opinion of his majesty's government on any part of the matters now depending.

No. XXVIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 30, 1806.—Received August 1.

Paris July, 30, 1806.

SIR,

I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 26th instant late at night on the 28th, and next morning lost no time in asking for blank passports for a person fully instructed with the sentiments of his majesty's government, whom it was their intention to join with me in the important commission of treating for peace. M. Talleyrand told me he must take the emperor's orders. I accordingly returned this day, when that minister informed me, that the emperor could consider this demand in no other light but that of unnecessary delay, because his majesty's secretary of state was actually in possession of a blank passport, which would enable any person or persons to come to Paris without the loss of time occasioned by this demand, but that "**pour surcroît de facilités*" there could be no difficulty about giving more. I

answered that I had no knowledge of this circumstance. M. Talleyrand said it was certain, because he had sent two entirely in blank, and that one only had been used, namely, that with which I returned.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to what I have already said in my former dispatches, relative to the signature of the Russian treaty; any inaccuracy in the statement of its contents, such as I was enabled to transmit them, may easily be accounted for by the circumstance of my not having seen the treaty itself, and by the unwillingness M. d'Oubril naturally felt to open himself to me on that subject; he informed me, at the time, that he should send a copy to M. de Stroganoff, who would communicate it to his majesty's ministers.

It is with pain, sir, proportioned to my zeal for his majesty's service, and to the fair and honest conviction of my having done nothing which the peculiar and trying circumstances of the moment did not require from me, that I have learnt by the same dispatch the expression of a wish that I had delayed the production of my full powers till I could know the impression which this event of the Russian treaty might produce in his majesty's councils, and the apprehension that, by the producing them, so soon after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression might be created unfavourable to the further progress of the negotiation.

If the question regarded only my own personal feelings, I should not think myself at liberty to allot to it so large a portion of a public dispatch; but it may not, I conceive,

be unuseful, with a view to the conduct of the negotiation, that you should be apprized of some details which I have hitherto omitted dwelling upon, partly from the urgency of more important subjects, and partly from my desire not to trespass upon your attention to so great an extent. I trust, sir, that his majesty will see in these details wherewithal to justify my conduct in the difficult situation in which I was placed.

The fate of Holland and Naples were settled before I was honoured with his majesty's confidence. My conversation here with M. Talleyrand soon convinced me that these were only preludes to still greater changes in the system of Europe. I saw at the same time a great desire of negotiation, before the final execution of some of the emperor's schemes should have removed any hope of its being attended with success.

This opinion, not preconceived or lightly taken up, but gradually formed from a variety of circumstances, was confirmed by the nature of the offers held out, unofficially indeed, but in such clear and unequivocal terms, that it was impossible to entertain any doubt of the intention of this government to adhere to them.

The point which of all others was the most essential, and that on which satisfaction was due to the national honour, and to that of his majesty, Hanover, would, I was assured, be given up without restriction; for I did not then know we should be asked to allow the king of Prussia to obtain the sovereignty of some of the lesser principalities.

I received similar assurances about Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope; nor have I any reason to doubt but that, before Russia had made her peace separately, these terms might have been obtained, and the treaty have had solely for its basis the *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception in our favour of Hanover restored, and latterly, indeed, of some arrangements tolerable to all parties in exchange for Sicily.

M. Talleyrand held the same language to me with respect to Russia, which he had before held with regard to the affairs of Germany. "You have now been here a month; we have been willing to converse with you, to give you an insight into our views, and to communicate them to the British government. We told you, that if you had the powers, and would enter into negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement of Germany. A reasonable time was left for you to consult your government: we had no answer. The arrangement was signed, **et nous n'en reviendrons jamais*. We now ask you whether you will treat before Russia has signed, which will not pass two days."

It cannot be necessary to state my answer to such a proposition. I will only add, that the treaty with Russia was signed within the time mentioned, and then commenced the difficulty of my situation.

"Switzerland, I was told by the same authority, is on the eve of undergoing a great change. This cannot be averted but by a peace with England; but still less can we alter for any other consideration our intention

* And we will never recede from it.

tention of invading Portugal. The army destined for that purpose is already assembling at Bayonne. This is for the determination of Great Britain."

But I confess the point of all others the most decisive in inducing me to produce my full powers, was the language held respecting Prussia.

"Prussia demands from us a declaration respecting Hanover; we cannot consent wantonly to lose the only ally France has had since the Revolution; the declaration once made * *Nous n'en pouvons nous retracter*. Would you have us break entirely with Prussia when we cannot even say that Great Britain will negotiate with us? Are you here only with orders to delay our measures till the season of the year makes exertion impossible, or can you treat? If so, is not the assurance we give you that Hanover, Malta, and the Cape, shall not be contested, sufficient to induce you to do so? Must we lay before the British government our exact terms, before they will even avow negotiation with so great a power as that of France? or shall we execute our other projects, as we did those in Holland and Naples?"

Undoubtedly, sir, conversations of this sort, confirmed even as they were by the events passing under my eyes, could never have induced me to commit his majesty's confidential servants upon any point upon which I had not received their instructions, and which left no time to receive them; but I did not think myself at liberty to shift from myself the responsibility thus thrown

upon me, at the risk of seeing Portugal and Switzerland share the same fate which Germany has just experienced, and Hanover confirmed to Prussia, until such time as his majesty's arms should recover the possession of it.

The mode of proceeding of this government left me no alternative. Either to avow negotiation, or shut up every opening to it was my only option.

I felt that I pledged his majesty to nothing except the fact of negotiation, already privately known to every court in Europe.

I carefully forbore giving any written paper, or admitting even the possibility of any other basis than that of *uti possidetis*.

I have ascertained the real extent of the pretensions of France; and I did consider myself to have prevented a great evil at a small expence, by having given time to yourself and his majesty's other confidential servants, to provide, by the further instructions you might judge proper, for the interests of the powers—thus, for the moment at least, saved from the grasp of France.

I persuade myself that the motives here detailed, upon which I acted at the moment, will place in a stronger light the difficulties of my position, and will, on further consideration, obtain his majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct which I thought myself obliged to hold in consequence.

His majesty's ministers would have relieved me from much painful responsibility if they had commanded me to proceed no further, and

3 B 3

wait

* We cannot retract.

wait the arrival of the person alluded to, and for whom I have the honour to enclose the necessary passport which I have this moment received.

Mr. Goddard, whom a long residence in France, independent of his abilities and correct information on what has passed here, renders entirely able to give his majesty's ministers every explanation they may wish for, is so good as to take this dispatch with him to England, where he is returning at the end of his long captivity in this country.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.
Yarmouth.

No. XXIX.

Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, August 2d. 1806.

Downing-street, August 2, 1806.

My Lord,

Mr. Goddard arrived here yesterday evening with your lordship's dispatch of the 30th July.

His majesty's servants always did justice to the motives which induced your lordship to produce your full powers, though the step is one of which it is not possible for them to express approbation, thinking it, as they do, likely to have given so much more countenance than was desirable to the new and increasing demands of France.

The full powers which lord Lauderdale carries with him, are drawn jointly in his name and your lordship's. In the present disposition of the French government, there is, I fear, little probability, that peace can be concluded on such terms as are alone admissible. The trial should, however, be made with frankness and good faith; and it is

with this view, that his majesty has been pleased to direct that the earl of Lauderdale should proceed to Paris, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of the negotiation. His instructions your lordship will consider as equally addressed to yourself, and as the rule of your conduct in any conferences which, in conjunction with him, you may have with monsieur Talleyrand, or general Clarke; and, in any point of doubt that may occur, it is his majesty's pleasure that your lordship should be guided by lord Lauderdale's opinion, formed, as it will be, on the fullest knowledge of the sentiments and views of his majesty's government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. XXX.

Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 3d, 1806.

Downing-street, August 3, 1806.

My Lord,

I was unwilling to detain lord Lauderdale for the purpose of replying particularly to the unfounded allegations of M. Talleyrand, which you have recapitulated in your dispatch of the 30th ult. - But some points are there mentioned, which cannot be left without an answer, such, indeed, as I trust your lordship has already given to them.

It is true, as stated by that minister, that when the demand was made for lord Lauderdale's passport, there still remained here a blank passport, one of the two sent here some time before your lordship's arrival; when it had been proposed to us to treat separately from Russia. That proposal having fallen to the ground,

the

the circumstance of our being still in possession of the passport was overlooked; but, even if it had occurred, some doubt would probably have arisen, how far it might be proper, in so different a state of things, to make use of it for lord Lauderdale, without some previous communication of such an intention. This whole matter is, however, very immaterial. The principal point to which I feel it necessary to advert, is that part of M. Talleyrand's language which imputes to this country needless delays in the negotiation, and attributes to that cause the unjustifiable measures pursued by France in Germany and elsewhere.

In the instructions given to lord Lauderdale, the repeated tergiversations of France, during the negotiation, are detailed. It is from thence alone, that delay has arisen.

Your lordship truly states, that the offers made through yourself were so clearly and unequivocally expressed, that the intention of the French government could not be doubted. But they were no sooner made than departed from. In the first conference after your lordship's return to France, Sicily was demanded. In the former offers it had been distinctly disclaimed, "** Vous l'avez—nous ne vous la demandons pas. Si nous la possédions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés.*" This demand, therefore, could not have been foreseen, being in contradiction to their own assurances; and your lordship could only take it *ad referendum*. This produced a delay attributable solely to France. Our answer was immediate and distinct. The new demand was declared to be a breach

of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To obviate a cavil on the subject of full powers, they were sent to you; but with an express injunction not to use them, nor even to produce them formally, till the French government should return to its former ground respecting Sicily. Your lordship stated this to M. Talleyrand, and you received in return, a proposal, of giving to his majesty, or to the king of Naples, the Hans towns in lieu of Sicily. This being again a proposition entirely new, could only be referred for his majesty's consideration. On the very next day after it arrived, it was decidedly rejected here; and, so little were we disposed to delay, that the same dispatch conveyed to you his majesty's orders, if the demand of Sicily should still be persisted in, to desire your passports, and return to England.

Of this order your lordship informed M. Talleyrand, and its execution was delayed only by a fresh proposal of exchanges brought forward by France, and supported by the Russian minister, as affording the means by which his majesty might prevent, among other things, the changes meditated in Germany. M. Talleyrand, it appears, now represents this communication in the following terms: "*We told you, that if you had powers, and would enter into negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement in Germany.*" M. Talleyrand's real communication is to be found in your lordship's dispatch of the 9th July, in which he says, that those changes "*were determined upon, but should not be published if peace took place.*"

3 B 4

That

* You are in possession of it. We do not demand it of you. If we possessed it, the difficulties might be much increased.

That dispatch was received here on the 12th; and on the 17th, in direct violation of these assurances, in which ever form they were conveyed, the German treaties were both signed and published.

They must of course have been prepared at least one day before. What M. Talleyrand therefore calls a reasonable time allowed to your lordship to consult your government, was, at the most, twenty-four hours, even supposing the utmost possible expedition to be made by the messengers to and from England, and no accident or delay to occur by land or sea. These dates will undoubtedly not have escaped your lordship's attention, and will have enabled you to refute, in the most decisive manner, the unfounded pretences by which the French government seeks to attribute to delays on our part, the results of its own injustice, and repeated breach of promise.

The whole of our intercourse with France, bears indeed so different a character from that of delay, and the whole of the king's conduct in this, as in every other instance, is marked by so many striking proofs, of his desire to avert, even by the greatest sacrifices, such calamities as he is now accused of producing, that your lordship may, perhaps, have felt it less necessary to enter into a particular refutation of such a charge.

But after the experience which, in this negotiation, we have had of the conduct of the French government, it is of the highest consequence not to suffer such imputations to pass unnoticed, and, by disregard, to acquire strength and currency.

Of the subsequent proceedings, no explanation can be necessary.

It had not been decided here,

that in the event of the signature of the Russian treaty, the negotiation on the part of this country should be pursued on any other basis but that of the strict *uti possidetis*, with the exception of Hanover.—The resolution of admitting even the possibility of equivalent for Sicily, had been adopted only in consequence of M. d'Oubril's desire, and in order to maintain, if it had been possible, the union of council and measures between Great Britain and Russia.

But by the production of your lordship's full powers, his majesty was in some sort pledged to continue the negotiation. It was then judged proper, that a fresh negotiator should be added to your lordship, and not an instant has been lost in giving effect to that determination; nor has any considerable delay occurred on this side the water, except in the single point respecting the passport, which I have explained in the outset of this dispatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.

No. XXXI.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 6, 1806.—Received August 13.

Paris, 6th Aug. 1806.—9 o'clock.
A. M.

SIR,

The desire expressed by commodore Owen, in the uncertain state of the weather, to get off the coast of France as soon as possible, prevented me from detaining the boat, for the purpose of announcing to you my arrival at Calais.

After a very quick passage in his majesty's frigate the *Clyde*, I was put

put on shore on Sunday morning the 3d, about eleven o'clock. At Calais I received every mark of attention and civility from the magistrates and the commanders of the army, and of the marine, as well as from the inhabitants of the place, who were in crowds on the shore, expressing their wishes for peace.

I have now to inform you, that on Tuesday I got to Paris about twelve o'clock, when I immediately sent the enclosed note, (marked A.) to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, from whom I soon afterwards received the answer, (marked B.) which I also enclose. At the hour appointed, I waited upon his excellency, with whom I had a short conversation, in which his anxiety for your speedy recovery formed the principal topic. He informed me that general Clarke was the person named by the emperor to negotiate with lord Yarmouth and myself, and appointed this day, at eleven o'clock, for the formal exhibition of our powers.

As the frequency of communication gives rise to false speculations in England, it is not my intention to send a messenger, until I shall have something more important to communicate.

I am, &c.

Lauderdale.

Inclosures (A) and (B) are copies of notes from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 5, 1806, and from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated August 5, 1806.

No. XXXII. Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, Au-

gust 7, 1806, received August 13, (of no importance.)

No. XXXIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 7, 1806.—Received August 13.

Paris, August 7, 1806.

SIR,

I received in due time, and in their order, your several dispatches of the 28th ult. and the 2d and 3d inst. As no messenger has been dispatched from hence since the receipt of them, I have been obliged to defer till now replying to their contents.

It was with great satisfaction that I learnt by your dispatch of the 2d inst. the intelligence of lord Lauderdale's departure from England; as, independently of the advantages I must derive from communicating with a person charged with the latest and fullest instructions from his majesty, his arrival here afforded me the opportunity of evincing, in the clearest manner, that I had in no instance thought myself at liberty to depart from the basis, originally laid down as the only one on which his majesty's ministers could consent to treat with the French government.

It must be evident, that whatever delays have occurred in the negotiation, are imputable to France, and to the perpetual variation of the terms proposed by her; and I had not failed, before the receipt of your dispatch of the 3d instant, repeatedly to do justice to the conduct of his majesty's government in that respect.

As in the line of conduct which I thought it my duty to observe pre-

vions to the earl of Lauderdale's arrival, I had no other object in view, than the fulfilling, to the best of my abilities, the mission with which his majesty has been graciously pleased to charge me, I can, under the present circumstances, have no other ambition than that of co-operating with my best endeavours in the negotiation entrusted to us jointly, upon the same basis on which I had originally placed it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Yarmouth.

No. XXXIV.

Full Powers given to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, which were communicated to M. Talleyrand on the 6th of August, 1806.

(Translation.)

George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh. Arch-treasurer, and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting!

The flames of war having already raged too long in the different quarters of the world, it is the more incumbent upon us to re-establish the public tranquillity, by putting an end to so many quarrels and controversies, we have therefore judged it expedient to invest certain fit persons with full powers, on our part, for the better carrying on this great undertaking.

Know, therefore, that we, reposing especial trust in the fidelity, diligence, judgment, perspicuity, and experience of our right trusty and well-beloved James, earl of Lauderdale, and of our trusty and well-beloved Francis Seymour, Esquire,

commonly called earl of Yarmouth, have nominated, constituted, and appointed them, as by these presents we do nominate, constitute, and appoint them, our true, certain, and undoubted procurators, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries: giving to them, conjointly or separately, all and all manner of power, faculty, and authority, together with general as well as special orders, (so that the general do not derogate from the special; nor on the contrary,) for us, and in our name, to meet and confer with the ministers, commissioners, plenipotentiaries of any other princes or states whatsoever, who may be interested therein, whether our enemies or our allies, furnished with sufficient powers for that purpose, as well singly and separately, as aggregately and conjointly, and to consult and agree with them for the speedy restoration of a sincere friendship and amity, and of a firm and lasting peace; and for us, and in our name, to sign all such matters and things as shall be agreed upon and concluded on the premises, and to form such treaty or treaties, or any other instruments as shall be necessary, and mutually to deliver and receive the same in exchange, and to do and perform all such acts, matters, and things, as may be in any way proper and conducive to the purposes above mentioned, in as full and ample a manner and form, and with the like validity and effect, as we ourself, if we were present, could do and perform; engaging and promising, on our royal word, that we will accept, ratify, and confirm, in the most effectual manner, all such acts, matters, and things, as shall be so transacted and concluded by our said plenipotentiaries, conjointly or separately,

rately, and that we will never suffer any person to violate the same, in whole, or in part, or to act contrary thereto.

In testimony and confirmation of all which we have caused our great seal, of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these presents, signed with our royal hand.

Given at our court at St. James's, this first day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and six, and of our reign the forty-sixth.

No. XXXV.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 9, 1806.—Received August 13.

SIR, Paris, August 9th, 1806.

Thinking it unnecessary to send a courier to England with the details of the mere matters of form which necessarily took place after lord Lauderdale's arrival, we have delayed writing till there appeared something of importance to communicate to you.

We have now to inform you, that lord Lauderdale, having exhibited his powers, and delivered a copy in the customary form, our first meeting with general Clarke, the plenipotentiary of the French government, took place at his house, on Thursday 7th August at noon.

Our conversation commenced by general Clarke's observing that as lord Lauderdale had just arrived from London, with full instructions from his majesty, he had probably something new to communicate.

Lord Lauderdale in substance re-

plied, that it was his wish before intermeddling with the negotiation now pending, distinctly to recal to the recollection of general Clarke what had already passed between his majesty and the government of France, and at once precisely to state the only footing on which his majesty could consent to treat. To effect this object, he informed general Clarke, that he had prepared a note (marked A.) which he begged to deliver to him as official.

General Clarke read the note twice with great attention, and afterwards placed it in his portfolio, saying that he must take it *ad referendum*.

Very little passed at this meeting sufficiently interesting to merit being detailed; the general objected to the practice he apprehended lord Lauderdale meant to introduce of conducting the negotiation by writing; and said he was afraid the emperor would regard it as a means of endless delay, if a note was to be delivered upon every insignificant question which it might be necessary to discuss. The reply consisted merely in stating the distinction betwixt delivering a written note for the purpose of at once bringing to a point the basis on which the negotiation was to be conducted, and resorting on every trivial occasion to that practice. The first, it was contended, must accelerate; the latter, it was admitted, would delay the negotiation; and it would be therefore carefully avoided, as it was his majesty's wish that no delay should take place.

General Clarke, with something like an insinuation that an unfair advantage was taken by the government of Great Britain, announced that

that as there had been two plenipotentiaries appointed by his majesty, it was the emperor's intention to do the same, and that the name of the person selected would be communicated to us.

It is proper to state, that in the course of this conversation, lord Yarmouth recalled to general Clarke's recollection, that in all the interviews he had had with him, he uniformly stated the *uti possidetis* as the only basis upon which he could possibly treat. General Clarke in reply said, that he could make no answer to what lord Yarmouth stated, without alluding to conversations which he affected to consider as loose, calling them "**des romans politiques*;" at the same time by his silence he clearly admitted what lord Yarmouth most distinctly stated.

Our first interview terminated with an appointment to meet at lord Lauderdale's apartments on Friday, the 8th, at twelve o'clock, the general observing that it might be perhaps necessary to put off the appointment, as he wished to have full time to consider the note which had been delivered, and as the new plenipotentiary might wish to have an opportunity carefully to read the correspondence that hitherto had taken place. He promised at the same time if this was the case, to give us notice by writing in the morning.

On Friday the eighth at eleven o'clock the inclosures (marked B. and C.) were left at lord Lauderdale's apartments, and an answer was sent to general Clarke, stating that an appointment had been

made by lords Lauderdale and Yarmouth to receive the Turkish ambassador at four o'clock, and requesting that the meeting should take place on Saturday the 9th at noon.

General Clarke and monsieur Champagny, minister of the interior, the newly appointed plenipotentiary, afterwards put off this meeting till four o'clock to day, as the latter was obliged to attend the emperor's privy council at St. Cloud.

Late on Friday night lord Yarmouth received the answer to the note delivered by lord Lauderdale, a copy of which (marked D.) is inclosed, to which lord Lauderdale and lord Yarmouth immediately returned the answer, also enclosed, (marked E.)

General Clarke and M. Champagny came to the meeting appointed at four o'clock, and a conversation took place which lasted for upwards of two hours. Into the details of this it is impossible now to enter. The general object of it was to engage lord Lauderdale to depart from the basis which he had insisted should be recognized, to prevail upon him to consult his government, or to take ten or fifteen days for consideration; but it terminated by lord Lauderdale's declaring that the last note was to be considered as a prelude to his demanding passports, for which he should apply to M. Talleyrand in the course of the evening.

The letter, a copy of which (marked F.) is inclosed, was dispatched to M. Talleyrand half an hour after the departure of the plenipotentiaries,

plenipotentiaries, and it appears highly improbable that any proposition should be made which can alter our resolution of leaving France, the moment the passports arrive.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.
Yarmouth.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note delivered by the Earl of Lauderdale to General Clarke, on the 7th of August, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August, 7, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, previous to entering upon the negotiation actually pending between his sovereign and the court of France, thinks it necessary briefly to retrace the circumstances in which it originated. At the same time, he conceives it consistent with that character of openness and sincerity, which, as his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, he is determined invariably to support, to declare the only basis upon which France herself originally laid down; and to define the nature of the discussion into which he is about to enter.

The strong and energetic language in which the French government a few months since, expressed its desire for peace, whilst it inspired his majesty with the confidence in the real sincerity of the wishes of the court of France, left him only to regret that the proposal of treating with his majesty separately from his allies, appeared to prevent both France and England from profiting by that happy disposition of their respective governments; it being at that time impossible for his majesty, conformably with the

good faith which he has ever evinced, to treat otherwise than conjointly with his ally the emperor of Russia.

Since that time, his majesty having found that circumstances which it is unnecessary to detail here, permitted his majesty to negotiate separately: he received with great pleasure, the proposal of treating generally, upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his majesty with all its dependencies.

It is true, that this proposal was not made either directly, or through the channel of an accredited minister: of its authenticity, however, no one could entertain the smallest doubt.

Independently of the authority which it derived from the character of the person employed to communicate it, it seemed to agree completely with what had been previously announced. For "the emperor desires nothing that England possesses," (an avowal made at the commencement of the correspondence between the two courts) was a natural prelude to such a proposal.

His majesty regarded the cession of Hanover as a proof of the spirit of justice in which the proposal was conceived, because this electorate, although occupied on account of a supposed identity of interests and of measures, in fact had no relation whatever with the disputes which produced the present war; and his majesty saw in the principle hitherto acknowledged as the general basis of negotiation, a basis peculiarly adapted to the relative situations of the two parties, which

he considered a proof that France was as sincerely disposed as Great Britain to put an end to an order of things, equally prejudicial to the interests of both countries.

In fact, it appeared to his majesty to be the only principle upon which it was probable that a negotiation could be brought to a successful issue. From the nature of the interests of the parties engaged in it, there was but little hope that any satisfactory arrangement could be made on the ground of reciprocal restitutions, by giving up their respective acquisitions; whilst on the other hand, the principle of *uti possidetis* naturally presented itself, as the mode of terminating the unfortunate hostilities between the two nations, both of whom were in possession of conquests extensive and important in point both of territory and of influence; France on the continent of Europe, and Great Britain in other parts of the world.

This truth appeared still more striking to his majesty, upon reflecting that the state of possession in which the two nations held their respective acquisitions could scarcely suffer any important change by the continuance of the war; the superiority of the naval force of Great Britain being, according to all appearance, not less firmly established on the seas; than that of the armies of France on the continent of Europe.

It was under the impression which these ideas naturally produced, that his majesty accepted, without hesitation, the proposal of treating upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, with the reservation due to the connection and the concert that

subsisted with the emperor of Russia; and as a proof of his sincerity, his majesty fixed upon the person by whom the communication had been made, to announce the readiness with which he had acceded to the basis proposed for the conclusion of a treaty.

The undersigned is by no means disposed to conceal the satisfaction his majesty derived from these happy prospects of speedily restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace, upon just and equitable principles, such as were conformable to the honour of his crown; nor the regret which his majesty felt, when, almost at the very moment of his declaring his acceptance of the proposal that had been made to him, it was signified that this principle was suddenly abandoned by the demand of the evacuation and cession of Sicily; a demand which has hitherto been modified merely by projects of indemnity for his Sicilian majesty, which appear to be totally inadequate and inadmissible.

This demand, so incompatible with the avowed principles upon which the two powers were treating, was in itself sufficient to put an end to the negotiation, but the anxiety of his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland to concur with his ally the emperor of Russia, and to secure to his subjects the blessings of peace, induced him to receive any new proposal for obtaining for his Sicilian majesty, in exchange for Sicily, a real and satisfactory equivalent, such as that sovereign should consent to accept.

No satisfactory proposal of this nature having yet been made, the

undersigned must declare that he cannot consent to treat upon any other principle than that of the *uti possidetis*, as originally proposed to his sovereign by the court of France; at the same time he is desirous it should be well understood, that the adoption of this principle will not prevent him either from listening to any just and adequate indemnification to his Sicilian majesty for the cession of Sicily, or from accepting any proposition for the exchange of territory between the two contracting parties, upon just and equal principles, such as may tend to the reciprocal advantage of the two countries.

The undersigned is well aware that since the *uti possidetis* was proposed by the court of France, peace has been concluded between France and the emperor of Russia, and that, in consequence, the relative situation of the two countries is no longer the same; but, on the other hand, he must also observe, that since that time France has acquired fresh advantages in consequence of the extensive changes which she has made in the constitution of the German empire; an arrangement, the preventing of which was represented by France to the court of Great Britain as a powerful motive for the immediate conclusion of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*. If then this principle formerly appeared just to France, it cannot fail at present, according to her own views of the subject, to be more favourable to her interest than to those of the British empire.

The undersigned thinks it, at the same time, necessary to observe, that although France may have other important views upon the continent of Europe, his majesty the king of

Great Britain and Ireland may very fairly form views in other parts of the world of infinite importance to the commerce and to the power of his empire, and consequently that he cannot, conformably with either the interests of his people or the honour of his crown, negotiate upon any principle of inferiority either avowed or supposed. He can treat upon no other footing than the supposition, that the continuation of hostilities is equally disadvantageous to both parties. There can be no reason to suppose that the conquests which his majesty proposes to retain by the peace can be wrested from him by war; and the undersigned is persuaded that the best proof of the equity of the conditions, upon which he proposes to treat, is to be found in the fact, that they were proposed by France herself at the first opening of the communications between the two governments, which have led to the mission with which his sovereign has been pleased to entrust to him conjointly with the earl of Yarmouth.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

Second Inclosure (B) is a copy of a note from General Clarke to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806, unimportant.

Third Inclosure (C) is a Copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806, stating the appointment of M. de Champagny.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

Copy of a Note from General Clarke to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August, 8, 1806.

(Trans-

(Translation.)

Paris, August 8th, 1806.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, has laid before his government the note transmitted yesterday by his excellency lord Lauderdale, plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, could not see without pain, that a negotiation which has already been the subject of so much discussion, which has occasioned the dispatching of so many messengers by both parties, which was in a word brought to maturity, should have suddenly taken a retrograde direction, so as to present obstacles founded, not in the nature of the stipulations, but on the very ground on which that negotiation was commenced.

The court of France has constantly refused to admit in the same negotiation, the courts of England and Russia, and whatever desire his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, may have to see a general peace shortly re-established, no consideration could induce him to violate that principle of his policy. The negotiations which France had commenced at Petersburg, had moreover convinced his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, that the English cabinet deceived itself with respect to the nature of its relations with Russia.

After several months of discussion, the cabinet of London yielded this point, and his excellency the earl of Yarmouth arrived publicly at Calais, and afterwards at Paris, for the purpose of treating for peace. He had conferences with his excellency the minister for foreign affairs immediately after his arrival

in this capital, having previously made known to him that he was duly authorised by his government.

Since that period, Russia has concluded her peace with France. The undersigned has been appointed minister plenipotentiary to negotiate with the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and the first step was an exchange of his powers with those of his excellency the earl of Yarmouth, whom he was bound to believe, as it is expressed in his excellency's full powers, authorized to negotiate, conclude, and sign a definitive treaty between France and the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Very frequent conferences, most of them of several hours, have since taken place between the two plenipotentiaries, who, with good faith on both sides, endeavoured to do away the difficulties, and put aside every thing that could have tended to irritate their minds, or to embarrass and unnecessarily retard the progress of negotiation.

Instead of transmitting to each other notes, more or less ingenious, but which rather remove than approximate the object which it is wished to attain; instead of beginning those written controversies, which are not less injurious to humanity than open hostilities, and which prolong the miseries of nations; instead, above all things, of negotiating peace in the same manner in which war is carried on, the plenipotentiaries had free conferences, in which his majesty the emperor and king granted all which he could grant, without losing sight of the dignity of his crown, his love for his people, and the interest of his allies.

His majesty will never be reduced to make further sacrifices.

Does

Does not the method taken by his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, the new plenipotentiary on the part of his Britannic majesty, appear to announce that a multitude of notes will not be sufficient even to bring the governments to an understanding? And is not a risk evidently incurred, by adopting such a method, the abuse of which has been so manifest in our recollection, of being still further from a good understanding than we have hitherto been? If, on the contrary, it is only wished to form documents which may hereafter be presented to the parliament of Great Britain, his majesty the emperor and king has no similar inducement, it is peace that he desires; a peace equally honourable for France, for Great Britain, and for their allies, which the mutual and assiduous labour of the respective plenipotentiaries shall have rendered acceptable to both governments.

Nevertheless, that his love of justice, and the sincerity of his pacific sentiments may be manifest to every one, and that it may be truly known to whom all hindrance to the progress of the negotiation ought to be attributed, his majesty the emperor of the French has deigned to permit the undersigned to discuss here the vain question relative to the basis of this negotiation, which was already advanced and on the point of being terminated.

In the letter written to his excellency Mr. Fox, on the 1st of April, by his excellency the French minister for foreign affairs, that minister declared that his majesty the emperor of the French entirely adopted the principle set forth in the dispatch of his excellency Mr. Fox, of

the 26th March, and offered as the basis of the negotiation:—"That the proposed peace ought to be honourable for the two courts, and for their respective allies."

In his letter of the 2nd June to his excellency Mr. Fox, his excellency the minister for foreign affairs went still further; he proposed, in the name of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to establish as a basis two fundamental principles, the first of them taken from Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th March, namely; "That the object of the two powers should be a peace honourable to themselves, and to their respective allies, at the same time that this peace should be of a nature to insure, as far as should lie in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."

The second principle was, "An acknowledgment in favour of both powers of the right of interference, and of guarantee with regard to continental affairs, and with regard to maritime affairs."

Such was the basis adopted by the British government, and agreed upon with it. It could never have entered into the mind of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to take the "*uti possidetis*" as the basis of the negotiation. If such had been his intention, he would have kept Moravia, a part of Hungary, Styria, Carniola, Croatia, the whole of Austria, as well as its capital—Trieste, and Fiume, and the surrounding coast would still be in his power, as well as Genoa and Venice, Hanover, Osnaburgh, and all the mouths of the great rivers of the north of Germany would be subject to his dominion; and, doubtless, his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, might then,

without difficulty, have left his Britannic majesty in possession of the Cape, Surinam; Tobago, St. Lucia, Pondicherry, &c.

As to Sicily, in this very supposition his majesty the emperor and king would not have left it to his enemies; but his majesty would only have thought that the conquest of this island should have preceded the opening of the negotiations; and while Prussia and Russia have either guaranteed or recognized the changes which have taken place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, is it to be supposed that England could have prevented the conquest of Sicily, which is separated from the continent only by a channel of less than two thousand toises?

And even supposing that the Cape, Surinam, and other Dutch possessions could have been finally detached from the kingdom of Holland, is it not certain that its existence as a nation would become from that very cause impossible; and that its incorporation with the French empire would have been the necessary consequence of a refusal given by England, to restore to it its colonies; what, in fact, could be the means of maintaining a nation which would have nothing but debts, and from which the total deprivation of all commerce would take away the possibility of paying them? Whatever their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty may alledge, it is impossible that they should not be convinced, that it is a very different thing, for Great Britain, to see the Texel and the mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse in the power of the French revenue officers, or to see them in the power of the Dutch. Thus, therefore, Holland, without the re-

stitution of its colonies, would necessarily become a province of the French empire; for on accepting the crown of Holland, prince Louis formally declared his intention of renouncing it, if the Dutch colonies were not restored at the general peace.

Let Hanover become a province of France; let Trieste, Fiume, and their territory likewise become provinces of the kingdom of Italy, and let Great Britain keep as a compensation, the Cape, Surinam, Malta, and Pondicherry, &c. France will consent to it, and the great principle *uti possidetis* will be applied in its full extent, both as to the present and as to the future.

Let the new minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, point out in the history of the world, a negotiation terminated upon the principle of the *uti possidetis* between two great nations: let him examine whether this principle does not belong rather to an armistice than to a treaty of peace? It is impossible not to say, that, in proposing to France the *uti possidetis*, particularly under the present circumstance, a strange idea must have been formed of the character of the emperor Napoleon, and it must have been believed that he was reduced to a singular state of humiliation and distress.

But, in demanding the *uti possidetis*, his excellency, the earl of Lauderdale, plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, without regard to the principle which he advances, wishes to change entirely the destiny of a continental state, which gave 25,000 men to England, and furnished her with a part of the means which she afforded in the seven years' war, and even in the war of the

the French revolution, to the armies of the north. Thus, therefore, it is wished to maintain the principle of the *uti possidetis*, in order to deprive France of all her commerce, and of all her establishments, and to ruin her allies; but it is wished to violate the principle of the *uti possidetis*, in order to oblige France to renounce her engagements, to break her treaties; in a word, to dissolve her whole continental system; is not this to propose a peace a thousand times more disastrous than the longest war, and conditions calculated to excite the indignation of every Frenchman? What! shall France have conquered all the powers subsidized by England, during three coalitions, to see imposed upon her conditions as unjust as they are dishonourable, notwithstanding the moderation and generosity which she has shewn?

His excellency Mr. Fox himself proposed, "that the peace should be honourable to both courts, and to their respective allies."

His majesty, the emperor of the French, king of Italy, could not consider the peace as honourable, if, by one of its conditions, he was to lose a single subject, and of how-ever little importance the colony of Tobago may be, it suffices, that it made part of the French empire at the time his majesty took the reins of the government, to prevent his ever signing a treaty in which the alienation of that colony, or of any other which belongs to him in the same manner shall be comprized. No reasonable Englishman can have flattered himself with the contrary; and his majesty, in the position in which he stands, would, by consenting to it, lose the esteem of every

brave and generous person even among his enemies.

The undersigned is directed to declare, that his majesty the emperor and king considers as a disgrace the very idea of a negotiation, founded on the *uti possidetis*. It is the more contrary to his principles, inasmuch as his majesty has restored his conquests, and that he should be now reigning over a population the double of that which he in fact governs, if, at the conclusion of the treaties of peace which he made at the expiration of the several coalitions, he had taken the *uti possidetis* for his only principle.

The undersigned is also directed to declare, that the only conditions of negotiation which his majesty the emperor and king is willing to adopt, are those proposed in part by his excellency Mr. Fox, contained in the letter which was addressed to him on the 2d of June by the minister for foreign affairs, and repeated in the twelfth paragraph of the present note.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, requires nothing of Great Britain which can be contrary to the interests of her allies. He is entitled to expect that nothing will be exacted of him, which can be contrary to the interests of his own allies.

The undersigned is directed to add, that he refers to what had been prepared by the mutual efforts of his excellency the earl of Yarmouth, and the undersigned.

If peace shall not be re-established, it is not France who can be accused of having changed, but England; although peace between France and Russia, and other events unfavourable to Great Britain have taken

place since the negotiation was entered upon and nearly brought to a conclusion, in concert with his excellency the earl of Yarmouth.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to assure their excellencies the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth of his high consideration.

(Signed)

Clarke.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)

Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, to General Clarke, dated August 9, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 9, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty cannot allow themselves to enter into a detailed consideration of the official note, dated the 8th August, which has just been delivered to them on the part of his excellency general Clarke. From the manner in which the different points, which form the subject of this note are treated, it would be impossible for them to discuss them with that calmness and that regard to propriety, which the character with which their sovereign has invested them, demands. But the subject of this note is of a nature, so general and so foreign to the object under discussion, that it would be perfectly useless to take it into consideration at the present moment.

The undersigned, the earl of Lauderdale, far from thinking that the manner of discussing in writing the fundamental points of a negotiation can in any shape encrease the difficulty of coming to an understanding, is on the contrary of opinion that he already perceives evident proofs of its utility, inasmuch as the official note presented by him since his ar-

rival has brought the negotiation to an unequivocal issue, and has put an end to those misunderstandings, without doubt real, which have taken place, and which never could have occurred if the same method had been adopted at the commencement of the negotiation.

The undersigned, the earl of Yarmouth, finds himself compelled to recur to the manner in which it has been stated to him, that he landed at Calais invested with a public character to treat for peace. He only came to give in person and *viva voce* the answer to a communication that he had been requested to make to the English government, founded upon the basis of the *uti possidetis*, in conformity with the following words of his excellency M. Talleyrand: "We ask nothing from you;" accompanied with positive assurances that the restitution of the possessions of his majesty in Germany would meet with no opposition. The same sentiment also recurs in the letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Fox of the first of April in these terms: "The emperor covets nothing that England possesses."

The earl of Yarmouth feels himself under an equal necessity of not passing over in silence the remarks made by his excellency general Clarke, on the subject of the delays of the negotiation, and of the frequent communication by messengers. The answers of his Britannic majesty have ever been frank and prompt; and if the number of messengers has been considerable, it can only be attributed to motives foreign to the wishes of his majesty.

The undersigned the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, can by no means subscribe to the opinion held out by his excellency general Clarke

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in the said note, that the negotiation "had been begun and nearly brought to a conclusion," in the interval which elapsed between the time when lord Yarmouth officially communicated his full powers, and the arrival of lord Lauderdale; on the contrary, they consider the negotiation as having scarcely commenced. The conversations to which allusion has been made, consisted, on the part of the French plenipotentiaries, in making demands which the undersigned, the earl of Yarmouth, has uniformly declared to be inadmissible; and on the part of lord Yarmouth in keeping strictly within the bounds of the *uti possidetis*, not having any instructions on the part of his government to admit any other conditions of negotiation; conditions suggested by France in the communication made by the earl of Yarmouth, and previously announced in M. Talleyrand's letter of the first of April.

The undersigned earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth think it unnecessary, in this place, to repeat the motives set forth in the official note presented by lord Lauderdale, and which induced his majesty to consider the basis of the *uti possidetis* proposed by France peculiarly applicable to the respective situation of the two countries. It is to them a subject of deep regret that, by so absolute and decided a departure from that basis on the part of the French government, the hopes and expectations of the two nations must be entirely frustrated.

It only remains for the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to declare, that his majesty, ever ready to listen to just and honourable conditions of peace, relies with confidence upon the means which he de-

rives from the loyalty and affection of his subjects. He will never listen to any proposals of negotiation whatsoever, upon terms incompatible with the honour of his crown and the real interests of his subjects.

(Signed) Lauderdale.
Yarmouth.

Sixth Inclosure (F.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 9, 1806.—Demanding their passports.

No. XXXVI.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 11th, 1806. — Received August 13th

Paris, August 11, 1806.

In our last dispatch of the 9th instant, we had the honour of informing you, that on that evening we had applied for passports to return to England, and also for a passport for a courier we intended to have dispatched immediately.

We have only now to mention that, on Sunday at eleven o'clock, we sent the inclosure (marked A.) renewing our demand; and that this morning, having received no answer to either application, the inclosure (marked B.) was sent to M. Talleyrand's house, Rue d'Anjou. The courier Basilico, who carried the note, returned soon after to inform us, that he was directed at M. Talleyrand's house to go to the foreign office, where he accordingly went; but was told that no communication would be received there till between twelve and one.

We then begged of Mr. Goddard to go himself to the foreign office, and deliver the letter; he found

that the clerks had only just arrived, and that M. Talleyrand was gone to St. Cloud, not to return till four o'clock.

At half after five we received from Messrs. Clarke and Champagny an official note (marked C.). Immediately upon the receipt of this note, we wrote the inclosure (marked D.) to M. Talleyrand, and received from him at nine o'clock an answer (marked E.) which is also inclosed.

The inclosure (marked F.) is the reply to the official note which we intend to send the moment it can be copied.

Addition by the earl of Yarmouth.

As the French government has in every instance admitted the exactness of the communications made by me, I beg leave, in addition to this dispatch, to remark that the intention expressed to me by the French government, as that which made them prefer communicating through my channel rather than on paper, was the expressing to his majesty's government their readiness to restore his majesty's German dominions *in toto*, but that for obvious reasons this could not be expressed on paper till every other condition of the treaty should be settled.

First Inclosure (A.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 10, 1806, demanding passports.

Second Inclosure (B.) is a Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 11, 1806,— Stating that passports were demanded for themselves on two several days, and no answer received, and renewing the demand.

Third Inclosure (C.)

Copy of a Note from Messrs. Champagny and Clarke to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 11, 1806.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, have read with attention the note dated the 9th of August, addressed to them by their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, in which they again propose the *uti possidetis* as the basis of the negotiation.

The French plenipotentiaries know not, whether, by the adoption of this principle, England would obtain the right of exacting from the French government for herself and her allies, every restitution which may suit her convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France and her allies of the conquests which she has made. This demand would be so extraordinary, that it would be equivalent to saying that France should sign all the conditions which it may please the English plenipotentiaries to commit to writing. One cannot suppose that such is really the intention of the English ministry. They have not sent over plenipotentiaries for the sole purpose of requiring the admission of an indefinite basis, which would render them masters of all the conditions of the treaty. In a state of things so obscure, the French plenipotentiaries demand such explanations as may enable them to understand, and to proceed in the negotiation. These consist in making known what are the conquests which

which England wishes to keep, what are those which she will restore to France and her allies, and what conquests of France she requires to be restored. This will unfold a system of compensation, which may give a clear idea of the principles and intentions of the British cabinet. The French plenipotentiaries will then know what engagements they contract in adopting the basis which is proposed to them; for they can certainly never consent to this adoption without knowing what is demanded of them.

In laying down the principle of *uti possidetis*, have the English plenipotentiaries had it in view to propose a means of exchange and of compensation? If this is their meaning the emperor adopts it, because it appears to him conformable to the two principles already agreed upon by both parties, in the letters of the French minister for foreign affairs, and of the English secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, viz.

1st, To the principle laid down by Mr. Fox in his letter of the 26th March last, "that the object of both parties ought to be that the peace should be honourable for both, and their respective allies; and at the same time of a nature to insure, as far as should be in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."

2d, To the principle subjoined to the preceding by the minister for foreign affairs, in his letter of the 2d June following, which consists of *an acknowledgment, in favour of the two parties, of the full right of intervention and of guaranty in continental and in maritime affairs.*

The undersigned take this oppor-

tunity of renewing to their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) Champagne.
Clarke.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

This letter declines answering the note, and mentions the delay of passports.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand, to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806, apologizing for the delay of passports.

Sixth Inclosure (F.)

Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Messrs. Champagne and Clarke, dated August 11, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 11, 1806.

11 o'clock, P. M.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty would not have delayed their answer to the note of this day's date, addressed to them by their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the French government; but as their reiterated demands to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs for passports even for their messenger, remained unanswered, they thought it right first to ascertain whether they were still to enjoy an open and uninterrupted communication with their government, such as, in similar cases, has always been permitted by every government in Europe.

The explanations which the undersigned have received from his excellency

cellency the minister for foreign affairs, induce them to hope that a like delay will, on no occasion whatever, again take place.

After having maturely considered the note of their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the French government, the undersigned have to remark, that the British government, far from pretending to "exact from the French government every restitution which may suit their convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France," never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to them by France herself; as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. "to treat generally upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty with all its dependencies."

They must also observe, that if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on the 9th instant, between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

The undersigned have therefore only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation.

As soon as this principle shall be agreed to, the undersigned will be ready to proceed to the discussion of

the other points mentioned in the note of lord Lauderdale.

It only remains for the undersigned to add, that if the French government expresses a disposition to adhere to the proposal, such as his Britannic majesty understands it to have been made by them, they shall congratulate themselves as on a most fortunate event; an event which promises, (according to the expression of Mr. Fox, quoted by their excellencies,) "a peace honourable for the two nations, and at the same time of a nature to insure the future tranquillity of Europe."

(Signed) Lauderdale.
Yarmouth.

No. XXXVII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, August 14, 1806.
Downing-street, August 14, 1806.

MY LORDS,

The messenger, Basilico, arrived here early this morning, with the dispatches with which your lordships had charged him; and, although it appears most probable, that, before he can again reach Paris, your lordships will be no longer there, yet, as there is still a possibility, from the last note from the French plenipotentiaries, that the negotiation may proceed on the basis pointed out for it by your instructions, it has been judged proper that no time should be lost in redischarging him, in order that you may be apprised of his majesty's full approbation of the tenour of the different notes which have been delivered on your part since the earl of Lauderdale's arrival at Paris. As no other point but that of the general

neral basis of negotiation has yet been brought into discussion, nothing need be added to the former instructions, by which the course of any further discussions that may take place is still to be entirely guided.

No. XXXVIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, August 14, 1806.

Downing-street, August 14, 1806.

My Lords,

His majesty's servants have observed, from the dispatches received this day, that some insinuation has been thrown out by the French government, of a disposition on the part of this country to gain some unfair advantage by the employment of two plenipotentiaries in the present discussions. That government has since taken the obvious mode of counteracting this advantage (if any such there was) by naming, on their part also, a second plenipotentiary. But, the king's government is desirous, while it adheres steadily to the substance of those points which are thought fit to be insisted on for the honour and interest of his majesty's crown, to leave no pretence for cavils as to the form in which these discussions are carried on. The advantage which was to be looked to from the personal share which the earl of Yarmouth originally had in these transactions, as the bearer of the overtures made by France, has now ceased; and, while his lordship has, on the one hand, properly recorded his decisive testimony as to the reality of these overtures, and as to the exact terms of peace so

offered, the French government has, on the other hand, not only refused to adhere to those offers, but has expressly declared, that they never can even have entered into their thoughts. “* *Jamais il n' a pu venir dans la pensée de sa majesté l'empereur des François Roi d' Italie de prendre pour base de la négociation l' *uti possidetis*.*”

In this state of things, the king's servants are not aware of any benefits that would be likely to result to his majesty's service from imposing on lord Yarmouth any further duty in this respect; nor do they wish that any such ground for cavil as I have before alluded to, however unfounded it would be, should be left to the enemy.

They have, therefore, submitted it as their humble advice to his majesty, that, in case of the continuance of the negotiations, the French minister should be informed, that they will henceforth be conducted by the earl of Lauderdale alone, the earl of Yarmouth having obtained his majesty's gracious permission to return to England; but that, his majesty does not, on his part, make any objection to lord Lauderdale's treating with both the persons who have been named by the French government for that trust:—A proof perfectly decisive, in all its parts, that no unfair advantage, such as the French government appears to apprehend, can have been in the king's contemplation.

I am, &c.

C. J. Fox.

No. XXXIX.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated

* It never could have entered into the thoughts of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to take for basis of the negotiation, the *uti possidetis*.

dated Paris, August 16, 1806.—

Received August 19.

Paris, 16 August, 1806.

Sir,

The note to the plenipotentiaries of the French government, dated the 11th, of which a copy marked (F) was sent in my dispatch of the 11th instant, was delivered early in the morning of the 12th, as you will see from the inclosed receipt (marked A.)

No answer having been received, it was thought proper, on the 14th, to send to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, a letter, of which a copy is also inclosed (marked B.)

No answer to the official note transmitted to the plenipotentiaries of the French government on the morning of the 12th, has yet been given; and general Clarke, upon whom lord Yarmouth and I waited this morning merely for the purpose of shewing him a mark of attention, informed us, that it was in the possession of the emperor, who had not as yet signified his pleasure on the subject.

At one o'clock we received a note from M. Talleyrand (marked C.), and nearly at the same time another (marked D.), from general Clarke.

Copies of both these are herewith transmitted.

I think it evident from what general Clarke says, that no communication will be made for two days.

There is perhaps nothing sufficiently important to authorize my sending a courier. Indeed, my principal motive for doing so is to quiet the anxiety which you naturally feel from receiving no information for so many days, concerning the

state of a transaction so important in its consequences.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

First Inclosure (A.)—Is a copy of a receipt, dated August 12, 1806.

Unimportant.

Second Inclosure (B.)

Copy of a Note from the Earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 14, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 14, 1806.

2 o'clock, P. M.

Sir,

We think it our duty to acquaint your excellency, that early in the morning of the 12th instant, we transmitted to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, a note in answer to that of their excellencies received on the 11th instant. In this answer, we endeavoured again to set forth the points which appeared to us to require, in some form or other, a previous explanation, to authorize us, in conformity to our instructions, to pursue the present negotiation.

The silence of their excellencies the plenipotentiaries in this respect, gives us reason to presume that we must not, at the present moment, expect such an explanation on their part.

Impressed with this idea, we desire to put an end to the general expectation of both nations, considering the slight appearance there is of seeing it realized. We feel that the demand which we make, under such circumstances, of passports for our return, may be susceptible of interpretations of a nature to retard the happy

happy moment when the views of the French government shall approach nearer to those which it had been supposed to entertain. It is in order to prevent the possibility of such a misinterpretation, that we think it incumbent on us to assure your excellency, that a step which would have the effect of causing any obstacle to the renewal of the negotiation, would be very far from our intention, though, from the reasons which we have detailed, we find ourselves obliged to put an end to our mission.

It only remains for us to assure your excellency, that if, fortunately for both nations, it should happen that we have been mistaken in the inference which we have drawn from the silence of the French plenipotentiaries, we will wait during a reasonable time for the explanations which their excellencies may have to communicate to us. In order, however, to prevent the repetition of a demand, as painful for us to make, as it would be for your excellency to receive, in case the negotiations should not have a favourable issue, we request you to furnish us with the necessary passports for us and our suite, to be made use of according to circumstances.

We have the honour to renew to your excellency the assurances of our high consideration.

(Signed) Lauderdale.
Yarmouth.

the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 16, 1806.
Unimportant.

No. XL.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 17, 1806.—Received August 22.

Paris, August 17, 1806.

Sir,

I take the opportunity of lord Yarmouth's return to England, to inform you that in consequence of his majesty's pleasure signified in your dispatch of the 14th instant, I this morning wrote to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, stating to him, that lord Yarmouth had his majesty's permission to return to England; and that his majesty had been graciously pleased, in the event of the negotiation proceeding, to confine the future management of it solely to me.

About eleven o'clock, M. de Champagny and general Clarke paid me a visit of ceremony; lord Yarmouth happened to be with me at the time; and we mentioned to them the change that had taken place, and shewed them the note which I was just about to dispatch, and a copy of which is enclosed.

The object of the visit was merely to ask the plenipotentiaries, and the gentlemen attached to the mission to dine with M. de Champagny to-morrow.

Nothing whatever was said that related to the negotiation, and I believe no answer will be given either to the note of the 11th, or to the note sent to the minister for foreign affairs on the 14th, till the emperor's return from Rambouillet, which, they informed me to-day, was uncertain. The mode in which I have mentioned

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 10, 1806. Unimportant.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a copy of a note from general Clarke to

mentioned to the minister for foreign affairs his majesty's permission to lord Yarmouth to return to England seemed to me calculated to afford as little opportunity as possible to the French government to cavil about a change of form in the mission.

I think it proper to add, that in doing this, every facility was afforded by lord Yarmouth, who in the handsomest manner desired me on this, as on other occasions, to consider only what I thought most advantageous for the public service.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.
Lauderdale.

Inclosure in No. 40.—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 17, 1806, announces lord Yarmouth's intention to return to England with his majesty's assent, and lord Lauderdale's remaining.

No. XLI.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Fox to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, August 23, 1806.

Downing-street, August 23, 1806.

My Lord,

The contents of your last dispatches do not appear to require any particular answer, and this messenger is sent back only that you may be enabled to keep us regularly informed (so long as you shall still continue at Paris) of the state of the negotiation there.

If, on the arrival of any intelligence of the decision of Russia not to ratify without the consent of this court, the French government should increase their offers in order to separate his majesty from the emperor of Russia, your lordship is on

all such occasions to observe, that it is M. d'Oubril's treaty alone that has released his majesty from the obligation not to separate in substance his treaty from that of Russia; an obligation to which his majesty had determined scrupulously to adhere, and from which, even in point of form, he had departed no farther than he had learnt to be the wish of Russia herself. Should, therefore, M. d'Oubril's treaty not be ratified, the two courts would revert to their former situation, with the additional bond of union which would result from the mutual proofs they would thus have afforded to each other of their resolution to adhere invariably to the spirit and principles of their alliance.

No. XLII.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 25, 1806.—Received September 3.

Sir, Paris, August 25, 1806.

In my dispatch of the 16th instant, I had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of a letter sent by lord Yarmouth and myself, on the 14th instant, to the minister of foreign affairs.

I have now to inform you that my desire to combine with firmness the utmost degree of forbearance that appeared to me consistent with the character with which his majesty has been pleased to invest me, induced me patiently to suffer the silence of the French government, without remark, from the 14th till the 22d, when I transmitted to the minister for foreign affairs a note, of which I have the honour to inclose you a copy, marked (A.)

No notice having been taken of this note by his excellency, I have this

this morning sent a second note, of which I have also the honour to inclose a copy, marked (B.)

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

The right hon. C. J. Fox.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 22, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 22, 1806.

SIR,

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, finds himself under the necessity of recalling to the attention of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs ;

1st, That in the morning of the 12th instant, a note, signed by the undersigned and the earl of Yarmouth, and dated the 11th, was transmitted to his excellency general Clarke, in which the undersigned observed, "The British government, far from pretending to exact from the French government every restitution which may suit their convenience, without being bound to make any restitution to France, never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to her by France herself ; as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. to treat generally upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty, with all its dependencies. They must also observe, that if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on

the 9th instant, between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

"The undersigned have, therefore, only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation."

2ndly, That on the 14th instant, the undersigned, together with the earl of Yarmouth, had again the honour to state in writing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, "The silence of their excellencies, the plenipotentiaries, in this respect, gives us reason to presume that we must not, at the present moment, expect such an explanation on their part.

"Impressed with this idea, we desire to put an end to the general expectation of both nations, considering the slight appearance there is of seeing it realized. We feel that the demand which we make, under such circumstances, of passports for our return, may be susceptible of interpretations of a nature to retard the happy moment, when the views of the French government shall approach nearer to those which it had been supposed to entertain. It is in order to prevent the possibility of such a misinterpretation, that we think it incumbent on us to assure your excellency, that a step which would have the effect of causing any obstacle to the renewal of the negotiation, would be very far from our intention, though, from the reasons which we have detailed, we find our-

selves

selves obliged to put an end to our mission."

The undersigned, on finding that no answer was made to these communications, persuaded himself that this delay might proceed from dispositions favourable to the progress of the negotiation, and that he should be at length rewarded by an answer conformable to this expectation; even when he found that no answer arrived, he still persevered in a conduct, which must have incontestibly proved the sincerity of the desire he had evinced, to receive explanations which might enable him to follow up the objects of his mission. But if, so early as the 14th instant, the undersigned, together with the earl of Yarmouth, found himself obliged to observe to his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, that he feared, (from the silence of their excellencies, the French plenipotentiaries) that no answer would be given on the subject; and if, at that period, they thought it incumbent on them to declare the necessity they were under, in pursuance of their sovereign's orders, of demanding passports for their departure, the undersigned has no occasion to remark to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, how imperiously the fresh delays that have taken place since that date, prescribed to the undersigned the pressing renewal of this demand.

The undersigned must at the same time add, that, not being able to persuade himself, that in case an unfavourable answer had been intended, his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, would have so long deferred the adoption of the only alternative, namely, the sending passports, he does not even now give up the hope of a renewal of the

proposal, such as the ministers of his Britanic majesty understood it to have been made on the part of the French government, since it is thus alone that the expectation of both nations can at last be realized. Even if these hopes should not be well founded, the undersigned will never regret a delay which has afforded him the opportunity of manifesting, in an unequivocal manner, the sincere desire of a solid and honourable peace, which his majesty has never ceased to entertain, and of which his majesty has given the most convincing proof, in authorizing the undersigned to negotiate on the basis proposed, in the first instance, by France. It is with this view that the undersigned has borne so long a state of uncertainty, without making the least observation on the unaccountable delay.

The undersigned, in now requesting his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, to transmit to him provisionally, and for the purpose of being made use of in the cases already pointed out, passports for himself and his suite, conceives that he has adopted the only means for preventing the necessity he might otherwise find himself under (if he was forced to repeat this demand) of accompanying it by representations, such as would be authorised by the law of nations, and by the dignity of his sovereign.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

Second Inclosure (B.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated August 25, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, August 25, 1806.

The silence still maintained by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries,

potentiaries, as well as by his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, after the official note delivered by the undersigned and the earl of Yarmouth on the 11th instant, after the letter addressed to his excellency, the minister for foreign affairs, on the 14th instant; and after the official note of the undersigned, dated the 22d instant, appears clearly to announce, that the French government has abandoned every wish for peace, on the conditions which they themselves had, in the first instance, proposed; and which the undersigned has uniformly declared to be the sole basis on which he was authorised to negotiate with that government.

In this state of affairs, the undersigned cannot flatter himself with the possibility of any advantage resulting from the prolongation of his stay at Paris; he feels, too, that farther delay would necessarily give to both nations, and to all Europe, reason to believe, that peace, the object of their desires, is on the point of being concluded, at the very moment when all reasonable hope of attaining it, appears to be completely at an end.

The undersigned, strongly impressed with this idea, finds himself obliged to terminate his mission, by making to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, the formal demand of passports for his return into the presence of his sovereign.

At the same time, and in conformity with the spirit of conciliation, which has constantly characterised his whole conduct since his arrival at Paris, the undersigned, at the moment when he feels himself obliged by his instructions to demand his passports, cannot resolve to prevent the possibility of a communication

on the part of the French government, of a nature to enable him to carry on the negotiation, although from the continued silence of that government, he can scarcely retain hopes of so favourable an issue.

It will not, therefore, be until the morning of Wednesday the 27th instant, that the undersigned will have the honour of calling on his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, for the purpose of making a formal and definitive demand of the necessary passports for himself and suite. He has only to add, that the passports which he proposes to demand, will be for his immediate return, and not to be made use of according to circumstances, as he lately demanded them.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

No. XLIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated August 29, 1806.—Received September 3.

Paris, August 29, 1806.

SIR,

In my last dispatch, dated August 25th, I had the honour of stating to you the detail of the negotiation till the afternoon of that day. At eleven o'clock at night, I received from the plenipotentiaries of France a note, intimating their desire of having a conference on the subject of the note written by lord Yarmouth and myself, on the 11th of the month. Of this, as well as of the answer agreeing to the proposal, I have the honour to inclose copies, (marked A. and B.)

On the 26th, at the hour appointed, I went to the office of the minister of the interior, where I found M. de Champagny and general Clarke, the two plenipotentiaries of the

the French government. The general result of what passed, impressed me with the conviction, that the French plenipotentiaries no longer thought on making peace, upon the grounds of which France was understood to desire it, at the time of lord Yarmouth's communication; and I am confident, that the part I bore in the discussion, thoroughly satisfied them, that I was resolved firmly to adhere to the ground which I had taken in the note of the 11th, on which I was invited to hear their remarks.

The hour of dinner terminated our conference, a renewal of which, on any day I should name, was, after dinner, anxiously solicited by M. de Champagny. I objected to it, as apparently unnecessary, and only calculated to protract my stay in this country, to no purpose; but, before I left him, expressed my willingness to comply once more with the wishes of the French plenipotentiaries, as a farther mark of my anxiety to do any thing which even they could think had a tendency to produce that peace, which his majesty was so anxious to accomplish on equitable terms: and another meeting was fixed, to take place on Friday the 29th at three o'clock.

Late on the evening of the 26th, I waited on the minister for foreign affairs, for the purpose of informing him, that, at the request of the plenipotentiaries of France, I had agreed to a renewal of the conference. He had gone to St. Cloud, and, as by the minister's absence, I had no opportunity of explaining my reasons for not waiting on him, for the purpose of asking passports, as announced in my note of the 25th, I thought it right, early next morning

to send a letter, of which a copy is inclosed, (marked C.)

On the 27th, after dinner, I had a very long conference with the minister for foreign affairs, the substance of which confirmed me in the opinion I had antecedently formed; in consequence of what passed at the meeting with the plenipotentiaries of France, that there is at present no disposition to make peace on the terms tendered for his majesty's acceptance; and I am convinced you will have the same impression, when I state to you that M. Talleyrand, in the course of our conversation, repeatedly made use of the following marked expression: "*Jamais l'Empereur ne cédera un grain de poussière du territoire François.*"

In the course of this conference, the minister frequently alluded to the situation of Hanover, and stated that, within eight and forty hours, its fate must be determined for ever. He seemed much surprised that nothing appeared to make any impression on me, frequently repeating, that, in getting the Cape, Malta, and his majesty's Hanoverian dominions, I should make a glorious peace; and assuring me, that if this opportunity should be lost, he did not foresee any means by which peace could be ever attained, as the emperor was determined to make war all his life, rather than yield any part of the territory of France, the integrity of which he had sworn to maintain.

Our conversation ended, by my assuring him, at the time I was about to retire, that while these sentiments continued to prevail in this country, it was impossible peace should be made, and that, with the knowledge I now possessed of the opinions entertained by the French government,

ment, I could not acquit myself of trifling, if I should remain any longer to carry on what I must consider as a farce.

After a full consideration of all that has taken place, I have, therefore, this morning, resolved to bring things to a point, by delivering to the plenipotentiaries of France, the detailed note, of which I inclose a copy (marked D.)

I am, &c.
(Signed) Lauderdale.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note from Messrs. Champagny and Clarke to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated August 25th, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, 25th August, 1806.

The plenipotentiaries of His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, wishing to confer with his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, upon the subject of the last note* his excellency addressed to them, request his lordship will call at the office of the minister of the interior to-morrow, about three o'clock in the afternoon, where they will meet, provided the hour is convenient to his excellency.

M. de Champagny has the honour of inviting the earl of Lauderdale to dine with him after the conference, and hopes that his excellency will bring with him to dinner, Messrs. Goddard, Stewart, and Maddison.

The French plenipotentiaries have the honour of repeating, to his excellency lord Lauderdale, the

assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) Champagny.
Clarke.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated Aug. 25, 1806.—Unimportant.

Third Inclosure (C.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris, 27th August, 1806.

(Translation.)

Sir, Paris, Aug. 27, 1806.

I called yesterday evening at your excellency's house, that I might have the honour of seeing you, and informing you that, in consequence of the request which was yesterday made to me by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, of another conference on Friday next, the 29th inst. I have postponed my demand for passports, which I intended to make this day to your excellency. Their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries appeared to attach so much importance to my consenting to another interview, that I gave with pleasure this new pledge of the pacific and conciliatory spirit by which I have ever been guided; and if I cannot flatter myself that there will result from this demand the prospect of a happy issue to the negotiation, I shall at least have the satisfaction of having again manifested, in the most unequivocal manner, how much my personal sentiments agree in this respect with those of my government, and with what

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* Lord Lauderdale's note of the 11th inst. vide p. 759.

what eagerness I avail myself of every opportunity of giving to the persons, with whom this negotiation has procured me the advantage of being acquainted, fresh marks of the distinguished sentiments which I shall never cease, under any circumstances, to entertain towards them.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated August 29, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, 29th August, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, being on the point of renewing with their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries the conference of the 26th inst. thinks himself obliged to lay before their excellencies the state of the negotiation, such as it stood after the note transmitted on the part of the undersigned and of the earl of Yarmouth, on the 12th instant. Their excellencies, the French plenipotentiaries, will perceive from this statement, that the discussion is come to a point which will no longer permit the undersigned to continue it, unless, by the admission of the only basis on which he is authorised to negotiate, their excellencies should afford him fresh motives to justify such a determination.

In the official note transmitted to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, on the 12th of August, it was observed to them, "That the British government, far from pretending to exact from the French government, every restitution which may suit their convenience, without

being bound to make any restitution to France,' never expressed any other wish than that of treating with the French government on the basis which was proposed to her by France herself; as it is expressed in the note of lord Lauderdale, viz. to treat generally on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was to be scrupulously observed, except in the case of Hanover, which was proposed to be ceded to his Britannic majesty, with all its dependencies."

"That even if it were possible to mistake the result which would necessarily follow from this principle, the verbal discussions which took place on the 9th inst. between the French plenipotentiaries and the undersigned, leave no room for doubt, whether the proposition thus laid down was perfectly understood by those plenipotentiaries.

"The undersigned have, therefore, only to repeat, that they cannot, consistently with the instructions of their government, do otherwise than insist upon the previous recognition of this principle. It is on this condition alone that they are authorized to continue the negotiation."

This note remained without answer till the 25th of that month, when their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries informed the undersigned by a letter, that, "The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, wishing to confer with his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, upon the subject of the last note his excellency addressed to them, request his lordship will call at the office of the minister of the interior to-morrow, about three o'clock in the afternoon, where they will meet, provided

provided the hour is convenient to his excellency."

The undersigned forbears making any observations on the length of the interval which elapsed between the sending the note of the 11th, and the period when it was answered; as well as on the manner in which their excellencies avoided entering into discussion in writing on the contents of that note, according to the usage of all times, and of all countries, whenever affairs of such importance are in question. He confines himself to remark that, when after so long a delay, and the undersigned accepted an invitation from their excellencies to renew the discussions, in the hope of receiving at length the decision of the French government, on the contents of the official note of the 11th, the conference appeared to tend on the part of their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries solely to engage the undersigned to present the detailed project of a treaty.

The undersigned, jointly with the earl of Yarmouth, had already, in the note of the 11th inst. formally declared, that, until France had adopted the basis, such as the British government understood it to have been originally proposed by her, he could not enter into a detailed negotiation. If, indeed, the undersigned could have forgot himself so far, as to accede to the proposition made at the last conference by their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, it would not only have been necessary, for that purpose, that he should have abandoned the only conditions which his instructions authorized him to admit as the basis of the negotiation, but moreover that he should expose himself to a manifest contradiction, in

presenting at first an entire project of a treaty, the details of which were to result from the negotiation itself; a negotiation which the undersigned had declared that he could not enter upon, till after a previous acknowledgment of the basis in question.

In this state of things the undersigned, after having attended, conformably to the desire of their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, at the conferences which they proposed to him; after having maturely reflected on all the communications which he has received from their excellencies, and thus fully convinced himself, that the present views of the French government are far different from those which his Britannic majesty had a right to expect from them; in a word, that the continuance of the present negotiation can henceforth have no other effect than that of keeping up, in both nations, a hope which cannot be realized, the undersigned thinks it his duty formally to declare to their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, the resolution which he has taken, in conformity to the instructions of his sovereign, to put an end to his mission. The admission, in writing, of the basis so often brought forward by the undersigned, can alone occasion a change in this determination.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

No. XLIV.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 30th, 1806.—Received Sept. 3.

Sir, Paris, Aug. 30th, 1806.

When I reflect on the contents of the dispatch I had the honour of making up for you yesterday, I cannot help anticipating the surprise

with which you must receive the intelligence, that I am now under an engagement to renew the conference with the plenipotentiaries of France on Thursday, the 4th of September.

On going yesterday, at three o'clock, to the office of the minister of the interior, I confess I did not foresee the possibility of any thing occurring that could prevent my executing the resolution I had formed, of demanding passports this morning, and of returning immediately to England. I trust I need scarcely assure you, that I have as strong an impression as any man can have, of the bad consequences that may attend exhibiting any thing which looks like versatility of conduct; and yet, under the circumstances in which I found myself placed, I am satisfied I had no choice, and that I could not refuse, with propriety, the solicitations of the French plenipotentiaries to renew the conference.

At the commencement of our interview I perceived a disposition to greater cordiality than I had hitherto experienced. To M. de Champagny's inquiry, whether they had been fortunate enough, by what they had said, to induce me to deliver the project of a treaty, I answered, by recalling to his recollection the reasons I had formerly stated, for declining such a proceeding, till the basis that had originally been proposed, was again formally recognized; and I informed him, that, in order to give them an accurate view of my conception of the subject, I had prepared a note which I wished to submit to them, delivering to them the note, a copy of which I had the honour of inclosing in my dispatch of August 29th.

After reading this note, and ob-

serving in general that they did not know whether, if we should come to a particular explanation, we might not arrive at a conclusion coincident in its effect with the object I had in view, when I insisted on the general principle, they entered into a detail with respect to the necessity of some immediate determination on the subject of Hanover, and afterwards stated their views as to the French possessions in the East Indies, the Dutch colonies, St. Lucie, and Tobago; on all of which they talked in a style so perfectly different from any thing I had before heard, that I should not be more surprised if, at our next conference, they were to give them up, than I was at the change of tone manifested on this occasion.

A great deal more passed in the way of general conversation; all of which tended to shew me, that, although they were still at a wide distance from such terms as I could accede to, they had wonderfully relaxed from the tone they had antecedently assumed.

M. de Champagny then invited me to name a day for resuming our conference. To this I decidedly objected, admitting, at the same time, that they had made concessions in the course of our discussion; but adding, that they were still so far from agreeing to admit what the English government uniformly conceived the original proposition to have conveyed, that I could not yet indulge any hopes of our coming to an agreement, and should, therefore, feel it necessary to terminate my mission.

M. de Champagny asked me with some warmth, whether I wished for peace on the terms which I myself had stated? whether I thought myself

self authorized, after the concessions they had just made, to refuse them time to consider how much further they might go? and whether I might not reasonably entertain hopes that, with a little time, the differences which appeared now to separate us might vanish?

On receiving such a remonstrance, I thought it impossible not to agree to a renewal of the conference; and, after some conversation, Thursday was fixed for the day of our meeting.

No. XLV.

Extract from a Dispatch from Earl Spencer to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, Sept. 4th, 1806.

Downing-street, Sept. 4th, 1806.

My Lord,

I am commanded by his majesty to inform your lordship that he is pleased to approve entirely the conduct you have held, in the circumstances detailed in your last dispatches, and to express his majesty's satisfaction in the good effect which appears to have resulted from it.

It is proper, however, to remark, that as the French plenipotentiaries have not bound themselves as yet by any written note, nor have, even in conversation, agreed to replace the negotiation on its true basis; the present appearances of greater facility on their part, may probably arise only from their desire of keeping your lordship at Paris, till the answer from St. Petersburg shall be received; an object which your lordship's last note had shewn them they could no longer accomplish

without some departure from the ground on which they have hitherto stood.

If the Russian treaty shall not be ratified, his majesty is then, (as I have already observed to your lordship) replaced, with respect to the emperor of Russia, in the same situation as before the signature of M. d'Oubril's treaty; but with the additional tie, which the two courts would in that case feel from the fresh proofs each will have given to the other, of a steady adherence to the system of alliance: and it will then be necessary that our peace shall be so far made dependent on that of Russia, as is pointed out in the instructions originally given to lord Yarmouth.

Since the above was written, we have received the important intelligence contained in the indorsed papers*, copies of which I have thought it necessary to forward to you, without a moment's delay, for your information; the case is already provided for in this dispatch, and in the present state of our information on the subject, I have nothing to add to what is above stated. A few days will now probably put us in possession of the further views and intentions of Russia, to which reference must of course be had in every succeeding stage of the negotiation; and as I shall lose no time in transmitting to your lordship such fresh instructions as these may give rise to, so we shall be anxious to hear as soon as possible from you, what effect this event may produce on the disposition of the French government.

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No. XLVI.

* Intelligence of the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify M. d'Oubril's Treaty.

No. XLVI.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Paris, Sept. 4th, 1806.—Received Sept. 7th.

Sir, Paris, Sept. 4th, 1806.

In my last dispatch I informed you that in consequence of the solicitations of the plenipotentiaries of France, urged in the manner I there stated to you, I had consented to a renewal of the conference this day at three o'clock.

About half past two I received from M. Talleyrand a note, a copy of which (marked A.) as well as of my answer, (marked B.) I now inclose.

On going to M. Talleyrand's office, I found him just returned from St. Cloud. He began by informing me, that till yesterday they had received no certain information from Petersburg; but that the courier who arrived last night, had brought intelligence that the emperor had positively refused to ratify the treaty. He stated that he had the emperor's orders to say, that this change of circumstances would certainly induce him to make peace with England on more favourable terms than he would otherwise have at present consented to; and further to declare, that as he would find it necessary to give to his plenipotentiaries new instructions, so he thought it proper to communicate this to me, that I might write to my court, to receive also such further instructions as they might think proper to give.

In answer to a question which I asked, whether there was any reason to expect the arrival of any minister to renew the negotiation on the part of Russia; he said that

no information on that subject had been received. On taking leave, I assured M. Talleyrand that I should report to you the apparent openness with which the communication had been made, and that I should dispatch a courier this evening with the information.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note from Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 4th, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, 4th Sept. 1806.

The minister for foreign affairs has received the orders of his majesty the emperor and king, to hold a conference this day with his excellency lord Lauderdale. He has, therefore, the honour to propose to his excellency to call at the office for foreign affairs, half past two. He begs him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Second Inclosure (B.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 4th, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, 4th Sept. 1806.—Half-past two P. M.

Lord Lauderdale has this instant received the note, dated the 4th of September, by which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, proposes to lord Lauderdale a conference at his excellency's office this day, at half past two o'clock.

This invitation was not delivered at lord Lauderdale's hotel, till half past two, the time specified for the conference: but lord Lauderdale will have great pleasure in waiting upon his excellency in a quarter of an hour at farthest.

No. XLVII.

No. XLVII.—Is an extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, September 7th, 1806.—Received September 11th, proposing to delay the renewal of the conferences.

No. XLVIII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Windham, to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, September 10, 1806.

Downing-street, Sept. 10, 1806.

My Lord,

Your lordship's dispatch of Sept. 4th has not failed to engage his majesty's most serious attention. The language held by M. Talleyrand appears directed to the object of engaging his majesty in a separate negotiation, to the exclusion of Russia; but the interests both of this country and of Europe have always been considered here as essentially connected with the maintenance of the strictest union of councils and measures between his majesty and the emperor of Russia. It was with deep regret that his majesty saw the apparent violation of this principle in the separate treaty signed by M. d'Oubril; and he cannot but consider the steady and upright conduct of the emperor of Russia on that trying occasion, as imposing on his majesty a fresh obligation not to separate his interests from those of so honourable and faithful an ally.

Your lordship must therefore, in the first place, represent to the French government, that the refusal to ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty, has replaced the two courts in their former state of close and intimate alliance; and that any attempt on the part of France to separate them, must henceforth be considered as hopeless. She can now form no ex-

pectation that she can conclude peace with either of them, until the negotiation with the other shall be brought to the same conclusion.

In reverting to this resolution, his majesty does not however desire to carry the operation of this principle at all farther than before. He has no objection to its being understood, as was expressed to lord Yarmouth in Mr. Fox's letter of the 26th of June, that the two courts shall treat separately in form, but in substance in concert with each other. In this mode of treating, the separate interests of Great Britain and France may, as before, be separately discussed between them. But his majesty is determined, as is expressed in the same dispatch, that he will not come to any final agreement without the consent of Russia, and that any arrangement of the points depending between him and France, is to be considered as provisional, and subject to the case of a like arrangement to be made by his ally.

With respect to the separate interests of Great Britain, his majesty adheres to the basis originally proposed to him by France, and on which your lordship has so often had occasion to insist, that of the *uti possidetis* for the two powers and their allies in all parts of the world, with the single exception of the restitution of Hanover, as having been originally attacked on grounds which cannot be defended.

This is the offer of France as originally made to his majesty; it is the demand on which his majesty still thought fit to insist, when apparently abandoned by Russia; and his majesty has no desire of increasing it under circumstances, which, according to the avowal of France herself, entitle his majesty to ex-

pect more favourable conditions than France has lately been inclined to accede to. The *uti possidetis* thus described, must however now of necessity include the kingdom of Sicily.

Every endeavour was made in the onset of the negotiation to obtain the restitution of Naples to his Sicilian majesty; and the grounds on which it was thought fit finally to desist from that claim on the part of his majesty are detailed in the correspondence of this office with lord Yarmouth and your lordship.

But the case of Sicily was always deemed to be widely different from that of Naples. Our actual occupation of that island brings it fully within the benefit of the *uti possidetis*. And recent events have shewn how very distant are the hopes of conquest in that quarter, which were so much relied upon in one of the notes presented to your lordship by the French plenipotentiaries.

Lord Yarmouth had been uniformly instructed to insist on this demand as a *sine quâ non* condition of all arrangements for peace. On the refusal of France to accede to this claim, his lordship had actually, in pursuance of those instructions, demanded his passports, and it was not in the smallest degree departed from or relaxed until a desire was expressed to him by M. d'Oubril, that this government would listen to proposals for an equivalent to be given for Sicily. In compliance with the supposed wishes of his ally, and on that ground alone, his majesty consented to entertain the consideration of such an equivalent, but none has ever been suggested that appeared at all likely to meet the just expectations which his Sicilian majesty would have been en-

titled to form on that head. And his majesty has now the satisfaction of learning, that the sentiments of his ally have in fact never been different from his own on this point; and that the preservation of Sicily is considered in Russia, as well as in England, as a just condition of any peace with France. On both these grounds, therefore, both on the principle adopted for his own negotiation, and on the ground of his determination not to separate himself from Russia, his majesty thinks it absolutely necessary to maintain this point with the same firmness which he had originally manifested respecting it.

This includes all that it is necessary to say on any point respecting the immediate interests of this country, or of any possession hitherto known to be occupied by his majesty's arms.

No. XLIX.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 18th, 1806.—Received September 22d.

Paris, Sept. 18, 1806.

My Lord,

I had the honour of receiving the dispatch, signed by Mr. secretary Windham, dated September 10, late in the evening of Friday last.

Unfortunately I had had a slight degree of fever for four days preceding, and I never was more unfit than on Saturday morning to attend to business of such a magnitude.

On considering the instructions contained in the dispatch with all the attention I could, they appeared to me to relate to two distinct subjects: first, to the form and manner in which his majesty thought proper that I should conduct the negotia-

tion: secondly, to the terms which, under the present circumstances of the two countries, it is proper to ask.

To this distinction I conceived it to be the more necessary for me to attend, because I thought it regular and proper to address what I had to say on the first point to the minister of foreign affairs, whereas the plenipotentiaries of France, should the government authorize them to proceed, seemed the proper channel of communication on the second.

In pursuance of this idea, I immediately wrote a note, a copy of which (marked A.) I inclose, addressed to M. Talleyrand, which I sent by Mr. Goddard in the evening, as I was myself confined to bed.

On Monday, about five o'clock, M. Talleyrand called, and though I was very ill at the time, I resolved to admit him. He sat upwards of half an hour. The outline of his conversation consisted in his expressing a desire to have a full communication with me, in his assuring me that if the difficulties, in respect of form, could be got over, he did not think the objections to the terms would be material, and that, where peace was seriously in view, as it was with them, it figured as an object of such importance as to give a disposition to accommodate about conditions: In a word, that he had little doubt that he and I would arrange the business.

On my part, I stated, that I was afraid he proceeded on the supposition that I might give way in some of the points in question, which I thought it fair to assure him at once was impossible. I stated to him generally the demands I was to make

on the part of England, which would no way vary from the terms we had originally understood to have been proposed; and that he must expect I would be as positive in relation to the conditions for Russia, with which he was acquainted, as I should be with respect to any point more peculiarly of British interest. I then thought it right to introduce the subject of my having no powers from Russia, observing that, although there might be some irregularity in this mode of proceeding, yet that, under all the circumstances of the present case, it seemed unavoidable, because the principle and feelings of his majesty would never permit him to think of treating, but in such a manner as might insure to the court of Petersburg an honourable peace, at the moment that peace should be concluded between England and France; and that unless I could be allowed to state the objects of Russia, this could be hardly effected.

He assured me that they would waive all objections with regard to form, and that they would be perfectly ready to hear me on the subject of a treaty of peace with Russia; his objection to my proposal being founded, not on the circumstance of my wanting powers from Russia, but on the very unusual proposal of concluding a treaty, which, when signed, was only to take place in a certain event. I mentioned to him that the same thing had been done at Paris in 1782, when Mr. Oswald concluded a treaty of peace with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adam.

During the whole of this conversation, I had gone even out of my way to repeat to him the necessity of his laying his account with my adhering rigidly to the terms I had detailed;

detailed; and yet he left me with such expressions as could not fail to create a belief, that he intended to accede to my propositions.

At the moment he quitted me I was much better than I had been for some days, and was in such hopes that I was about to get well, that I undertook to write to him next morning, Tuesday the 16th, to say whether I could appoint a meeting in the course of that day. Unfortunately I had a miserably bad night, and finding myself in the morning totally disqualified for exertion, I wrote to him a note of which I now enclose a copy (marked B.)

Your lordship will perceive, that in this note I pressed for an answer in writing, in a manner as strong and as inoffensive as I could devise.

On the morning of the 17th, I wrote to M. Talleyrand a short note (marked C.) expressing my desire that he would come to me any time after three o'clock, which was hardly dispatched before I received a letter from his excellency, announcing the arrival of a courier at Boulogne, and the melancholy account of Mr. Fox's death. A copy of this, together with my answer, a copy of which (marked D. and E.) I have the honour of inclosing.

In the evening I received the inclosure (marked F.) from which your lordship will perceive that I shall at last have a meeting with M. Talleyrand to-morrow at one o'clock.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of

Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 13th, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, Sept. 13, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, lost no time in transmitting to his court the communication which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs made to him on Thursday the 4th instant; and he now hastens to reply to that communication, by informing his excellency of the line of conduct his majesty has thought proper to direct him to pursue under the present circumstances.

His Britannic majesty, ever anxious to maintain the intimate connection and alliance which subsist between his majesty and the emperor of all the Russias, naturally finds, in the recent conduct of his illustrious ally, and in the proofs which he has lately afforded of the interest which he takes in the welfare of Great Britain and in the general happiness of Europe, additional motives not to separate, in any case, his interests from those of the court of St. Petersburg.

It is not, however, the intention of his majesty to carry this principle further than the earl of Yarmonth was instructed to carry it by Mr. Fox, in his lordship's communication with the French government. There is nothing to prevent the interests of Great Britain and of France from being treated separately: only his majesty does not authorise the undersigned to sign any treaty except provisionally: such treaty not to have its full effect until peace should have been concluded between that faithful ally of Great Britain, and France. It is upon these conditions alone that the undersigned

undersigned is at present authorised to negotiate.

The undersigned has orders to add, that his Britannic majesty, fully acquainted with the desire entertained by the court of St. Petersburg for peace upon conditions reciprocally honourable and advantageous, and at the same time compatible with the interests of Europe, has authorised him to impart to the French plenipotentiaries the conditions upon which Russia (according to the full and perfect knowledge his Britannic majesty has of the intentions of that court) would be willing to negotiate with the French government; to reduce them into the form of a treaty in the event of their being agreed to on both sides; and to insert an article in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and France, by which his Britannic majesty should engage to employ his mediation, for the purpose of obtaining the accession of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the said treaty.

The undersigned is aware that he ought to make the official communication of the conditions to the French plenipotentiaries: in the mean time, and for the satisfaction of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, he has no difficulty in telling him that they will be in substance the same as those which have already been communicated to his excellency by his excellency baron de Budberg.

The undersigned expects with great impatience the answer to this communication, which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs will have the goodness to send in writing. It is the more necessary for him to receive it in that form, as his court has remarked that the

communications the undersigned has already made, have frequently remained without a written answer.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 16th, 1806. Excusing his delays on account of illness, and requesting a written answer to his note.

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 17th, 1806, appointing a meeting.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 17, 1806. Immaterial.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 17, 1806. Immaterial.

Sixth Inclosure (F.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 17, 1806. Puts off an appointed meeting.

No. L.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 19, 1806.—Received September 22d.

Paris, September 19, 1806.

My Lord,

At one o'clock this day, Monsieur

sieur Talleyrand called on me according to the appointment which I announced to your lordship in my last dispatch. I immediately perceived, that his plan was to exhibit extreme civility, which no one knows better how to execute.

After some time spent in compliments, and in condolence on the great loss the world had sustained, he told me, that as I insisted on an answer in writing, one was prepared, which contained a declaration consonant to what he supposed me to wish on the two most material points. First, that the emperor was willing to admit of an article being introduced to answer the objects I had in view in relation to Russia, and to instruct his plenipotentiaries to hear me with respect to the interests of that power. Secondly, that France would be ready to make great concessions for the purpose of obtaining peace.

After some conversation, all tending to impress me with the idea that peace was their main object, and that they were even ready to make any sacrifice to secure it, he produced the paper to which he had alluded (marked A.); and which I had at first understood he meant to transmit to me when he should go home.

Before he opened it, he looked at me, and said, that there was a mixture in it of what, perhaps, I should not like, but that I must take the evil with the good. He begged that I would allow him to read it through without interrupting him. When he had finished, I said that I should of course send such an answer as I thought becoming and proper. I told him, and, I trust, with perfect temper and seeming indifference, that the most important thing for

me to know was, whether these concessions would be to the extent of allowing us to retain what they had originally proposed? He answered that the emperor would leave every thing open to the plenipotentiaries.

On his going away I felt myself so extremely fatigued, in consequence of the weak state in which my late illness has left me, that I was obliged to lie down and recruit my strength before I could turn my mind to the formation of what I conceived to be a proper answer to his note. I trust your lordship will approve of the answer I have sent, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing, (marked B.). My object in framing it, was to facilitate as much as possible the immediate progress of the negotiation, and, at the same time, to let the government of France feel that I was alive to what, in point of dignity, belonged to the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

First Inclosure (A.)

Copy of a Note delivered by M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 18, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, September 18, 1806.

The undersigned, the minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty the emperor, king of Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 13th of this month.

His majesty the emperor and king sees with regret that the negotiation seems to take every day a retrograde course, and he is at a loss to discover what

what point the English government wish to attain.

In the first instance, obsolete forms were brought forward and urged for our acceptance, the text and the substance of which had never been admitted, nor even discussed, by the French government, and when this difficulty appeared to be removed, and the French plenipotentiaries held out a prospect of sacrifices which proved more and more the desire of their government for peace, points antecedent to the negotiation were recurred to, and a question was started again which had been three times decided; first, by the powers given to M. d'Oubril, with which his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiaries were acquainted, afterwards by the powers given to the earl of Yarmouth, and lastly, for the third time, by those of the earl of Lauderdale. One might have supposed that a discussion, terminated before the first conference of the respective negociators, and decided even by the very fact of their negotiation, would not again be brought forward.

His majesty the emperor wishing however to give a fresh proof of his uniform desire for the re-establishment of peace, adheres to the following proposal: That the negotiation between France and England shall continue; that the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain shall be at liberty to introduce into the treaty, either as a public or a secret article, or in any other form which would answer the same end, whatever he may conceive would tend to reconcile the existing differences between France and Russia, and would procure for the latter a participation in the benefits of peace, it being well

understood, that no proposal shall be admitted except such as are respectively honourable, and are not injurious to the real power and the dignity of the two empires; and that we shall not see again brought forward the extraordinary proposals which M. de Novosiltzoff was charged to make on the part of Russia, and which, having marked the origin of a coalition conquered and destroyed in its birth, ought equally to be forgotten with the coalition itself. There are proposals which, being only the result of blind confidence, and of a species of infatuation, and being founded neither on the real force of the parties, nor on their geographical situation, are deprived of their pacific character, and carry with them their own condemnation.

France ought neither to abandon the interests of the Ottoman empire, nor a position which enables her to sustain that empire against the aggressions with which she is openly menaced by Russia; but as all the objects destined to enter into the arrangements of the treaty, must be reserved for discussion, the undersigned will not seek to anticipate the result which it may produce.

If, after the changes which have taken place in the cabinet of his Britannic majesty, peace is still wished for in England, peace may be made, and that without delay. The emperor will not hesitate to make some sacrifices in order to accelerate it, and to render it durable; but if the dispositions for peace should have changed in London, if the wise and liberal views manifested in the first communications which took place with the illustrious minister, whom both nations lament, should no longer prevail, a vague discussion,

discussion, immoderate pretensions, and ambiguous proposals, wide of that tone of frankness and dignity necessary to conduce to a real reconciliation, would only have the effect of producing more irritation, and would be unworthy of both nations. France does not pretend to dictate either to Russia or to England, but she will be dictated to by neither of these powers. Let the conditions be equal, just, and moderate, and the peace is concluded; but if an imperious and exaggerating disposition is evinced, if pre-eminence is affected, if, in a word, it is meant to *dictate* peace, the emperor and the French people will not even notice these proposals. Confiding in themselves, they will say, as a nation of antiquity answered its enemies, "*you demand our arms, come and take them.*"

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has the honour to renew to his excellency the earl of Lauderdale the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

Ch. Mau. Talleyrand,
Prince of Benevento.

Second Inclosure (B.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 19, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, September 19, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain, in answering the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, dated the 18th instant, which has been received to day, begins by remarking, that he purposely abstains as much as possible from all observation upon those points contained in it, which are foreign to the immediate object in

question. By this means, he will avoid discussions of a nature to lead him to forget that tone of moderation which it is his duty to observe in the whole course of his mission. He will thus maintain the line of conduct which is conformable to that love of peace, which characterizes all the proceedings of the king his master.

When the undersigned reflects, that he came to Paris, authorized to conclude peace upon terms understood to have been proposed by France; that notwithstanding the refusal of his imperial majesty of all the Russias to ratify the treaty signed by M. d'Oubril, and the splendid successes obtained by his majesty's arms in Spanish America, he was authorized to give assurances (as he had the honour of doing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs) that the demands of his court, in its own favour, would not in consequence of these successes, be materially increased; the undersigned had reason to be surprised at finding his government charged with manifesting an "imperious and exaggerating disposition." He is not less astonished, that his excellency, in replying to a note in which lord Lauderdale had the honour of explaining distinctly to him, that the conditions pointed out by his excellency baron de Budberg, were in substance what would be insisted upon by Great Britain in favour of Russia, should have thought it necessary to reprobate so strongly conditions proposed by M. de Novosiltzoff under totally different circumstances, and of the nature of which, the undersigned is entirely ignorant.

Nevertheless, after the explanations given by the undersigned to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs,

affairs, and the declaration made by him to his excellency, that the undersigned is not authorised to negotiate otherwise than so as to ensure the conclusion of a peace with Great Britain and with Russia at the same moment; and, after having received, in the official note of yesterday's date, assurances that the French government does not refuse the admission of an article, the design of which shall be to provide for this indispensable object, the undersigned will make no difficulty in resuming the conferences with their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, as soon as their excellencies shall be duly authorised for this purpose.

The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

No. LI.

Extract from a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 26, 1806, Received September 28.

Nothing material happened after the conference with M. Talleyrand, which I detailed in my dispatch of the 19th instant, till the 22d, when I received from him a communication, informing me that the emperor having thought General Clarke's services near his person necessary in a journey he was about to undertake immediately, M. de Champagny would be instructed to conduct singly, on the part of France, the business of the negotiation in future.

This communication was made in a letter which I enclose (marked A) together with a copy of my answer (marked B.)

On the 23d, being anxious that the negotiation should proceed as soon as possible, I took the opportunity of M. de Champagny's sending to enquire after my health, to urge him, in writing, to renew

the conference without farther loss of time. Your lordship will find a copy of my letter (marked C.) together with his answer (marked D.) enclosed.

On the 24th, I received from M. Talleyrand an answer to the demand I had made for an explanation on the subject of passports, in my letter of the 22d. This communication (marked E.) I think it proper also to transmit to your lordship.

On the 25th, at one o'clock, M. de Champagny called on me, as had been previously agreed, for the purpose of renewing the conferences.

After the usual interchange of civilities, he proceeded to say, that, to secure peace, the emperor had determined to make great sacrifices.

1st, That Hanover with its dependencies should be restored to his majesty.

2d, That the possession of Malta should be confirmed to Great Britain.

3d, That France would interfere with Holland to confirm to his majesty the absolute possession of the Cape.

4th, That the emperor would confirm to his majesty the possession of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahé, and the other dependent comptoirs.

5th, That as Tobago was originally settled by the English, it was meant also to give that island to the crown of Great Britain.

To all this he added, that what he had now said, proceeded on the supposition, that Sicily was to be ceded, and that the French government proposed that his Sicilian majesty should have, as indemnity, not only the Balearic Islands, but should also receive an annuity from the court of Spain to enable him to support his dignity.

I here interrupted him, expressing my surprise, after the full explanation I had with M. Talleyrand on that very point, that the possibility of our giving up Sicily should be mentioned again; that the guarantee of it to the king of the Two Sicilies was as much an object with England as M. Talleyrand knew it to be with Russia; and that I was happy to take that opportunity of stating to him fairly, that I felt myself bound to consider the obtaining for Russia the arrangement which she desired, as an object more interesting if possible to England, than those points which might be considered as peculiarly connected with her own interests.

He informed me, that there was no clause in his instructions empowering him to hear me on the part of Russia: but that he had even seen M. Talleyrand's note to me, and, being satisfied that this was an accidental omission, which would be forthwith remedied, he had no objection to proceed, as if such a clause had been inserted.

It was agreed that I should go to him to-day at two o'clock, to renew the conference.

First Inclosure (A.)—Is a Copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 22d, 1806, announcing the intention of General Clarke and himself to follow the Emperor, and proposes to correspond with Lord L.

Second Inclosure (B.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale, dated September 22, 1806, requesting to be furnished with passports, &c. for messengers in the absence of M. Talleyrand.

Third Inclosure (C.)—Is a Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated September 23, 1806, requesting the appointment of a meeting.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)—Is a Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 23, 1806. Appoints Thursday next as the first day M. Champagny would have leisure.

Fifth Inclosure (E.)—Is a Copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 24, 1806. Formal, containing passports, &c.

NO. LII.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Earl Spencer, dated September 26, 1806.—Received September 28.

Paris, September 26, 1806.

MY LORD,

In conformity with my engagement made yesterday, which I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship in my former dispatch of this date, I waited on M. Champagny this afternoon at two o'clock.

He informed me, that the accidental omission in his instructions had been remedied, and that he had now powers to talk with me on the interests of Russia, with a view to arrange the conditions on which France would make peace with that country: but he, at the same time, proposed, that we should, in the first instance, talk over the terms of peace between France and England.

I observed, that as the greatest difficulties in our last conference seemed to arise from the conditions that I had proposed as necessary to be granted to Russia; and, as Eng-
land

land was resolved not to make peace without obtaining for Russia all the objects on which she insisted, I thought the more natural order would be, to resume our conversation on these last topics.

A long discussion accordingly ensued, which ended in his informing me, that on the subject of concession to Russia, he was authorised to communicate to me, that the government of France was willing, in addition to the treaty made by M. d'Oubril, to cede to that power the full sovereignty of the island of Corfu, but that he had no authority to go any farther.

I then informed him, that I was sorry to learn that the negotiation was at an end, for that my instructions were precise, and that I should feel it my duty, the moment I left him, to state to M. Talleyrand, that all hopes having vanished of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, I had only now to request passports for my return to England.

After strong expressions of mutual regard, he attended me to the outer room, where he again proposed a renewal of our conferences, in case his government should give him new instructions.

My answer was, that I had no choice in immediately applying for passports; but that, as long as I remained in this country, I never would refuse to see him; and that if, before my departure, he should come with powers to grant all the objects on which I had explained myself, I should feel the greatest satisfaction, though at that moment, I thought any appointment perfectly unnecessary.

On my return home I sent to M. Talleyrand a letter demanding my passports, a copy of which (marked A.) I enclose; and I understand

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from the courier Basilico, that he received it ten minutes before he got into his carriage to go to Mentz.

About six o'clock, I received from M. de Champagny a note, of which, as well as of my answer, I enclose copies to your lordship, (marked B. and C.)

Whilst I am writing, I have received the note, which I enclose, (marked D.)

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Lauderdale.

I open this dispatch to enclose a note, (marked E.) I have this moment received from M. de Champagny.

First Inclosure (A.) Copy of a note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated September 26, 1806. Demands passports to return, as the conference with M. Champagny, "unfortunately leaves me no hope of being able to bring the negotiations, on the part of Great Britain and of Russia, to a favourable issue."

Second Inclosure (B.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806. "He thinks it may tend to advance that very desirable object, peace, to converse again on the subject with his excellency, and he has the honour to propose to his excellency to receive him at his house on Monday next."

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated September 26th, 1806. Accepts the appointment.

Fourth Inclosure (D.) Copy of a note from M. d'Hauterive to the
3 E earl

earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806. Immaterial.

pensible to your continuance at Paris.

Fifth Inclosure (E.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806. Appoints two o'clock on Monday next to meet.

No. LIV. Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Viscount Howick, dated Paris, October 4th, 1806.—Received October 6th. Immaterial.

No. LIII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Viscount Howick to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-Street, October 1, 1806.

Downing-Street, October 1st, 1806.

My Lord,

Your dispatches of the 26th ult. brought by the messenger Johnson, have been laid before the king.

His majesty has seen, with great regret, that after more than six months spent in negotiation, the French government still hesitates upon the admission of points constantly urged by his majesty, as the only grounds on which he could consent to peace, and that in so unsatisfactory a state of things, the chief of that government, together with his principal minister, has suddenly left Paris,* creating thereby new obstacles to the progress of the negotiation.

Whatever views the French government may have, in keeping up this state of suspense and uncertainty, his majesty feels that it is equally prejudicial to the interests of his subjects, and to those of Europe. If the professions of France are sincere, there can be no reason why she should not give a plain and decisive answer to demands which have been so long under consideration; and the time is now come, when such an answer must be required, as indis-

No. LV.

Copy of a Dispatch from the Earl of Lauderdale to Viscount Howick, dated Paris, October 6th, 1806. Received October 8.

My Lord,

Late last night M. de Champagny's principal secretary called upon me with a letter from him, inclosing a letter from M. Talleyrand, both of which I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship, (marked A. and B.)

From these your lordship will perceive, that the negotiation is now at an end, and that M. de Champagny has been authorised to give me the passports I required.

I have this day accordingly renewed my demand to him in a letter, a copy of which I enclose (marked C.)

On considering M. Talleyrand's note, it seemed to me necessary that I should not take the step of asking my passports from M. de Champagny, without accompanying my demand with a reply to some of the observations made by the minister for foreign affairs. Your lordship will accordingly find inclosed a copy (marked D.) of an official note addressed by me to that minister.

I have sent the courier Lyell, for the purpose of conveying this information, and I have given him a letter to admiral Holloway, desiring him

* The chief of the French government left Paris on the night of the 24th September, and was followed by M. Talleyrand on the 26th.

him instantly to announce by the telegraph, that I shall leave Paris on Thursday morning.

I have taken this step, because it occurred to me that government being thus in possession of the intelligence, that the negotiation is at an end, ten hours before it can reach London, they may have it in their power to take the most prudent means to make the fact public.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) . . . Lauderdale.

First Inclosure (A.) Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated October 5th, 1806. Formal.

Second Inclosure (B.)

Copy of a Note from M. Talleyrand to the Earl of Lauderdale, dated Mentz, October 1, 1806.

(Translation.)

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty, the emperor, king of Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 26th of this month.

His majesty, after having, from a desire of peace, listened to every proposition which could have rendered it durable, and of reciprocal advantage to the two contracting powers, and to their allies, will see with pain the rupture of a negotiation, to which his own disposition had led him to hope a more favourable conclusion. If the English cabinet is resolved to forego the prospect of a peace, and, if his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary must depart from France, his majesty still flatters himself, that the English cabinet, and lord Lauderdale

will, when they shall measure the extent of the sacrifices which he was disposed to make, in order to facilitate the return of a sincere reconciliation, be convinced that his majesty, in order to promote the happiness of the world, would not hesitate between any advantages, in comparison with those to be expected from peace, and that the desire to insure its benefits to his people, could alone have determined his paternal heart to make sacrifices, not only of self love but of power, more considerable than even the opinion of the English nation could have pointed out in the midst of a war, in which he had obtained constant advantages, without any mixture of reverse. If, however, it is the destiny of the emperor, and of the French nation, still to live in the midst of the wars and tumults, which the policy and influence of England have raised, his majesty, having done every thing to put a stop to the calamities of war, finding himself deceived in his dearest hopes, relies on the justice of his cause, on the courage, the affection, the power of his people. At the same time calling to mind the dispositions which he has expressed throughout the negotiation, his majesty cannot see but with regret, that England, who might have strengthened and confirmed her vast power by the blessings of peace, the want of which is felt by the present generation, and by the English people, as well as all others, willingly suffers the most favourable opportunity of concluding it to pass by:—The event will disclose whether a new coalition will be more disadvantageous to France than those which have preceded it. The event will also disclose, whether those who complain of the grandeur and ambi-

tion of France, should not impute to their own hatred and injustice, this very grandeur and ambition of which they accuse her. The power of France has only been increased by the reiterated efforts to oppress her. Nevertheless, whatever inferences for the future may be drawn from the examples of the past, his majesty will be ready, should the negotiations with England be broken off, to renew them in the midst of any events. He will be ready to replace them on the basis laid in concert with the illustrious minister whom England has lost, who, having nothing to add to his glory, except the reconciliation of the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world in the midst of his work.

The undersigned has the honour to inform his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, that M. de Champagny has been authorised to deliver to him the passports which he has demanded.

The undersigned is desirous of renewing to his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand,
Prince of Benevento.

Third Inclosure (C.) Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated October 6, 1806. A formal demand of passports.

Fourth Inclosure (D.)

Copy of a Note from the Earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated October 6, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, 6th October, 1806.

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty

received late last night the note which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, did him the honour to address to him on the first of this month.

The undersigned, learning that his excellency M. de Champagny is authorised to grant him the passports which he has demanded, and which he is on the point of receiving, cannot refrain from observing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, in answer to his note, that he has some difficulty in imagining from what circumstances his excellency has been able to infer, "that the British government have resolved to forego the prospect of peace."

The undersigned was sent to France to negotiate a peace, at a time when the illustrious minister, to whom his excellency has paid so just a tribute of praise, presided over the department for foreign affairs. This great man then acted under the full conviction, that he had received from France an offer of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception of Hanover and of its dependencies, in favour of his Britannic majesty. And, notwithstanding the success of the arms of his Britannic majesty, as well in Italy as on the continent of South America; and the refusal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to ratify that treaty, which in the eyes of the French government, was equivalent to the most splendid victory; not one new proposition has been advanced on the part of his majesty, incompatible with the principle which was at first proposed by the French government, through the channel of the earl of Yarmouth, as the basis of the negotiation. It is not, surely, from

from such conduct that the inference can be drawn, "that the British government have resolved to forego the prospect of a peace."

Are the conditions which the undersigned was ordered to propose as the basis of a peace between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and the French government more of a nature to have given rise to this suspicion? Quite the reverse. If a solid and durable peace was the object of the two powers, these were such conditions as justice and expediency demanded. *Justice*; because certainly nothing could be more equitable than to grant to his Sicilian majesty and to the king of Sardinia a compensation for their immense losses on the continent. *Expediency*; because in order to insure the duration of peace, such an arrangement of boundaries as may prevent disputes must always be preferable to that which furnishes to one of the parties the means and advantages of attack. It was on this principle that the proposed evacuation of Dalmatia and Albania by the French troops, naturally suggested itself.

If, therefore, the undersigned has received orders to demand his passports, and to depart from France, it is certainly not because his sovereign wishes to renounce peace, but because his majesty finds himself *obliged to do so*; the French government not having consented to all the conditions which were comprised in the proposals originally made by them to his Britannic majesty, and having moreover rejected, as the basis for the treaty with Russia, the just and reasonable conditions which the undersigned was authorised to propose.

The undersigned has received with real satisfaction the general

assurances of the disposition of the French government to renew the negotiation at a future period, as expressed in the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. He has seen with no less pleasure, that the tone and the moderation observed in this communication correspond with the sentiments which accompany them. On this subject his excellency may rest assured, that the French government, could not in any way express a stronger desire to see an end put to the calamities of war, than that which his Britannic majesty will invariably feel, whenever peace can be concluded on conditions compatible with the honour of his crown and the interests of his subjects.

The undersigned ought here to conclude the official answer which he has thought necessary to make to the note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. But he cannot pass over in silence one part of this note, where his excellency wishes to convey the idea that the British government seems no longer disposed to act on the same principles which directed the conduct of the great man whom England has lately lost. The undersigned, without being authorised to mention this subject, nor even to introduce it in an official paper, trusts in the known goodness and indulgence of his sovereign, when he allows himself to make the following observations on this subject.

During twenty-six years of intimate and uninterrupted connection with Mr. Fox, the undersigned as much as any one, has had an opportunity of confidentially learning the sentiments of that celebrated man. From his knowledge of them, he is impressed with the strongest conviction, that no minister could give to

the instructions of which he was to be the organ; a more perfect assent, or concur more effectually in their execution; than Mr. Fox would have done, in giving to the undersigned on the part of his Britannic majesty, such orders as the undersigned has in fact received, under circumstances in which peace (on the just and equitable conditions which had been proposed to that minister) would have appeared to him impracticable.

How much would this opinion have been strengthened in the mind of that minister, on perceiving the French government refuse the just demands of that illustrious ally, who, by his fidelity to his Britannic majesty, has deserved, on the part of the king, that his interests should be as dear to him as his own.

The undersigned has the honour to acquaint his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, that he this morning applied to his excellency M. de Champagny for his passports. At the same time, he requests him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

Lauderdale.

No. LVI.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Buyukdéré, August 25, 1806.—Received September 29.

It was yesterday settled at the Porte, that the present hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia should be recalled, and that prince Charles Callimaki, the first dragoman of the Porte, should be named to the government of Moldavia, and prince Alexander Suzzo to that of Wallachia; at the same time Mr. Bano Hanchyry was appointed dragoman in the room of prince Callimaki.

To give you a perfect idea of the disrespect with which Russia has been treated in this instance, it is necessary that I should transmit to you an extract from the regulations respecting Moldavia and Wallachia, which were published in the year 1802.

As no accusation whatever has been brought against either of the Hospodars who are now removed, there can be no excuse for breaking the convention; by which it was stipulated with Russia, that seven years should be the period of each prince's government.

You will, probably, expect to hear that this measure has originated with the French ambassador; in effect, there are proofs sufficient that it is his work.

(Inclosure.)

Extract of a Regulation respecting the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, dated September 24th, 1802.

(Translation.)

Sept. 24th, 1802.

The term of the continuance of the hospodars in their governments shall from henceforth be fixed at seven complete and entire years; to date from the day of their nomination, and if they are not guilty of any open offence, they shall not be displaced before that term is expired; if they do commit an offence, during that time, the Sublime Porte will inform the minister of Russia of the circumstance; and if, after due examination is made into the affair on both sides, it shall appear that the hospodar has really committed an offence, in that case only his deposition shall be allowed.

No.

No. LVII.

Extract from a Dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated Buyukdéré, Sept. 29th, 1806.—Received Nov. 9th.

Buyukdéré, 29th Sept. 1806.

Sir,

On the 18th of this month the dragoman of the Porte communicated to Mr. Pisani*, for my information, a note which had been presented by the French ambassador, a copy of which I have herewith the honour to inclose.

(Inclosure.)

Note presented by the French Ambassador at the Porte, to the Reis Effendi.

(Translation.)

Pera, Sept. 16th, 1806.

The undersigned general of division, ambassador of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, has the honour to lay before his excellency the Reis Effendi, the following considerations.

He has been positively informed, although in an indirect manner, that the Russian legation has delivered a note to the Sublime Porte, in which it is said that the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify the treaty of peace signed at Paris by his plenipotentiary. This refusal places Europe in the same situation in which she was six weeks ago, but it unmasks the projects of Russia. This treaty of peace stipulated for the independence of the Seven Islands; a stipulation which removing the Russians from the Mediterranean, where they had established themselves in order to attack the Otto-

man empire at various points, could not be acceptable to them.

Ragusa was restored to its independence under the protection of the Sublime Porte: this arrangement rendering it impossible for the Russians to keep up their intelligence with the Montenegrins and with the revolted Servians, was contrary to their views.

Doubtless it is the article which stipulates for the independence of the Ottoman empire, and the integrity of its territory, which has occasioned the rejection of the peace at Petersburg: Russia then perceived that she could no longer seize provinces of that empire by force of arms, as she seized the Crimea, or extort them from her in time of peace, as she did with regard to Georgia, and the passage of the Dardanelles.

This treaty of peace, in fine, leaving the French in Albania and Dalmatia, placed upon the frontiers of Turkey, her most ancient ally, and her most faithful friend, who would have remained, and will ever remain, ready to defend her. Such are the motives which have led the cabinet of Petersburg to this refusal. I do not give way to vain declamation; I lay facts before you; I beseech you to weigh them with all the attention to which they are entitled.

If in these difficult circumstances the Porte does not form a true estimate of her dangers and of her force, if she does not form the decision her interests require of her, I shall, perhaps, ere long, have to lament her fate.

The undersigned has received the most positive orders from his ma-

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jesty

* First dragoman, or interpreter, attached to the British mission.

jesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to declare to the Sublime Porte, that not only the principles of friendship, but those of the strictest neutrality, require that the Bosphorus should be shut against all Russian ships of war, as well as against every other vessel of that nation, bringing troops, ammunition, or provisions; and that the same passage cannot be opened to them, without committing an act of hostility against France, and without giving his majesty Napoleon the great, a right of passage over the territories of the Ottoman empire, in order to combat with the Russian army on the banks of the Dniester.

Any renewal or continuation of alliance with the enemies of France, such as England and Russia, would be not only a manifest violation of the neutrality, but an accession on the part of the Sublime Porte to the war which those powers wage against France, and his majesty would see himself compelled to take measures conformable to his interests and his dignity.

The Sublime Porte cannot maintain her relations with two missions from Naples, and his majesty the emperor of the French cannot suffer his august brother, Napoleon Joseph, king of Naples and the Two Sicilies, to meet with difficulties here which he does not experience from any power in amity with France.

His majesty the emperor has a large army in Dalmatia: this army is collected for the defence of the Ottoman empire, unless an equivocal conduct on the part of the Porte, and a condescension towards Russia and England, which might again throw her into their power, should compel his majesty the em-

peror of the French, to bring forward his formidable forces for a purpose totally opposite to that which he had in view.

His majesty has ordered the undersigned to state to the Sublime Porte, in the most friendly though energetic manner, these demands, for the purpose of obtaining an answer in writing, and it is expected that this answer shall be positive and categorical.

No further delay can be allowed; and his majesty has no doubt that the Sublime Porte will give him the assurances he desires, and which are so much in unison with the interests of the Ottoman empire.

The undersigned has no wish to make a vain display of the formidable forces of the great Napoleon; his friends know how to estimate their importance; his enemies have felt their power.

The genius of his august master is well known; his determinations are wise and prompt, his personal attachment to his highness is sincere. He only seeks the independence, the integrity, and the glory of Turkey. He desires nothing. He asks nothing. What inducements to an union with him! At the same time what reason to apprehend the loss of his good will, by adopting a timid, uncertain, or inimical line of conduct! Under these circumstances the answer of the Sublime Porte will regulate the conduct of my august master. Let not the threats of the enemies of France impose on the Sublime Porte; they have been vanquished, and they will ever be so. The great Napoleon will employ all his resources for the glory of his highness Selim III. his friend; and as his resources are immense, his genius is still greater.

This

This note is of sufficient importance to be submitted to the profound wisdom of his majesty the emperor, Selim III. and your excellency is requested to take the earliest opportunity of laying it before him.

The undersigned requests his excellency the Reis Effendi, to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) Horace Sebastiani.

Declaration of his Britannic Majesty.

The negotiations in which his majesty has been engaged with France having terminated unsuccessfully, his majesty thinks proper to make this public declaration to his subjects and to Europe, of the circumstances which have led to an issue which his majesty deeply regrets. He has no object nearer to his heart than the conclusion of a secure and permanent peace. He laments the continuance of a war affecting the happiness of so many nations, and which, even amidst all the successes that attend his arms, is so burthensome to his faithful and affectionate people. But he is confident that there can arise on this occasion no other sentiments, either in his own dominions, or in any part of Europe, than that of an increased conviction, that the restoration of general tranquillity is retarded only by the injustice and ambition of the enemy.

The French government, unsatisfied with its immense acquisitions on the continent, still openly perseveres in a system destructive of the independence of every other power. War is pursued, not for security, but for conquest; and negotiations for peace appear to be entered into for

no other object than that of deluding the neighbouring powers into a state of false security, while France is herself preparing, arranging, and executing, her unremitted projects of encroachment and aggression.

Her conduct in the recent discussions has afforded but too many proofs of this disposition.

The negotiation originated in an offer made by the French government, of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession, which was stated to admit of mutual compensation; and a distinct assurance was added, that his majesty's German dominions, which had been attacked without even the pretence of any cause of hostility, should be restored.

Such a proposal appeared to his majesty to afford a just foundation for negotiating: It was, therefore, accepted, with this reserve, that the negotiations should be conducted by his majesty in concert with his allies.

No sooner had this basis been mutually admitted, than it was departed from by the enemy, and that too in points of so great importance, as to call for an immediate declaration on the part of his majesty, that unless the principle proposed by France herself were adhered to, the communications which had been opened between the two governments must at once be closed.

This produced new professions of the disposition of France to make considerable sacrifices for the attainment of peace, if the discussions were suffered to proceed; at the same time that a difficulty was started on account of the want of full powers in the person intrusted by his majesty with this communication.

Steps

Steps were thereupon taken by his majesty for opening a regular negotiation by ministers duly authorized, in order to ascertain, in a manner the most satisfactory and authentic, whether peace could be obtained on terms honourable to the king and his allies, and consistent with the general security of Europe.

During these proceedings, a minister, sent by the emperor of Russia to treat for the same important object, in concert with his majesty's government, was induced, by the artifices of the enemy, to sign a separate treaty, on terms equally repugnant to the honour and interests of his imperial majesty.

Unmoved by this unexpected event, the king continued to negotiate precisely on the same principles as before. He relied with a confidence which experience has amply justified, on the good faith and steadiness of an ally, in concert with whom he had begun to treat, and whose interests he had maintained throughout with the same firmness as his own.

The French government, on the contrary, elated with this advantage, of which it boasted as equal in importance to the most decisive victory, departed in every conference more and more widely from its own offers and engagements. Not only did it take upon itself to change at its own will the basis of the negotiation with Great Britain, but it violated, in points, still more important, every principle of good faith with Russia. The chief inducement offered to that power as the price of all the sacrifices extorted from her minister, had been the preservation of Germany. Yet, before the decision of Russia on

this treaty could be known, France had already annihilated the whole frame and constitution of the Germanic empire; had reduced under her own yoke a large proportion of the states and provinces of Germany; and, not content with this open contempt of obligations so recently contracted, had at the same time instigated the Porte to measures directly subversive of her subsisting engagements with Russia.

While such conduct was pursued towards his majesty, towards his allies, and towards all independent powers, there appeared so little hope of any favourable issue to the negotiation, that his majesty's plenipotentiaries demanded their passports to return to England.

This demand was at first eluded by an unusual and unexplained delay, and the French government, afterwards, by some material concessions, accompanied with intimations, that others of still greater consequence might be the result of further discussion, procured a renewal of the conferences, which were protracted from day to day, till at length it was announced at Paris that the emperor of Russia had indignantly rejected the unauthorized and separate treaty signed by his minister.

In consequence of this important event, the strongest assurances were given to his majesty's minister, that France was now prepared to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order, by securing peace with Great Britain, to re-establish the tranquillity of the world.

The object of these assurances appeared, however, to be that of engaging his majesty to a separate negotiation, to the exclusion of his allies; a proposal which his majesty had

had rejected in the outset, and which he could still less admit of at a time when the conduct of Russia had imposed on him an increased obligation not to separate his interests from those of so faithful an ally. To these insidious overtures, his majesty steadily refused to listen; but he took the most effectual method to avoid all appearance of delay, and to accelerate, if possible, the favourable issue of the negotiation. The confidential intercourse which he had constantly maintained with Russia, enabled his majesty to specify the terms on which peace with that power might be obtained; and his minister was accordingly instructed to state to France, in addition to his own demands, those of his ally, to reduce them into distinct articles, and even to conclude on those grounds a provisional treaty, to take effect whenever Russia should signify her accession.

This form of negotiating was, after some objection, acceded to by France. Terms were now offered to his majesty more nearly approaching than before to the original basis of negotiation; but they were still far short of what his majesty had uniformly insisted on, and was now more than ever entitled to expect; and the decisive rejection of the just demands of Russia, as well as of the conditions proposed by his majesty in behalf of his other allies, left to his majesty no other course than that of ordering his minister to terminate the discussion and return to England.

The foregoing short and simple exposition of facts stands in need of no comment. The first overtures

which led to negotiation were made by the enemy, and they were accepted by his majesty in the sincerest spirit of peace. Every opening which seemed to afford the most distant prospect of accommodation has been anxiously embraced, nor was the negotiation finally broken off while any hope of a favourable issue could be entertained. His majesty's demands were uniformly just and reasonable; directed to no objects of personal aggrandizement, but to such only as were indispensably required, by the honour of his crown, his engagements to his allies, and a due consideration of the general interests of Europe.

It is with heartfelt concern that his majesty contemplates the continuance of those evils always inseparable from a state of war; but it is with his enemies that this awful responsibility rests; and for the issue of the contest his majesty trusts, with confidence, to the justice of his cause; to the resources and bravery of his people; to the fidelity of his allies; and, above all, to the protection and support of the divine providence.

In contributing to the great efforts which such a contest must unavoidably require, his faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget that all their dearest interests are at stake; that no sacrifices they can be called upon to make, are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin of yielding to the injurious pretensions of the enemy; that with the inviolable maintenance of the good faith and public honour of their country, its prosperity, its strength, and its independence, are essentially connected;

nected; and that, in asserting the rights, and upholding the dignity of the British empire, they defend the most powerful bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

M. D'Oubril's Treaty, signed the 8th (20th) of July, with General Clarke, appointed Plenipotentiary for that Purpose by the French Government.

1. From the present day there shall be peace and friendship for ever between his majesty the emperor of Russia, and his majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, their heirs and successors, their empires and subjects.

2. As a consequence of the first article, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease between the two nations: the necessary orders for which shall be issued within twenty-four hours after signing the present convention. All ships of war, and other vessels, belonging to either of the two powers, or their subjects, that shall be taken after the signing of this convention in any part of the world, shall be restored to the owners.

3. The Russian troops shall give up to the French the country known by the name of Bocca di Cattaro, as also Dalmatia, which, by the fourth article of the treaty of Presburg, belongs to his French imperial majesty as king of Italy. Every facility shall be afforded the Russian troops for the evacuation of Cattaro, as also of the Ragusan territory, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, if the circumstances of the war should have occasioned them to occupy those territories. Immediately after this convention shall be ratified, the

commanders of the two powers by land and sea shall enter into an agreement with respect to the marching out of the troops, and the surrender of the country.

4. His majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy consents, at the request of the emperor of all the Russias,

I. To restore the republic of Ragusa to its former independence, under the condition that it shall enjoy, as heretofore, the protection of the Ottoman Porte. The French shall retain the position of Stagno, on the Peninsula Sabionello, to secure the communication with Cattaro.

II. To cease from any hostile undertakings against the Montenegrins from the day of the signing of this convention, so long as they shall remain peaceable as subjects of the Porte. They shall immediately return home, and his majesty the emperor Napoleon engages not to molest them, nor to make any enquiries relative to the part they have taken in the hostile attacks that have been made in the territory of Ragusa, and the neighbouring territories.

5. The independence of the republic of the seven islands is acknowledged by both powers. The Russian troops now in the Mediterranean shall remove to the Ionian islands. His Russian imperial majesty to give a proof of his sincere disposition to peace, shall not leave more than 4,000 of his troops there, which he shall remove as soon as his imperial majesty shall judge necessary.

6. The independence of the Ottoman Porte shall be acknowledged on both sides, and both the high contracting

contracting parties engage to protect it and the integrity of its possessions.

7. As soon as, in consequence of the concluding of the present convention, orders shall have been given for the troops to leave the Bocca di Cattaro, all occasion of hostilities being removed, the French troops shall retire from Germany, his majesty the emperor Napoleon declares, that within three months after the signing of the treaty, all his troops shall have returned to France.

8. Both the high contracting powers shall employ their good offices to terminate, as speedily as possible, the war between Prussia and Sweden.

9. As the two high contracting powers wish, as much as depends upon them, to hasten the peace by sea, his French imperial majesty will willingly accept the good offers of his Russian imperial majesty for the attainment of that object.

10. The commercial relations between the subjects of the two empires shall be restored to the same footing on which they were before the breaking out of the hostilities by which they were disturbed and separated.

11. All prisoners of both nations shall be delivered up to the agents of the respective governments, without exception, as soon as the ratifications shall be exchanged.

12. The regulations of the missions and ceremonials, between the two high contracting powers shall be placed on the same footing as before the war.

13. The ratifications of this convention shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg within twenty-five days, by plenipotentiaries appointed on each side.

Done and signed at Paris, the 8th of July, 1806.

(Signed) Peter D'Oubril.
Clarke.

His imperial majesty has been pleased to lay this act of pacification before a council summoned specially for that purpose, that it might be compared both with the instructions given to M. d'Oubril here, and with the orders sent to him at Vienna, before his departure from that city; and it has appeared that the counsellor of state, d'Oubril, when he signed the convention, had not only departed from the instructions he had received, but had acted directly contrary to the sense and intention of the commission given him.

The imperial council, with a common feeling for the honour of the country, and abiding by the known principles of his imperial majesty, which are founded in the strictest justice, have declared as their common opinion, that this act, which is not conformable to the views of his imperial majesty, cannot receive his majesty's ratification; and his imperial majesty has ordered this to be notified to the French government. His majesty, at the same time, has signified his willingness to renew the negotiations for peace, but only on such principles as are suitable to the dignity of his majesty.

The ministry for foreign affairs has made an official communication on this subject to all the foreign ministers accredited to this court.

Full Powers of M. D'Oubril.

"We, Alexander I. emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c. &c. (through all the titles of his majesty.)

"Being

“ Being actuated by a solicitude for the preservation of Europe in a state of calm and tranquillity, and animated by a sincere desire to put an end to misunderstanding, and re-establish peace with France on solid bases, we have considered it proper to commit this task to a person enjoying our confidence. For that purpose we have nominated, appointed, and authorised our trusty and well beloved Pierre d’ Oubril, counsellor of state, and knight of the orders of St. Wolodimir, of the third class, of St. Anne of the second, and of St. John of Jerusalem, whom we do nominate, appoint, and authorize by these presents, for the purpose and to the intent of entering into conference with the person or persons who shall be properly authorised on the part of the French government, and of concluding and signing with them an act or convention upon bases proper for the settlement of the peace which is to be established between Russia and France, and to lay the foundation of peace between the other belligerent powers of Europe.

“ We promise on our imperial word, to take for granted, and to execute faithfully, all that shall be agreed upon and signed by our said plenipotentiary, and also to give our imperial ratification within the time which shall be agreed upon.

“ In testimony of which we have signed these full powers, and have affixed thereto the seal of our empire.

“ Given at St. Petersburg, the 30th of April, 1806, and in the 6th year of our reign.

Alexander.
(Countersigned)
Prince Adam Czartoryski.

(Certified to be translated conformably to the original.)

Pierre d’ Oubril.”

Russian Manifesto.

We, Alexander I. by the grace of God, emperor and autocrat of all Russia, &c. &c. &c.

To all our faithful subjects be it known ;

While we, in pursuance of our incessant anxiety for the internal prosperity of our empire, have directed our constant attention to its external relations, it has uniformly been our wish to establish it upon the solid basis of the public interest, and to maintain it by alliances suited to the situation and circumstances of our country.

In this view we thought it proper, at the commencement of our reign, to remove the causes of the misunderstandings which then existed, and to unite ourselves in friendly intercourse with those powers whose wise and moderate principles were most consistent with your independence, and with the general tranquillity. The omnipotent favoured our wishes, in restoring a general peace throughout Europe.

But it was not consistent with his inscrutable purposes to continue this state of things. The war broke out anew.

Although, from our situation, we took no immediate share in this war, yet, agreeably to alliances and to the fixed principles of attachment to the common interest and tranquillity by which we were actuated, we never ceased to wish for the restoration of peace, and to labour, by pacific negotiations, to obtain that end.

In the midst of these negotiations, the daily incroachments of the French government, its spirit of aggrandisement, and its unbounded ambition, which threatened to swallow up our allies, at last compelled us to take an active part in the war.

We took up arms; but never ceased to wish for peace. We therefore announced, by our ukases of the 1st of September, 1805, that the object of our arming was to maintain the faith of our alliances, and to re-establish a general peace.

The misfortune which attended the arms of the allies disappointed our intentions, but the principles on which we acted are not changed. The French government, in the beginning of the present year, shewed a disposition towards pacific approximations. We gave orders to enter into discussions upon the subject.

The restoration of peace, which should combine the security of our empire with the interests of our allies, and with the general tranquillity of Europe, was laid down as the principles of the discussions.

But to our regret the condition of the treaty concluded with France neither corresponded with the dignity of our empire nor with the interests of our allies. We therefore refused to ratify those conditions.

In order, nevertheless, to demonstrate the unalterable principles by which we are actuated, and which, under all events, we have kept steadily in view, we have at the same time explained the means and the principles in conformity to which we are disposed again to open negotiations with the French government.

The principles which we have proposed are on the one hand so moderate that they cannot be rejected without a menace to the general security, and on the other hand so conformable to the interests of all the powers concerned, that if they are accepted a general and lasting peace may be again restored to Europe.

Either peace or a continuance of war must necessarily be the result of this measure. We wish for peace, but if a durable peace, and one grounded upon reciprocal advantages cannot be attained, we shall account it a sacred duty which we owe to the honour of the Russian name, to the security of the country, to our faith pledged by treaties, to the general preservation of Europe, to abandon all pacific proceedings, and to make those exertions which all those considerations render indispensable.

We are persuaded, that the providence of the most high, who is the protector of truth, will defend our just cause with his strong arm.

We are persuaded that our faithful subjects, animated at all times with love for their country, actuated at all times with a spirit of honour, and sentiments of bravery, all surrounded with great examples of patriotic zeal, will unite their exertions with ours when called upon by the security of Russia, by the voice of fame, and by our commands to co-operate for the general weal.

In this firm persuasion, depending upon the aid of the Almighty, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to announce to you beforehand our intentions, thereby to give you a fresh proof that in none of our undertakings

takings we are actuated, either by the desire of extending our empire, or of acquiring fame by success in war; but that the objects of our wishes and our operations are the general security, the maintenance of our alliance, and the preservation of the dignity of our empire.

Given at St. Petersburg, August 30, 1806, and in the sixth year of our reign.

Alexander.
(Countersigned) Budberg,
Minister for foreign affairs.

Prussian Manifesto.

As his majesty the king of Prussia has taken up arms for the defence of his people, he thinks it necessary to lay before them and all Europe, the circumstances which have imposed this duty on his majesty.

The politics of France have been the scourge of humanity during the last fifteen years. Those men who, in rapid succession, have been at the head of affairs in that country, have only sought the means of their dominion in war, and the guarantee of their existence in the wretchedness of the people, may be viewed without astonishment. But the introduction of a regular government, to which the same necessity could not be imputed, gave new life to the hopes of the friends of peace. Napoleon, invested with the supreme power, victorious, surrounded by weaker states, friendly disposed governments, or conquered and exhausted rivals, had it in his power to perform a better part. For the greatness of France nothing more remained for him to do; for her

happiness every thing was in his power.

It is painful to be compelled to say, that French politics still remained the same. An insatiable ambition was still the ruling passion of France. She made use of arms and of treaties with the same view. The peace of Amiens was scarcely concluded, before the signal for the first acts of violence followed. Holland and Switzerland, two independent states, were compelled to accept a constitution which converted them into French provinces. The renewal of war was the consequence.

Peace, however, still continued upon the continent. The German empire had purchased it by incalculable sacrifices. In the midst of this peace, nevertheless, the French troops invaded the electorate of Hanover; a country which had no concern in the war between France and England; while the ports of Germany were shut against the British flag; and the better to effect her object, France took possession of Cuxhaven, and the territory of a free state, which was still more a stranger to war than Hanover.

In the midst of this peace also, the same troops a few months after, violated the German territory, in such manner as to wound the honour of the nation still deeper. The Germans have never avenged the death of the duke d'Enghein; but the remembrance of that event will never be extinguished among them.

The treaty of Luneville guaranteed the independence of the Italian republic. In spite of the most positive promises did Napoleon place the iron crown of Italy upon his own head. Genoa was incorporated with

with France. Lucca was very near sharing the same fate. Only a few months before had the emperor, on a solemn occasion—an occasion which imposed very important duties upon him—declared, before his people and before all Europe, that he wished not to extend the limits of his territory. Besides, France was bound, by a treaty with Russia, to put the king of Sardinia in possession of indemnities in Italy. Instead of fulfilling that obligation, she made herself mistress of every object which could have been serviceable towards that indemnification.

Portugal wished to maintain her neutrality, but Portugal was compelled to purchase, by gold, the deceitful security of a few moments.

The Porte, who had not forgotten the invasion of Syria and Egypt, was the only power remaining in Europe, which had not been subjected to the arbitrary proceedings of France.

But to these acts of violence, a system of abuse and injury remained still to be added. A journal, which proclaimed itself the voice of government, was chosen as a chronicle of the attacks incessantly made upon every crowned head.

Prussia could be no stranger to any of those general acts of oppression. Many of them were nearly connected with her substantial interests; especially as the wisdom of that system which considers the states of Europe as members of the same family, calls upon each of them for the defence of all; and that the unbounded aggrandizement of one state exposed the rest to danger, was sufficiently manifest to experience.

Still it is most essentially neces-

sary, to represent in what manner the conduct of France was calculated to operate in its immediate relation to Prussia.

It were superfluous to enumerate all the good offices rendered to Napoleon by Prussia. Prussia was the first power that acknowledged him. No promises, no menaces had been able to shake the king's neutrality. every thing that the duty of a good neighbour could prescribe, was most amply afforded during a period of six years. Prussia esteemed a valiant nation, which also had learned, on its part, to respect Prussia both in war and peace; and she did justice to the genius of its chief. But the remembrance of these times is no longer retained by Napoleon.

Prussia had permitted the territory of Hanover to be invaded. In this she had countenanced an act of injustice; therefore was it her first view to remedy it. She offered herself for it instead of England, under the condition that the latter should cede it. It must, however, at least be recollected, that thus a boundary was prescribed to France, which she should not pass. Napoleon solemnly pledged himself not to compromise the neutrality of the northern states; to exorcise no violence towards any of them; and, in particular, not to increase the number of troops in the electorate of Hanover.

Scarcely had he agreed to these stipulations, than he broke them. Every one is acquainted with the violent manner in which sir George Rumbold was seized; every one knows that the Hanse Towns were laid under contribution, under the appellation of loans, not by any means for their interest, but exactly in the same manner as if France had

been at war with him. For the first of these injuries his majesty contented himself with accepting an inadequate satisfaction. Of the second he took no cognizance, being prevented by the apprehensions and representations on the part of the Hanse Towns. His majesty, on his part, did not scruple to make any sacrifice, as the preservation of peace was the dearest wish of his heart.

The patience and sufferance of every other court were exhausted sooner than that of his majesty.—War again broke out on the continent—the situation of the king, with respect to his duty, was more difficult than ever. In order to prevent France from augmenting her troops in Hanover, he had promised to suffer no attack to be made on that territory. The Russians and Swedes were preparing for an attack upon the French. From this period the whole burden of the contract between France and Prussia weighed upon the latter only, without producing to her the least advantage; and by a singular concatenation of circumstances, it seemed that Prussia, who only wished to remain impartial and neutral, could no longer pursue her former system, except to the prejudice of the allied powers. Every advantage which resulted from this situation of affairs was on the side of France, and the king was daily threatened with a collision, not less formidable to him, than decisively favourable to the plans of Napoleon.

Who could have thought that the very moment when the king had given to the French government the strongest proof of his determination, and a singular example of the faithful fulfilment of engagements into

which he had once entered, should be chosen by Napoleon to do the king the most sensible injury? Who does not remember the violation of the territory of Anspach, which took place on the 3d of October, in the last year, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the provincial administration, and of his majesty's minister?

This contest between that moderation which pardons every thing—that integrity which remains true to its engagements to the last, on the one part; and the abuse of power, the insolence inspired by deceitful fortune, and the habit of only reckoning on this fortune, on the other, continued several years. The king declared to the French government that he considered all his connections with it as dissolved. He placed his army on a footing suitable to circumstances. He was now fully convinced, that no pledge of security remained for the neighbours of France, but a peace established upon firm principles, and guaranteed by all the powers in common.

His majesty offered the allies to be the mediator in negotiations for such a peace, and to support them with all his force. It is sufficient to know the conditions then proposed, to be convinced of the moderation which, at all times, has governed the politics of his majesty in their whole extent. Prussia, at this moment, listened not to the voice of revenge: she passed over the events of the late war, however violent they might have been, since they had been sanctioned by existing treaties. She required nothing but the punctual fulfilment of those treaties; but this she required without limitation. Count Haugwitz repaired to Vienna, where the French emperor

peror then was. Scarcely had this minister been there a few days, when the whole face of affairs was changed; the misfortunes experienced by the court of Vienna had compelled it to sign an armistice, which was immediately followed by a peace. The emperor of Russia sacrificed his magnanimous views to the wish of his ally, and his troops returned home. Prussia stood now alone on the field of contest. His majesty was obliged to limit his policy by his powers; and instead, as had been his wish, of embracing the interests of all Europe, make his own security and that of his neighbours, his first object.

The French emperor proposed to count Haugwitz a treaty in which was stipulated, on the one side, a mutual guarantee of possessions, the inviolability of the Turkish territory, and the results of the peace of Presburg; and, on the other, the taking possession of Hanover by Prussia, in return for the cession of three provinces.

The first part of the treaty promised, at least for the future, an acknowledged, guaranteed, and, if Napoleon had so pleased, a firm, political constitution. The results of the peace of Presburg were a general misfortune for Europe, but Prussia sacrificed herself alone when she accepted them; and to place a limit to the incessant usurpations of France, should the treaty be considered by the court of St. Cloud as anything more than words, appeared an advantage: the king, therefore, ratified this article unconditionally.

The second half of the treaty of Vienna related to an object, the importance of which had been manifested by serious experience. Prus-

sia could not rely on security for a moment, so long as Hanover remained involved in a war, in which that country had, in fact, no concern. At whatever price it might be purchased, Prussia was resolved that the French should not return thither. She had her choice to obtain this end, either by a treaty or a war. The cession of three provinces, which had been faithful and happy for a long series of years, was a sacrifice not to be made for any plan of vain ambition: but these provinces, in case of a war, would have been the first sufferers; all the calamities of that war would have pressed upon the monarchy; while the acquisition of Hanover, could it have been made under less unhappy circumstances, would have been productive of the most valuable advantages to Prussia. The king, therefore, conceived, that he reconciled his wishes with his principles, when he accepted the proposed exchange, only under the condition, that the fulfilment of the same should be deferred till the general peace, and that the consent of his majesty the king of Great Britain should be obtained.

All the advantages of this treaty were for France. On the one side, she received guarantees, which put the seal on her conquests; on the other, she gave what she did not possess, what might be again conquered by the chances of an uncertain war, while in the cessions of Prussia she found the means of enriching her allies.

But between a policy which will do every thing in its power, and an integrity which regards its duties, and especially its promises, the contest is ever unequal. The king approached the moment when he was

convinced of this by experience; this moment was the most painful of his reign.

It was the affair of France to reject the modifications under which the king had confirmed the treaty, if she did not approve them. But she avoided doing this, for the whole Prussian army was still under arms. She continued to be lavish of assurances of friendship: she fulfilled the treaty as far as it suited her; but when his majesty wished to reap the only advantage which he had proposed to himself from the late negotiations, and which was nearest to his heart, she suddenly altered her language. The modifications, added to the treaty of Vienna, were now rejected at Paris. Endeavours were made to force Prussia into the most injurious measures; and when count Haugwitz, who was at Paris, remonstrated against this, the unconditional fulfilment of the treaty was haughtily insisted on, as were the immediate cession of the three provinces, and the recal of the patent by which the occupation of Hanover was declared provisional. Prussia was required to resign a part of the advantages stipulated, and to shut the ports against the British flag, in the same manner as if the French had returned into the electorate.

The king, at length, was perfectly convinced of the true character of the friendship of the emperor of the French—a soporific draught for a power which still feels its own strength; an instrument of degradation, and finally of subjection, to every power which no longer possesses strength.

In the mean time, Napoleon was in possession of every advantage. The Prussian army had returned, his own, after some movements of

no consequence, at which deceived Germany prematurely rejoiced, on some frivolous pretences, established itself on this side the Rhine. The first conflict might produce misfortunes. War which is not, under all circumstances, the greatest of evils, might become such under those then existing. The king determined to continue the part he had hitherto acted, for some time longer. Wishing to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe, and at least to secure the tranquillity of the north, he confirmed the new treaty. Confidence, however, was now utterly lost. Prussia was convinced that, on the first opportunity to weaken her without danger, she might expect an attack from her pretended ally; convinced there is a degree of ambition which nothing can satisfy—which proceeds, without intermission, from usurpation to usurpation, sometimes without a plan, but ever intent on destruction; careless of the choice of means, and employing alike arms, and the pen, violence, and oaths. But even with this conviction, so great is the unfortunate superiority obtained by such policy, over those who wish only to be just, the king fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty with the punctuality of a faithful ally. It is known what the consequences were with respect to the connections of his majesty with England. France gained nothing by this; but she triumphed in secret at the thought of having disunited two courts, the union of which might have been dangerous to her; and what, in the views of France, gave the principal value to her alliance with the king was, that this alliance isolated his majesty, since it produced an opinion, that Prussia was a participator in

in the cause of so many misfortunes.

But not content with this, we shall soon see in what manner the politics of France, assured that she had now no enemy to fear, believing that she had annihilated Austria, forming a judgment of Russia with equal ignorance and rashness, and blinded by the apparent tranquillity of Prussia, she at length threw off the mask; and despising forms which she had hitherto sometimes respected, openly trampled on all treaties and all rights. Three months after the signing of the treaty with Prussia, all its articles were violated.

The treaty had for its basis the *status quo* of the moment in which it was concluded, also the guarantee of the German empire and its states, according to the constitution then established. This truth arises not only from the nature of things; the treaty had also expressly prescribed to the two powers their duties. The relations in which the peace of Presburg had left his majesty the emperor of Austria, were guaranteed to him; consequently also the imperial crown of Germany, and the rights connected with it. The existence of Bavaria, and consequently the relations which had connected it for so many centuries to the empire, were likewise confirmed by the same common guarantee. Three months after, the confederation of the Rhine overthrew the Germanic constitution, deprived the emperor of the antient ornament of his house, and placed Bavaria, and thirty other princes, under the tutelage of France.

But is it necessary to appeal to treaties, to form a just judgment of this extraordinary event? Previous

to all treaties, nations have their rights; and had not France sported with the sanctity of an oath, this act of unexampled despotism would exasperate every mind. To deprive princes who had never offended France, and to render them the vassals of others, themselves the vassals of the French government; to abolish, with a stroke of the pen, a constitution of a thousand years duration—which long habit, the remembrance of so many illustrious periods, and so many various and mutual relations, had rendered dear to such a number of princes—which had so often been guaranteed by all the European powers, and even by France herself—to lay contributions on the cities and towns in the midst of profound peace, and leave the new possessions only an exhausted skeleton—to abolish this constitution without consulting the emperor of Germany, from whom a crown was wrested, or Russia, so lately become the guarantee of the German League, or Prussia, interested intimately in that league, thus arbitrarily dissolved—No: wars and continued victories have sometimes produced great and remarkable catastrophes; but such an example in time of peace was never before given to the world.

The king commiserated the unfortunate princes, who suffered by these transactions: but he pitied not less those who had suffered themselves to be hired by the hope of gain; and he would reproach himself, should he increase their unhappiness by judging them with too great severity. Deluded by the reward of their compliance; probably, forced to obey commands which admitted of no opposition; or, if surprised into consent, sufficiently

ently punished by their acquisitions, and by being reduced to a state of vassalage, as harsh and degrading as their former relations were honourable, they deserve not to be treated by Germany with the utmost rigour. Perhaps, when the magnanimous nation, to which they formerly belonged arises around them on every side to contend for their independence, they may listen to the voice of gratitude and honour, and, at least, abhor their chains, when they find they must be stained with the blood of their brethren.

It was not enough that these despotical acts were immediately injurious to Prussia. The emperor of France was intent on rendering them sensible to the person of the king in all his allied states. The existence of the prince of Orange was under the common guarantee of the two powers; for the king had acknowledged the political changes in Holland only under this condition. For several years this prince had expected that the claims, secured by the mutual stipulations of Prussia and France, should be satisfied. The Batavian republic had been willing to enter into an accommodation, but the emperor Napoleon forbade it. Neither the recollection of this circumstance, nor the consideration of the ties of blood which united his majesty to the prince, nor the declaration, twenty times repeated, that the king could not desert the rights of his brother-in-law, could prevent his being added to the heap of victims. He was the first who was deprived of his paternal property. Eight days before, he had received from the emperor a letter, condoling with him, in the customary forms, on the death of his father, and wishing him joy on

his undisturbed succession to the states of his house. None of these circumstances are unimportant; each throws a light on the whole.

Cleves had been allotted to prince Murat. Scarcely become a sovereign, he wished likewise to be a conqueror.—His troops took possession of the abbeys of Essen, Werden, and Elten, under the pretext that they appertained to the duchy of Cleves, though they were entirely territories newly acquired, and there was not the shadow of a connection between them and the ceded province. Great labour was employed, in vain, to give even a colour to this outrage.

Wesel was to belong to the new duke, not to the emperor Napoleon. The king had never resolved to give up the last fortress on the Rhine into the power of France.—Without a word by way of explanation, Wesel was annexed to a French department.

The existing state of the Austrian monarchy, and of the Porte, had been mutually guaranteed. The emperor Napoleon certainly wished that Prussia should be bound by this guarantee; for in his hands it was an instrument which he might employ as suited his politics, a pretext for demanding sacrifices in a contest which his ambition might occasion.—He himself, however, did not observe it longer than it contributed to his interest. Ragusa, though under the protection of the Porte, was taken possession of by his troops. Gradiska and Aquileia were wrested from Austria, under nearly the same pretexts which had been employed when the French seized the three abbeys.

In all political proceedings it was naturally taken for granted, that the

the new states formed by France, were states in the proper sense of the term, and not French provinces. But it cost the cabinet of St. Cloud only a word to deprive them of their independence. The appellation, *The Great Empire*, was invented, and that empire was immediately surrounded with vassals.

Thus there was no trace of the treaty left, yet Prussia proceeded to shut her ports against England, and still considered herself as having obligations to fulfil.

The emperor, at length, informed his majesty that it was his pleasure to dissolve the German empire, and form a confederation of the Rhine, and he recommended to the king to establish a similar confederation in the north of Germany.—This was according to his customary policy; a policy which had long been crowned with success; at the moment of the birth of any new project, to throw out a lure to those courts which might occasion difficulties in the execution of such project. The king adopted the idea of such a confederation, not that the advice he received made the least impression on him, but because, in fact, it was rendered necessary by circumstances; and, because, after the succession of the princes who had acceded to the confederation of the Rhine, a close union between those of the north, became more than ever the condition of their safety. The king took measures to establish this league, but on other principles from those of the model presented to him. He made it his pride to collect the last of the Germans under his banners; but the rights of each he left unimpaired, and honour alone was the bond of the league.

But could France advise the king to any measure which should be productive of advantage to Prussia? We shall soon see what is to be expected when France makes professions of favour.

In the first place, care had been taken to introduce into the fundamental statute of the confederation of the Rhine, an article which contained the germ of all future innovations. It provided, that other princes should be received into this confederation, should they desire it. In this manner, all relations in Germany were left indeterminate; and as the means were still reserved to detach and annex to this league the weaker states, either by promise or threats, it was but too probable that, in time, this confederation would be extended into the heart of the Prussian monarchy.

And, that this might no longer remain doubtful, but be manifest to every one, the first attempt was immediately made. Fortunately, it was made on a prince who knows not fear, and who considers independence as the highest object of his ambition. The French minister at Cassel invited the elector to throw himself into the arms of his master. Prussia, it was alledged, did nothing for her allies!—It is true, Napoleon knows how to manage his better; and every one sees that Spain and Holland, and the kings of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, have to thank their alliance with him for peace, independence, and honour! Prussia did nothing for her allies. Napoleon, on the contrary, would reward the accession of the elector by an enlargement of his territory.

And this treachery was exercised towards an ally, and at the very moment when the king was advised

to form his alliance, of which Hesse was to be the first bulwark, endeavours were made to detach from him a power, whom family connections, alliances, and relations of every kind, united in the closest manner to his majesty's person.

But even these hostile steps were not sufficient. Does any one wish to know what was the lure by which it was hoped to gain the elector of Hesse, and what was the augmentation of territory with the expectation of which he was flattered? It was the prince of Orange, the brother-in-law of the king—that prince who had been twice deceived in the most shameful manner—who was now to be robbed the third time! He still possessed the territory of Fulda; this was promised to the elector, and it would have been given, had the elector consented to accept it, and had not Prussia taken up arms.

His majesty saw the system of usurpation advance every day; he saw a circle, continually becoming narrower, drawn round him, and even the right of moving within it beginning to be disputed with him, for a sweeping resolution forbade a passage to any foreign troops, armed or not armed, through the states of the confederation. This was to cut off, contrary to the rights of nations, the connection between the detached Hessian provinces; this was to prepare pretexts on which to act; this was the first threat of punishment aimed at a magnanimous prince, who had preferred a defender to a master.

But even after this, his majesty cannot reflect on it without admiration; the king considered whether a combination might not be found, which should render this state of

things compatible with the maintenance of peace.

The emperor Napoleon appeared to be solicitous to remove this doubt. Two negotiations were then carrying on at Paris, one with Russia, the other with the English ministry. In both these negotiations the intentions of France against Prussia were evidently manifested.

By the treaty which the emperor of Russia has refused to ratify, France offered, in conjunction with Russia, to prevent Prussia from depriving the king of Sweden of his German territories. Yet, for many months, the cabinet of St. Cloud had continually pressed the king to seize those states, with the threefold view,—first to revenge himself on the king of Sweden; secondly, to embroil Prussia with all other powers; and, thirdly, to purchase her silence with respect to the subversion of Southern Germany. But the king had long been aware, that such were the views of France; and his unfortunate dispute with Sweden was painful to him.—He had, therefore, been careful to provide against every suspicion of self-interested motives, and he confided his explanations to the emperor Alexander. The scene now again changed, and Napoleon, who had so long been the enemy of the king of Sweden, was suddenly transformed into his protector.

It is not superfluous to remark, that, in this insidious treaty of the French emperor, in order to satisfy the honourable interest which the court of St. Petersburg took in the maintenance of the rights of the king of Naples, he promised the latter an indemnification; engaging to prevail on the king of Spain to cede to him the Belearic islands. He

will

will act in the same manner with respect to the augmentation of territory he pretends to bestow on his allies.

These were all preludes to the steps he took against Prussia: we now approach the moment which determined his majesty.

Prussia had hitherto derived nothing from her treaties with France but humiliation and loss; one single advantage remained. The fate of Hanover was in her power; and it must remain, unless the last pledge of the security of the north were annihilated. Napoleon had solemnly guaranteed this state of things, yet he negotiated with England on the basis of the restoration of the electorate. The king is in possession of the proofs.

War was now in fact declared—declared by every measure taken by France. Every month produced a new notification of the return of his army; but, on one frivolous pretext or another, it was still continued in Germany; and for what purposes?—Gracious heaven! to eradicate the last trace of sovereignty among the Germans—to treat kings as governors appointed by himself—to drag before military tribunals citizens only responsible to their own governments; to declare others outlaws who lived peaceably in foreign states, under foreign sovereigns, and even in the capital of a German emperor, because they had published writings in which the French government, or at least its despotism, was attacked; and this at the time when the same government daily permitted hired libellers to attack, under its protection, the honour of all crowned heads, and the most sacred feelings of nations.

The French troops were in no manner diminished, but continually reinforced and augmented, and continually advanced nearer to the frontiers of Prussia or her allies, till they at length took a position which could only menace Prussia, and were even assembled in force in Westphalia, which certainly was not the road to the Mouths of the Cattaro.

It was no longer doubtful that Napoleon had determined to overwhelm Prussia with war, or to render her forever incapable of war, since he was leading her from humiliation to humiliation, till she should be reduced to such a state of political degradation and feebleness, that, deprived of every defence, she could have no other will than that of her formidable neighbour.

The king delayed no longer. He assembled his army. General Knobelsdorf was sent to Paris with the final declaration of his majesty. Only one measure remained which could give security to the king, which was the return of the French troops over the Rhine. General Knobelsdorf had orders to insist on this demand; it was not the whole of the king's just demands, but it was necessary that it should be the first, since it was the condition of his future existence. The acceptance or refusal of it must shew the real sentiments of the French emperor.

Unmeaning professions—arguments, the real virtue of which were known by long experience—were the only answer the king received. Far from the French army being recalled, it was announced that it would be reinforced; but with a haughtiness still more remarkable than this refusal, an offer was made,
that

that the troops which had marched into Westphalia should return home, if Prussia would desist from her preparations. This was not all: it was insolently notified to the king's ministers, that the cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeek, would not be suffered to join the northern confederation, but that France would take them under her protection, in the same manner as in the other confederation, she had given away cities, and promulgated laws, without permitting any other power to make the least pretension. The king was required to suffer a foreign interest to be introduced into the heart of his monarchy.

Another contrast of conduct incensed the king to the utmost. He received from the emperor a letter full of those assurances of esteem, which, certainly, when they do not accord with facts, ought to be considered as nothing, but which the dignity of sovereigns renders a duty to themselves, even when on the eve of war. Yet, a few day afterwards, at a moment when the sword was not yet drawn—when the minister of the emperor endeavoured to mislead those of the king, by assurances on assurances of the friendly intentions of France—the *Publiciste* of the 16th of September, appeared, with a diatribe against the king and the Prussian state, in a style worthy of the most disgraceful periods of the revolution, insulting to the nation, and what, in other times than ours, would have been considered as amounting to a declaration of war.

The king can treat slanders that are merely abusive, with contempt, but when these slanders contribute to explain the real state of things, it would be unwise to treat them so.

The last doubt had now disappeared, troops marched from the interior of France towards the Rhine. The intent to attack Prussia was clear and certain. The king ordered a note to be transmitted by general Knobelsdorf, containing the conditions on which he was ready to come to an accommodation.—These conditions were:—

1. That the French troops should immediately evacuate Germany.

2. That France should oppose no obstacle to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that this confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states, not included in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3. That a negotiation should be immediately commenced, for the adjustment of all differences still in dispute: a preliminary article of which should be, the restoration of the three abbeys, and the separation of the town of Wezel from the French empire.

These conditions speak for themselves: they shew how moderate the king, even at this moment, has been in his demands, and how much the maintenance of peace, if France wishes peace, depends upon France herself.

The term peremptorily fixed by the king for the decision of peace or war has elapsed. His majesty has not received the answer of the cabinet of St. Cloud; or rather, the preparations made around him, daily, give that answer. The king can henceforth confide the safety and honour of his crown only to arms. He takes them up with pain, because the chief object of his wishes was, not a glory purchased by the tears of his people, but by their tranquillity; for

for his cause is just. Never has a sovereign made greater sacrifices to peace. He pushed his condescension to the last limit that honour would allow. Every thing which was directed against him personally, he passed over in silence. The opinions of the ignorant, and the reflections of the slanderous, he despised, animated with the constant hope, that he would be able to conduct his people, without injury, to that period which must sooner or later arrive, when unjust greatness shall find its bounds; and ambition, which obstinately refused to acknowledge any limits, shall at length overleap itself.

The motives which induce his majesty to take up arms, are not to satisfy his resentments, to increase his power, or to render a nation uneasy which he shall always esteem, as long as it confines itself to its just and natural interests; but to avert from his kingdom the fate which was preparing for it; to preserve to the people of Frederick, their independence and their glory; to rescue unfortunate Germany from the yoke by which it is oppressed, and to bring about a safe and honourable peace. The day on which he shall effect this, will be the proudest of his life. The events of the war which is now beginning, are in the disposal of Supreme Wisdom.—His majesty leaves it to others to indulge in premature exultation and gratuitous insult, as he has for a long time allowed them the miserable satisfaction arising from unjust invectives. He leads to an honourable combat an army worthy of its former glory. He reigns over a people of whom he may be proud; and, while he is ready to shed his blood for them, he

knows what he may expect from their energy and affection. Princes, the honour of the German name, who can confide in his gratitude and honour, and who, fighting by his side, are not dubious of victory, have joined their banners with his; and a sovereign, who adorns with his virtues one of the first thrones in the world, is penetrated with the justice of his cause. Every where his arms are blessed by the voice of the people, and even where they are silent from fear, their impatience is the greater. With so many motives to be conscious of her strength, Prussia may well be permitted continually to confide in her high destiny. Head-quarters, Erfurt, Oct. 9, 1806.

Letter from His Majesty the Emperor and King.

Senators,

We have quitted our capital to place ourselves in the midst of our army of Germany, at the moment we saw with certainty that its flanks were menaced with unexpected movements. Scarcely arrived on the frontiers of our states, we had an opportunity of perceiving how much our presence was necessary there, and of congratulating ourself on the defensive measures that we had taken before we quitted the centre of our empire. Already the Prussian armies, ready for war, were in motion in all parts; they had passed their frontiers; Saxony was invaded, and the wise prince who governs it was forced to act against his will, and against the interest of his people. The Prussian armies had arrived in face of the cantonments of our troops. Provocations of every kind, and even acts of violence,

lence, had marked the spirit of hatred which animated our enemies, and the moderation of our soldiers, who, tranquil at the aspect of all their movements, astonished only at receiving no orders, rested under the double confidence of courage and a just cause. Our first duty has been to pass the Rhine ourselves, to form our camps, and to cause the sound of war to be heard. It has spread into the hearts of all our warriors. Rapid and combined marches have brought them, in the twinkling of an eye, to the spot we had indicated. All our camps are formed; we are going to march against the Prussian armies, and to repel force by force. At all times, we ought to say it, our heart is sorely affected at this constant preponderance which the genius of mischief obtains in Europe, occupied incessantly in traversing the designs we form for the tranquillity of Europe, the repose and happiness of the present generation—besieging every cabinet by every kind of seduction—leading those astray whom it cannot corrupt—blinding them to their true interests, and launching them into the midst of disputes, without any other guide than the passions it has known how to inspire them with. The cabinet of Berlin itself has not chosen with deliberation the part it takes: it has been thrown into it with art, and with malicious address. The king has found himself, all at once, an hundred leagues from his capital, on the frontiers of the confederation of the Rhine, in the midst of his army, and opposite the French troops dispersed in their cantonments, and who thought themselves justified in counting upon the ties which unite the two states, and upon the lavish

protestations made in all circumstances by the court of Berlin. In a war so just, in which we take arms only to defend ourselves, who have provoked by no act, by no pretension, and of which it would be impossible to assign the true cause, we reckon entirely on the support of the laws and the people; whom circumstances call upon, to give us new proofs of their love, of their devotion, and of their courage. On our part, no personal sacrifice will be painful to us, no danger will stop us, whenever it is the question to assure the rights, the honour, and the prosperity of our people.

Given at our imperial quarters, at Bamberg, the 7th Oct. 1806.

By the emperor,
(Signed) Napoleon.

The minister secretary of state.
(Signed) H. B. Maret.

Copy of the Note of M. de Knobelsdorff, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sept. 12, 1806.

The undersigned, feeling how much it is of the first importance to answer immediately the note which his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs, has done him the honour of addressing to him this evening, feels himself compelled to limit himself to the representation of the following observations. The motives which have engaged the king, my master, to make armaments, have been the effect of a scheme of the enemies of France and Prussia; who, jealous of the intimacy which exists between these two powers, have done every thing in their power to alarm, by false reports, coming at once from every quarter. But above all, what
proves

proves the spirit of this measure is, that his majesty has concerted it with no person whatsoever, and that the intelligence respecting it arrived sooner at Paris than at Vienna, St. Petersburg, and London. But the king, my master, has ordered to be made to the envoy of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, an amicable communication on the subject of these measures. That minister had not yet returned an answer upon this communication. The relation of the interesting conversations that his imperial majesty has deigned to entertain with the undersigned, and the marquis de Lucchesini, could not yet have arrived at Berlin. After this explanation, the undersigned can only testify to his excellency, his most ardent wish, that public acts may yet rest suspended, till the return of the courier dispatched to Berlin.

The undersigned begs his excellency, &c.

(Signed)

General Knobelsdorff.

Copy of the second Note to M. de Knobelsdorff, dated Sept. 13th. 1806.

The undersigned has laid before his majesty, the emperor and king, the note that his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff yesterday did him the honour to address to him.

His majesty has found therein, with pleasure, the assurance that Prussia had not entered into any concert hostile to France; that the armament she has made, had no other cause than a misunderstanding; that the departure of the garrison of Berlin, though it happened since the letter written by his ma-

jesty the king of Prussia, ought only to be considered as the execution of an anterior order; and that the movements marked out for the Prussian troops would cease as soon as it was known at Berlin, what his majesty the emperor and king was pleased to say to M. M. Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini, in the private audiences which he granted them.

His majesty has ordered, in consequence, that the communications which were to have been made to the senate on Monday next, shall be deferred; and that no troops, beside those which are actually on their march towards the Rhine, shall be put in motion, until his majesty learns the determinations and the measures that the court of Berlin shall have taken, after the report that M. M. de Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini have made; and if these determinations are such that the French army in Germany shall be no longer menaced, and that all things shall be replaced between France and Prussia on the same footing as they were a month ago, his majesty will immediately order the retrograde march of the troops who were actually advancing to the Rhine.

His majesty expects that this singular misunderstanding will be cleared up. He expects to be enabled, without any mixture of uncertainty or doubt, to restore himself to those sentiments of which he has given so many proofs to the court of Berlin, and which have always been those of a faithful ally.

The undersigned prays M. de Knobelsdorff to receive the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand,
Prince of Benevento.

Copy

Copy of the third Note addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. Knobelsdorff.

The undersigned minister of foreign relations has expressed to his excellency M. Knobelsdorff, in the note which he had the honour to write to him on the 13th of Sept. the confiding dispositions with which his majesty the emperor received the assurances given by M. Knobelsdorff, that the military movements of the court of Berlin were not the result of any hostile concert against France, but simply the effect of a misunderstanding; and that they would cease the moment when the first communication of his excellency should have arrived at Berlin.

Nevertheless, the news received every day bears so much all the character of an impending war, that his imperial majesty must feel some regret at the engagement he made, not yet to call out his reserve, and to defer the constitutional notification, after which all the forces of the nation would be placed at his disposal. He will fulfil that engagement; but he shall think it contrary to prudence and to the interest of his people, not to order, in the interim, all the measures, and all the movements of the troops, which can take place without previous notification.

His majesty has, at the same time, charged the undersigned to express again to M. Knobelsdorff, that he cannot yet conceive, by what forgetfulness of her interests, Prussia should be willing to renounce her ties of amity with France. War between the two countries appears to him a real political monstrosity; and from the moment that the cabinet of Berlin shall return to her

peaceful dispositions, and shall cease to menace the armies of Germany; his majesty engages to countermand all the measures which prudence commanded him to take. He will cease with pleasure, as he does not cease to do in all circumstances, the occasion of testifying to his majesty the king of Prussia the price he attaches to his friendship; to a union founded on a wise policy, and on reciprocal interests; and to prove to him that his sentiments are always the same, and that no provocation has been able to alter them.

The undersigned is happy in being able to give to his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff so formal an assurance of the dispositions of his majesty, which are so foreign to all ideas of war with Prussia, that he has already committed a very grave military fault, in retarding his military preparations for one month, and in consenting to let fifteen days more pass over, without calling out his reserves and his national guards.

This confidence, which his majesty loves to preserve, proves what a value he sets upon what was stated to him by M. Knobelsdorff, that Prussia had entered into no concert with the enemies of France; and that the assurances that he had received, in putting a term to the misunderstanding which has just arisen, would cause the cessation of those armaments which were the consequences of it.

(Signed)

C. M. Talleyrand, &c.

Paris, Sept. 19, 1806.

Second Note of M. Knobelsdorff to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned envoy extraordinary

ordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Prussia, received yesterday the note addressed to him by his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs. If, in this communication, the undersigned has found again, with extreme satisfaction, the assurance formerly given, in the note of the 13th of September, that his majesty the emperor and king would fulfil the engagement which he had made to wait the result of the explanations given to M. de Lucchesini and the general Knobelsdorff, before taking any measures respecting the constitutional notification, which would put all the forces of the French nation at the disposal of government, he has learned, with infinite pain, that his majesty should have had any regret at that engagement; and that in fulfilling it, he thinks it necessary to order all the measures and all the movements of troops, which can be taken without previous notification.

The undersigned hastens to reiterate to his excellency M. the prince of Benevento, the assurance that his majesty the king of Prussia, far from ever having had an idea of renouncing his relations of amity with France, participates in that respect all the sentiments of his imperial and royal majesty, expressed in the communication to which this note is an answer; that, far from having entered into a concert with the enemies of France, his Prussian majesty has always sought to calm all resentments for facilitating the re-establishment of a general peace; in fine, that far from menacing the French armies in Germany by his armaments, these only took place in consequence of the advice received at Berlin, and which was so alarm-

ing, that it was not possible to neglect measures of precaution, demanded by prudence for the welfare of the state.

The undersigned is pleased, in renewing to his excellency the prince of Benevento the assurance, that in taking these measures his majesty the king of Prussia has not renounced, for a single instant, the assurance of seeing the clouds dispersed that have been raised between him and France; and general Knobelsdorff is persuaded, that such will be the result of the explanations that have taken place. In begging M. the prince of Benevento to make known to his majesty the emperor and king this answer to his communication, the undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

General Knobelsdorff.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1806.

Second Report addressed to His Majesty the Emperor and King, by the Minister of Foreign Relations, Oct. 6, 1806.

Sire,

When in the report that a few days back I had the honour to address your majesty, I established, that if Prussia had any personal reasons which led her to make war, it could only be from a desire to enslave Saxony, and the Hanseatic Towns, I was far from perceiving, that she would ever dare avow such a motive. It is, nevertheless, an avowal which she has not feared to make, and to express in a note that M. de Knobelsdorff has sent me from Metz, and which I have the honour

honour to address to your majesty. Of the three demands which that note contains, the first and the third are only made to disguise, if it be possible, that no real importance may be attached to the second.

Prussia, after having seen with a tranquil eye the French armies in Germany during a year, could not be alarmed at their presence when their numbers were diminished—when they were dispersed in small bodies in distant cantonments—when, above all, your majesty had solemnly announced, that they should return to France, as soon as the affair of Cattaro, the cause of the prolongation of their stay in Germany, should be settled by an agreement with Austria, and that already the order for their return was given.

Prussia, who speaks of a negotiation to fix all the interests in question, knows well that there is no point of interest whatever, in question between the two states; the amicable discussion which should definitively fix the fate of the Abbeys of Essen and Werden, has not been deferred by any delay of the French cabinet. The French troops have evacuated those territories which the grand duke of Berg had caused to be occupied, in the perfect persuasion that numerous documents had given him, that they made part of the duchy of Cleves, and that they were comprehended in the cession of that duchy.

Thus the demands of Prussia, on these different points, and others of the same nature, and the pretended grievances which she seems to indicate, do not offer the real mind of the cabinet of Berlin. It does not reveal it. It lets its secret escape only, when it demands that no farther obstacle whatever shall

be made, on the part of France, to the formation of the northern league, which shall embrace, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

Thus, to satisfy the most unjust ambition, Prussia consents to break the bonds that united her to France, to call down new calamities upon the continent, of which your majesty would wish to cicatrice the wounds, and to assure the tranquillity, to provoke a faithful ally, to put him under the cruel necessity of repelling force by force, and once more to snatch his army from the repose which he aspires to make it enjoy, after so many fatigues and triumphs.

I say it with grief, I lose the hope of the ability to preserve peace, from the moment it is made to depend upon conditions that equity and honour equally oppose—proposed, as they are, in a tone, and in forms, that the French people endured in no time, and from no power, and which it can less than ever endure under your majesty's reign.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand, &c.
Mayence, Oct. 6, 1806.

Note.

The undersigned minister of his Prussian majesty, by the same courier who brought the letter to his imperial majesty, which he has had the honour to transmit to-day to his excellency the prince of Benevento, has received orders to make the following communications.—Their object is to have the relations of the two courts no longer in suspense. Each of them is so imminently interested in remaining no longer in doubt upon the sentiments of

of the other, that the king flatters himself that his majesty the emperor will applaud his frankness. His Prussian majesty has expressed, in the letter mentioned above, his entire thoughts, and the whole view of the subject of the complaint, which, from a faithful and honest ally, have made him become a neighbour, alarmed for his existence, and necessarily aroused for the defence of his dearest interests. The perusal of it will recal to his majesty the emperor and king, what Prussia was for a long time to France. Will not the remembrance of the past be for her the pledge of the future? And what judge would be blind enough to believe that the king could have been for nine years towards France so consistent, and perhaps so partial, in order to place himself voluntarily with her in a different relation—he who more than once might, perhaps, have ruined her, and who knows now only too well the progress of her power.

But if France has in her recollections, and in the nature of things, the pledge of the sentiments of Prussia, it is not so with this last power. Her recollections are made to alarm her: she has been careless, neutral, friendly, and even in alliance. The destruction that surrounds her, the gigantic increase of a power essentially military and conquering, which has injured her successively in her greatest interests, and menaces her in them all, leaves her now without a guaranty.—This state of things cannot last. The king sees almost nothing around him but French troops, or vassals of France, ready to march with her. All the declarations of his imperial majesty announce, that this attitude will not change. Far

from that, new troops issue from the interior of France.—Already the journals of his capital indulge themselves in a language against Prussia, of which a sovereign, such as the king, can despise the infamy, but which does not expose the intentions and the error of the government that suffers it. The danger grows every day. It is necessary to be heard at once, or be heard no more.

Two powers who esteem each other, and who fear each other no more than they are able, without ceasing to esteem themselves, have no need to go about to explain themselves. France will not be less strong for being just, and Prussia has no other ambition than her independence and the security of her allies. In the actual position of affairs, both one and the other would risk every thing in protracting this uncertainty. The undersigned has received orders, in consequence, to declare that the king expects with justice from his imperial majesty,

1. That the whole of the French troops, which are called by no fair pretence into Germany, should immediately repass the Rhine without exception, beginning their march on the very day that the king expects the answer of the emperor, and continue it without halting; for this immediate and complete retreat is the only pledge of security that the king can receive at the point to which affairs have been brought.

2. That no obstacle shall be raised on the part of France to the formation of the league of the north, which shall include, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3 G

3. That

3. That a negotiation shall be immediately opened, to decide, in a permanent manner, on all the points in dispute, and that for Prussia its preliminary basis shall be, the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three Abbies by the Prussian troops.

The instant that his majesty is assured that this basis is accepted, he will resume that attitude which he has quitted with regret, and will become to France that frank and peaceable neighbour, who for so many years has seen without jealousy, the glory of a brave people, for whose prosperity he has been anxious. But the instant intelligence of the march of the French troops compels his majesty to ascertain immediately what he is to do, The undersigned is charged to insist on an immediate answer, which at all events must reach his majesty's head-quarters by the 8th of October; his majesty still hoping that it will arrive there time enough, that the unexpected and rapid progress of events, and the presence of the troops, should not put either party under the necessity of providing for his safety.

The undersigned is particularly instructed to declare, in the most solemn manner, that peace is the sincere wish of his majesty, and that he only requires that which can contribute to make it permanent. The causes of his apprehensions, the claims which he had for another connection, from France, are unfolded in the letter of his majesty to the emperor, and are calculated to obtain from that monarch the last permanent pledge of a new order of things.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity to renew to the prince

of Benevento, the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Knobelsdorff.
Paris, Oct. 1, 1806.

The senate referred the communication to a special commission.

Act of Confederation of the Rhenish League, done at Paris, July 12, 1806.

Whereas his majesty the emperor of the French, and their majesties the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg; their electoral highnesses the arch-chancellor and the elector of Baden; his imperial highness the duke of Berg; and their royal highnesses the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birstein, and Lichtenstein; the duke of Ahrenberg, and the count of Leyen; being desirous to secure, through proper stipulations, the internal and external peace of southern Germany, which, as experience for a long period and recently has shewn, can derive no kind of guarantee from the existing German constitution; have appointed to be their plenipotentiaries to this effect, namely, his majesty the emperor of the French, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, duke of Benevento, minister of his foreign affairs; his majesty the king of Bavaria, his minister plenipotentiary, A. Von Cetto; his majesty the king of Wirtemberg, his state-minister the count of Wintzingerode; the elector arch-chancellor, his ambassador extraordinary, the count of Boust; the elector of Baden,

Baden, his cabinet minister the baron of Reitzenstein ; his imperial highness the duke of Berg, baron Von Schele ; the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, his ambassador extraordinary, baron Von Pappenheim ; the princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Usingen, baron Von Gagern ; the princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, major Von Fischer ; the prince of Isenburg, Birstein, his privy-counsellor, M. Von Grentze ; the duke of Ahremberg, and the count of Leyen, Mr. Durand St. André ; who have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. The states of the contracting princes (enumerated as in the preamble,) shall be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united, by a particular confederation, under the designation of "the confederated states of the empire."

Art. II. All the laws of the empire, by which they have been hitherto bound, shall be in future null and without force, with the exception of the statutes relative to debts determined in the recess of the deputation of 1803, and in the paragraph upon the navigation, to be funded upon the shipping tolls, which statutes shall remain in full vigour and execution.

Art. III. Each of the contracting princes renounces such of his titles as refer to his connection with the German empire, and they will, on the first of August, declare their entire separation from it.

Art. IV. The elector arch-chancellor shall take the title of prince primate and most eminent highness (given in French, *altesse éminentissime*) which title shall convey no prerogative derogatory to the entire sovereignty which every one of the contracting princes shall enjoy.

Art. V. The elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt shall take the title of grand dukes, and enjoy the rights, honours, and prerogatives belonging to the kingly dignity. Their rank and precedence shall be in the same order as they are mentioned in Art. I. The chief of the Houses of Nassau shall take the title of duke, and the count of Leyen that of prince.

Art. VI. The affairs of the confederation shall be discussed in a congress of the union (*Diète*) whose place of sitting shall be in Frankfort, and the congress shall be divided into two colleges, the kings and the princes.

Art. VII. The members of the league must be independent of every foreign power. They cannot, in any wise, enter into any other service, but that of the states of the confederation and its allies. Those who have been hitherto in the service of a foreign power, and chuse to adhere to it, shall abdicate their principality in favour of one of their children.

Art. VIII. Should any of the said princes be disposed to alienate the whole or any part of his sovereignty, he can only do it in favour of the confederates.

Art. IX. All disputes which may arise among the members of the league shall be settled in the assembly at Frankfort.

Art. X. In this the prince primate shall preside, and when it shall happen that the two colleges have to deliberate upon any subject, he shall then preside in the college of kings, and the duke of Nassau in that of the princes.

Art. XI. The time when the congress of the league, or either of the

colleges, shall have particularly to assemble, the manner of the convocation, the subjects upon which they may have to deliberate, the manner of forming their conclusions, and putting them in execution, shall be determined in a fundamental statute, which the prince primate shall give in proposition, within a month after the notification presented at Ratisbon. This statute shall be approved of by the confederated states; this statute shall also regulate the respective rank of the members of the college of princes.

Art. XII. The emperor shall be proclaimed protector of the confederation. On the demise of the primate he shall, in such quality, as often name the successor.

Art. XIII. His majesty the king of Bavaria cedes to the king of Wirtemberg the lordship of Wiesensteig, and renounces the rights which he might have upon Weiblingen, on account of Burgau.

Art. XIV. His majesty the king of Wirtemberg makes over to the grand duke of Berg the county of Bonndorff, Breunlingen, and Villingen, the part of the territory of the latter city, which lies on the right bank of the Brigoetz, and the city of Tuttlingen, with the manor of the same name belonging to it, on the right bank of the Danube.

Art. XV. The grand duke of Baden cedes to the king of Wirtemberg the city and territory of Biebrach, with their dependencies.

Art. XVI. The duke of Nassau cedes to the grand duke of Berg the city of Deutz and its territory.

Art. XVII. His majesty the king of Bavaria shall unite to his states the city and territory of Nuremberg, and the Teutonic comitials of ~~Bohr~~ and Waldstetten.

Art. XVIII. His majesty the king of Wirtemberg, shall receive the lordship of Wiesensteig, the city and territory of Bleberach, with their dependencies, the cities of Waldsee and Schettingen, the comital lands of Karpfenburg, Lauheim and Alschhausen, with the exception of the lordship of Hohenfeld and the abbey of Weiblingen.

Art. XIX. The grand duke of Baden shall receive the lordship of Bonndorff, the cities of Vreulingen, Villingen, and Tuttlingen, the parts of their territory which are given to him in Art. XIV. and along with these the comitials of Bolken and Freyburg.

Art. XX. The grand duke of Berg shall receive the city and territory of Deutz, the city and manor of Koeningswinter and the manor of Wistich, as ceded by the duke of Nassau.

Art. XXI. The grand duke of Darmstadt shall unite to his states the burgraviat of Friedberg, taking to himself the sovereignty only during the lifetime of the present possessor, and the whole at his death.

Art. XXII. The prince primate shall take possession of the city of Frankfort on the Maine and its territory, as his sovereign property.

Art. XXIII. The prince of Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen, shall receive as his sovereign property the lordships of Aschberg and Hohenfels depending on the comital of Aschhausen, the convents of Klosterwald and Haltzthal, and the sovereignty over the imperial equestrian estates that lie in his dominions, and in the territory to the north of the Danube, wherever his sovereignty extends, namely, the lordships of Gamberdingen and Hottingen.

Art. XXIV. The members of the confederation shall exercise all the rights of sovereignty henceforward as follow:—His majesty the king of Bavaria, over the principality of Schwartzenberg, the county of Castell, the lordships of Speinfeld and Wiesenheid, the dependencies of the principality of Hohenlohe, which are included in the margravate of Anspach, and the territory of Rothanburg, namely, the great manors of Schillingsfurst and Kirchberg, the county of Sternstein, the principality of Oettingen, the possessions of the prince of La Tour to the north of the principality of Neuburg, the county of Edelstetten, the possessions of the prince and of the count of Fugger, the burgraviat of Winterreiden; lastly, the lordships of Buxheim and Tannhausen, and over the entire of the highway from Memmingen to Lindau.—His majesty the king of Wirtemberg, over the possessions of the prince and count of Truchess Waldeburg, the counties of Baintd, Egloff Guttenzell, Hechbach, Ysuy, Koenigseeck, Aulendorff, Ochsenhausen, Roth, Schussenried and Wiessenau, the lordships of Mietingen and Sunningen, New Ravensburg Thannheim, Warthausen and Weingarten, with exception of the lordship of Hagenau; the possessions of the prince of Thurn, with the exception of those not mentioned above; the lordship of Strassberg and manor of Oztraitz, the lordship of Gundelsingen which his majesty does not possess, all the unalienated possessions of the princess of Hohenlohe, and over a part of the manor formerly belonging to Mentz, Krautheim on the left bank of the Jaxt. The grand duke of Baden over the principality of Feurstenberg, (with the exception of the lordships of Gundelsingen and Neussen); also over Trochtelfingen, Jungenau, and the part of the manor of Moeskirch, which lies on the left bank of the Danube, over the lordship of Hagenau, county of Thuingen, Landgraviat Klettgau, manors Neidenau and Billigheim, principality of Liningen, the possessions of Lowenstein Wertheim, upon the left bank of the Maine (with the exception of the county of Lowenstein,) and the lordships of Aaibach, Brennherg, and Habitzheim; and lastly over the possessions of the princes of Salm-Reiferscheid-Krautheim, to the north of the Jaxt. The grand duke of Berg, over the lordships of Limburg Styrum, Brugg, Hardenberg, Gimborn, and Neustadt, Wildenberg; the counties of Homburg, Bentheim, Steinfort, and Horstman, the possessions of the duke of Looz, the counties of Siegen, Dillenburg (the manors of Werheim and Burgoch excepted,) over Stadamar, the lordships Westerburch, Schadeck, and Beilstein, and the property so called, part of Runkelt on the right bank of the Lahn. In order to establish a communication between Cleves and the abovenamed possessions, the grand duke shall have a free passage through the states of the prince of Salm.—His highness the grand duke of Darmstadt, over the lordships of Brenberg, Haibach, the manor of Habitzheim, county of Erbach, lordship of Illenstadt, a part of the county of Konigsheim, which is possessed by the prince of Stolberb Gederu; over the possessions of the baron of Redesel, that are included in, or lie contiguous to, his states, namely, the jurisdictions of Lauserhach, Stockhausen, Mort, and Truenstern,

Truenstern, the possessions of the princes and counts of Solms, in Wetterau, exclusive of the manors of Hohen-Solms, Braunsels, and Greifenstein; lastly, the counties Wittgenstein and Berleburg, and the manor of Hessen-Homburg, which is in possession of the line of that name.—His most serene eminence (Durchlauchtige eminecz) the prince primate, over the possessions of the princes and counts of Lowenstein-Wertheim, on the right bank of the Maine, and over the county of Rheineck.—Nassau Usingen and Nassau Weilburg, over the manors of Diersdorf, Altenweid, Neursburg, and the part of the county of Bassenburg, which belongs to the prince of Wied Runkel, over the counties of Nougied and Holzapsel, the lordship of Schomburg, the county of Diez and its dependencies, over that part of the village of Metzfelden, which appertains to the prince of Nassau Fulda, the manors of Werhem and Balbach, that part of the lordship of Runkel, situate on the left bank of the Dalur, over the equestrian possessions of Kransberg, and, lastly, over the manors of Solms Braunsfels, Hohen Solms, and Greifenstein.—The prince of Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen over Trochtelfingen, Jungenau, Strasberg, manor Ostrach, and the part of the lordship of Moeskirch which lays on the left bank of the Danube.—Salm Kyrburg over the lordship of Genmen.—Isenburg-Burstein, over the possessions of the count of Isenburgh Budingen, Wechtersbach, and Mohrholz, without any pretensions on the part of the branch in present possession being urged against him.—Ahremberg over the county of Dulmen.

Art. XXV. The member of the confederation shall take the sovereignty of the imperial equestrian lands included within their boundaries. Such of these lands as lie between the states of two of the confederates, shall be with respect to the sovereignty partitioned as exactly as possible between them, that no misunderstanding with respect to the sovereignty may arise.

Art. XXVI. The rights of sovereignty consist in exercising the legislation, superior jurisdiction, administration of justice, military conscription, or recruiting, and levying taxes.

Art. XXVII. The present reigning princes or counts shall enjoy, as patrimonial or private property, all the domains they at present occupy, as well as all the rights of manor and entail that do not essentially appertain to the sovereignty, viz. right of superior and inferior administration of justice in common and criminal cases, tenths, patronage, and other rights, with the revenues, therefrom accruing. Their domains and chattels, as far as relates to the taxes, shall be annexed to the prince of that house under whose sovereignty they come, or if no prince of the house be in possession of immoveable property, in that case they shall be put upon an equality with the domains of princes of the most privileged class. These domains cannot be sold or given to any prince out of the confederation, without being first offered to the prince under whose sovereignty they are placed.

Art. XXVIII. In penal cases, the now reigning princes and counts, and their heirs, shall preserve their present privileges of trial. They shall

shall be tried by their peers. Their fortune shall not in any event be confiscated, but the revenues may, during the life-time of the criminal, be sequestrated.

Art. XXIX. The confederate states shall contribute to the payment of the debts of their circle, as well for their old as their new possessions. The debts of the circle of Suabia shall be put to the account of the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the grand duke of Baden, the princes of Hohenzollern, Hechingen, and Siegmaringen, the prince of Lichtenstein, and prince of Leven, in proportion to their respective possessions in Suabia.

Art. XXX. The proper debts of a prince or count who falls under the sovereignty of another state shall be defrayed by the said state, conjointly with the now reigning prince, in the proportion of the revenues which that state shall acquire, and of the part which by the present treaty is allotted to attach to the attributes of the present sovereigns.

Art. XXXI. The present reigning princes or counts may determine the place of their residence where they will. Where they reside in the dominions of a member or ally of the confederation, or in any of the possessions which they hold out of the territory of the confederation, they may draw their rents or capitals without paying any tax whatever upon them.

Art. XXXII. Those persons who hold places in the administration of the countries which hereby come under the sovereignty of the confederates, and who shall not be retained by the new sovereign, shall receive a pension according to the situation they have held.

Art. XXXIII. The members of military or religious orders who shall lose their incomes, or whose common property shall be secularised, shall receive during life a yearly stipend proportioned to their former income, their dignity, and their age, and which shall be secured upon the goods of the revenues, of which they were in the enjoyment.

Art. XXXIV. The confederates renounce reciprocally, for themselves and their posterity, all claims which they might have upon the possessions of other members of the confederation, the eventual right of succession alone excepted, and this only in the event of the family having died out, which now is in possession of the territories, and objects to which such a right might be advanced.

Art. XXXV. Between the emperor of the French and the confederated states, federatively and individually, there shall be an alliance, by virtue of which every continental war in which one or either parties shall be engaged shall be common to all.

Art. XXXVI. In the event of any foreign or neighbouring power making preparations for war, the contracting parties, in order to prevent surprise, shall, upon the requisition of the minister of one of them at the assembly of the league in Frankfort, arm also. And as the contingent of the allies is subdivided into four parts, the assembly shall decide how many of those shall be called into activity. The armament however, shall only take place upon the invitation of the emperor to each of the contracting parties.

Art. XXXVII. His majesty the king of Bavaria binds himself to

fortify Augsburg and Lindau; in the first of these places to form and maintain artillery establishments, and in the second, to keep a quantity of muskets and ammunition sufficient for a reserve, as well as a baking establishment at Augsburg, sufficient to supply the armies without stop in the event of war.

Art. XXXVIII. The contingent of each is determined as follows:—

France	200,000
Bavaria	30,000
Wurtemberg	12,000
Baden	3,000
Berg	5,000
Darmstadt	4,000
Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others	4,000

Art. XXXIX. The contracting parties will admit of the accession of other German princes and states, in all cases where their union with the confederation may be found consistent with the general interest.

Art. XL. The ratification of the present treaty shall be exchanged between the contracting parties, on the 25th of July, at Munich.

Resignation of the Office of Emperor of Germany, by Francis, Emperor of Austria. — Dated at Vienna, August 6, 1806.

We, Francis Second, &c.

Since the peace of Presburg, all our attention and all our care have been employed to fulfil, with scrupulous fidelity, all the engagements contracted by that treaty, to preserve to our subjects the happiness of peace, to consolidate every where the amicable relations happily re-established, waiting to discover whether the changes caused by the peace, would permit us to perform

our important duties, as chief of the German empire, conformably to the capitulation of election.

The consequences, however, which ensued from some articles of the treaty of Presburg, immediately after its publication, and which still exist, and those events generally known, which have since taken place in the Germanic empire, have convinced us, that it will be impossible, under these circumstances, to continue the obligations contracted by the capitulation of election, and even, if, in reflecting on the political relations, it were possible to imagine a change of affairs, the convention of the 12th of July, signed at Paris, and ratified by the contracting parties, relative to an entire separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar confederation, has entirely destroyed every such hope.

Being thus convinced of the impossibility of being any longer enabled to fulfil the duties of our imperial functions, we owe it to our principles and to our duty, to renounce a crown which was only valuable in our eyes, whilst we were able to enjoy the confidence of the electors, princes, and other states of the Germanic empire, and to perform the duties which were imposed upon us. We declare, therefore, by these presents, that we, considering as dissolved the ties which have hitherto attached us to the states of the Germanic empire, that we, considering as extinguished by the confederation of the states of the Rhine, the charge in chief of the empire; and that we, considering ourselves thus acquitted of all our duties towards the Germanic empire, do resign the imperial crown, and the imperial government.

We

We absolve, at the same time, the electors, princes, and states, and all that belong to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme tribunal, and other magistrates of the empire, from those duties by which they were united to us as the legal chief of the empire, according to the constitution.

We also absolve all our German provinces and states of the empire from their reciprocal duties towards the Germanic empire, and we desire, in incorporating them with our Austrian states, as emperor of Austria, and in preserving them in those amicable relations subsisting with the neighbouring powers and states, that they should attain that height of prosperity and happiness, which is the end of all our desires, and the object of our dearest wishes.

Done at our residence, under the imperial seal.

Francis.

Address of the Emperor of Austria on resigning the Office of Emperor of Germany.

We, Francis Second, &c.

In abdicating the imperial government of the empire, we, considering it as the last effort of our care, and as an absolute duty, do express thus publicly a desire, equally reasonable and just, that the persons who have hitherto been employed in the administration of justice, and in diplomatic and other affairs, for the good of the whole empire, and for the service of the chief of the empire, should be suitably provided for.

The care which all the states of the empire took of those persons who lost their places by the affair of the indemnity in 1803, induces us to hope, that the same sentiments

of justice will be extended to those individuals who have hitherto been employed in the general service, who have been chosen in all parts of the Germanic empire, and many of whom have quitted other profitable places, looking forward to an honourable subsistence for life, and which should not be wanting to them on account of their fidelity, and the integrity and capacity with which they have executed their functions.

We have, therefore, taken the resolution of preserving to those of our imperial servants, who have hitherto drawn their salaries from our chamber, the same appointments, reserving to ourselves to place them in employments in the service of our hereditary states, and we hope, with so much the more confidence, that the electors, princes, and states, will provide for the imperial chamber of justice of the empire, and the chancellerie of the chamber of justice, by charging themselves voluntarily with this expence, as it will be trifling in amount, and will diminish every year.

As to the chancellerie of the Aulic council of the empire, the funds destined for its support will be employed to provide for the wants of those individuals who have hitherto drawn from thence their salaries, this will serve them until other measures may be taken.

Done in our capital and residence of Vienna, under our imperial seal, the 6th of August, 1806.

Francis.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, on the Part of the Commissioners, July 23, 1806.

My

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that the state of the public business enables his majesty to close this session of parliament.

We are, at the same time, directed to express to you the great satisfaction which his majesty has derived from your unremitting zeal and diligence, and from that attention to the most important interests of his empire, which has been so conspicuously manifested in all your proceedings.

The measures which have been adopted for the permanent improvement of the various branches of our military system, your attention to combine these arrangements with the great object of public economy, and the regulations which you have established for the speedy and effectual audit of the public accounts, call for his majesty's particular acknowledgments.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

We have it in command from his majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the various exigencies of the public service, particularly by raising within the year so very large a proportion of the necessary supplies; a measure in itself highly advantageous, and which must create, both at home and abroad, the most favourable impression of our national resources, and of the spirit which animates the British people. You may be assured that the utmost attention shall be paid to the frugal administration of those supplies which you have so liberally granted.

His majesty is particularly sensible of the fresh proof he has received of your affectionate attach-

ment to him, in the provision which you have made for enabling the younger branches of his royal family to meet the necessary expences of their stations.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty being always anxious for the restoration of peace, on just and honourable terms, is engaged in discussions with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end. Their success must depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy; and in every event his majesty looks with the fullest confidence to the continuance of that union and public spirit among all ranks of his people, which can alone give energy to war, or security to peace.

Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read: After which the lord chancellor said:—

My lords and gentlemen,

By virtue of his majesty's commission under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Thursday, the 28th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 28th day of August next.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor delivered, in his Majesty's Name, to both Houses of Parliament, Dec. 19, 1806.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty has commanded us to assure you, that in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great satis-

satisfaction to him, to recur to the firmness and wisdom of his parliament, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the sense of his people.

His majesty has ordered the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negotiations with France, to be laid before you. His majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interest and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.

The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events.

After witnessing the subversion of the ancient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandizement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty, nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions, which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility.

Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best

calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of the calamities which ensued, opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose.

In the midst of these disastrous events, and under the most trying circumstances, the good faith of his majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between his majesty and the emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists; it has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence: and his majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honour and independence of our country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to his majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his majesty's wishes, by combining all practicable economy with those efforts which it is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

My lords and gentlemen,

The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe, could not fail to affect, in some degree, many important interests of the country. But under every successive difficulty, his majesty

jesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an encreasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform and determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations. The unconquerable valour and discipline of his majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre. The great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been, at any

time, more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independence of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.

With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, his majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis; assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

The Life and Literary Works of Michel Angelo Buonarroti.

THE name of Michel Angelo has been written differently by different authors. Angelo is made Agnolo by the Tuscans, Angiolo by the Bolognese, and Anziolo by the Venetians. The Roman form Angelo is authorised by the academy della Crusca. Buonarroti he himself wrote four different ways.

Michel Angelo was descended from the famous countess Matilda, and had imperial blood in his veins; it could not, therefore, have been from that side that he derived his love of liberty, his genius and his virtue. His father was podestà, or governor of Chiusi, in old times the capital of Porsenna, and of Caprere, where Michel was born, on the 6th of March, 1474, under a benign aspect, when Mercury and Venus, according to Condivi, were in conjunction with Jupiter for the second time, plainly shewing that the child would be a very extraordinary genius, whose success would be universal, but particularly in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. But as his nurse was both daughter and wife of a stonemason, the chisel was his plaything, and his nursing had more to do than his nativity in making him a sculptor. His father wished to educate

him for some learned profession, thinking that if he became an artist, according to his own early discovered propensity, it would degrade the dignity of his family; this propensity, however, he was resolute in pursuing, and the father, at length wisely yielding to it, articulated him, when he was fourteen, to Domenico Ghirlandaio and his brother David, for three years; they were to teach him the art and practice of painting, and to allow him six florins for the first, eight for the second, and ten for the third year. Domenico had a numerous school, and was the most eminent painter in Florence.

“Granacci was his constant friend and companion: they studied together, and probably helped each other in their pursuits. The first attempt Michel Angelo made in oil painting, was with his assistance: he lent him colours and pencils, and a print*, representing the story of St. Anthony beaten by devils, which he copied on a pannel with such success that it was much admired. In this little picture, besides the figure of the saint, there were many strange forms and monsters, which he was so intent on representing in the best manner he was capable, that he coloured no part without referring to some natural object. He went to the fish-market to observe the form and colour of fins, and the eyes

* Vasari says, this print was engraved by Martino Tedesco, but there remains some doubt who this German artist was: Mariette is of opinion that his name was Martin Schoën, whose prints are known by this monogram, M † S.

eyes of fish; and whatever in nature constituted a part of his composition, he studied from its source. About this time he made a fac-simile of a picture, which his biographers have recorded to shew his skill in imitation. A head had been given him to copy, and he imitated it so well, that, to try his success, he returned his own copy instead of the original picture, to the person from whom it was borrowed, and the deceit was not immediately perceived, but having told one of his associates, who began to laugh, it was discovered. To add to the deception, he smocked his copy, so as to make it appear of the same age as the original.

“ Whatever might be the benefit of the instruction he derived from others, he rapidly surpassed his contemporary students, and adopted a style of drawing and design, more bold and daring than Ghirlandaïo had been accustomed to see practised in his school; and, from an anecdote Vasari tells, it would seem Michel Angelo soon felt himself even superior to his master. One of the pupils copying a female portrait from a drawing by Ghirlandaïo, he took a pen, and made a strong outline round it on the same paper, to shew him its defects; and the superior style of the contour was as much admired as the act was considered confident and presumptuous*. His great facility in copying with accuracy whatever objects were before him, was exemplified in an instance that forced a compliment even from Ghirlandaïo

himself. His master being employed in S. Maria Novella, in Florence, Michel Angelo, taking advantage of his absence, drew the scaffolding, the desks, the painting utensils and apparatus, and some of the young men who were at work, with so much correctness and ability, says Vasari, that Ghirlandaïo, when he returned, was quite astonished, and said it was rather the performance of an experienced artist than of a scholar.”

But Ghirlandaïo was envious of his pupil's talents, and when any work of his was praised, would insinuate that he himself had touched it. At this time Lorenzo de Medici had opened a garden at Florence, well supplied with antique statues, &c. as a school for sculpture. He desired Ghirlandaïo to let any of his scholars study there, who were desirous of drawing from the antique. Michel Angelo, and his friend Granacci, availed themselves of this indulgence, and the Medici Garden became their favourite school. Emulation induced him to begin modelling in clay, and Lorenzo, who observed his progress, encouraged him.

“ He was, not long after, desirous to try his skill in marble, and being particularly interested with a mutilated old head, or rather a mask representing a laughing Faun, he chose it for his original. At that time there were many persons employed in the garden, making ornaments for a library which Lorenzo was decorating: from one of these workmen he begged a piece of marble

* This drawing Vasari had in his possession, and being in Rome in the year 1550, he shewed it to Michel Angelo, who recollected it with pleasure, and modestly remarked, “ I knew more of this part of my art when I was a young man than I do now in my old age.” *Vasari vita di Michel Angelo.*

ble sufficiently large for his purpose, and was also accommodated with chisels and whatever else was necessary to execute his undertaking. Although this was his first essay in sculpture, he in a few days brought his task to a conclusion; with his own invention supplied what was imperfect in the original, and made some other additions. Lorenzo visiting his garden as usual, found Michel Angelo polishing his mask, and thought it an extraordinary work for so young an artist; nevertheless, he jestingly remarked, "You have restored to the old Faun all his teeth, but don't you know that a man of such an age has generally some wanting?" Upon this observation Michel Angelo was impatient for Lorenzo's absence, that he might be alone to avail himself of his criticism; and immediately, on his retiring, broke a tooth from the upper jaw, and drilled a hole in the gum to represent its having fallen out.

"When Lorenzo made his next visit, he immediately saw the alteration, and was delighted with the aptness and simplicity of his scholar; he laughed exceedingly, and related the incident to his friends as an instance of docility and quickness of parts."*

This circumstance made Lorenzo resolve to take him under his own immediate patronage, and accordingly he sent for the father. The father was greatly averse to this new degradation, as he supposed it; to be a painter was bad for a Buonarroti, to be a stone-mason still worse; and he lamented that Grannacci had led his son astray, for it was from him that Michel Angelo

had first learnt his love for the arts. When, however, upon waiting on Lorenzo, he found that Michel was to live in the palace, and sit at the table of Lorenzo, he became soon sensible of the importance of the art which he had despised. Accordingly the young artist left Ghirlandaio, to reside with Lorenzo, and for his sake, an office in the custom-house was given to his father, till something better should present itself.

Here he enjoyed every advantage that the best models, the best patronage, and the best society could afford. Unfortunately, after two years, Lorenzo died. His son and successor Piero, considered the arts, says Mr. Duppa, without any reference to genius or to intellect, and encouraged them only to administer to his idle pleasures. Under the patronage of this man, Michel Angelo was called upon to make a statue of snow! Piero considered him with "as much esteem as he had feeling to bestow," and the measure of this may be pretty well estimated from the boast he made, that he had two extraordinary men in his house, Michel Angelo, and a running footman who could keep up with a horseman when going full speed.

"In the house of Piero was a man of Cardiere, an improvisatore of great ability, who, in the time of Lorenzo, sung improvviso to the lyre in the evenings while he was at supper. Being a friend of Michel Angelo, he told him of a vision that disturbed his mind: Lorenzo de' Medici, he said, had appeared to him in a dream, with his body wrapped

* This mask was preserved in the Florence gallery when I visited that city in the year 1798. It has been engraved in Gori's edition of *Condivi*, but with little success.

wrapped in a black tattered robe, and commanded him to tell his son, that shortly he would be driven from his house never again to return. Michel Angelo exhorted Cardiere to obey; but from his knowledge of Piero's disposition he was afraid, and kept it to himself. Another morning Michel Angelo being in the cortile of the palace, observed Cardiere terrified and sorrowful: he then told him Lorenzo had again appeared to him that night in the same habit as before, and suddenly awoke him by a slap in the face, demanding the reason why he had not told Piero what he had before seen. Michel Angelo then reprov'd him for not having made the communication, and said so much that he took courage, and, with that view, set out on foot for Careggi, a villa belonging to the Medici family, about three miles from Florence; but before he was quite half way, he met Piero returning. He stopped him, and related what he had seen and heard. Piero laughed, and telling his attendants Cardiere's story, they made a thousand jokes at his expence; and his chancellor, who was afterward cardinal di Bibbiena, said to him, 'You are out of your mind. Whom do you think Lorenzo wills best, his son or you? If his son, would he not rather have appeared to him than to any other person, if it had been necessary to appear at all?' Cardiere, having thus discharged what he considered his duty, returned home, and so feelingly deplored the consequences, that Michel Angelo became persuaded the prediction would take place, and in a few days, with two companions, left Florence, and went to Bologna."

If there had been no other sign of coming calamity than Cardiere's dream, it is not very likely that Michel Angelo would have retired from Florence in consequence of it. But the signs of the times justified his retreat. He remained something more than a year at Bologna, during which time the Medici were expelled, and then, when the affairs of Florence were tranquillized, returned to his father's house. At this time that passionate admiration of the remains of antiquity, was beginning to shew itself, which admires things because they are antique, and refuses all approbation to productions of equal or greater merit, if they are produced by a contemporary. Michel Angelo had produced the statue of a sleeping Cupid; it was sent to a proper person in Rome, who buried it in his vineyard, then dug it up, and reported the discovery. This man however carried the trick too far: he sold it to cardinal St. Giorgio, for two hundred ducats, like a rogue, and remitted thirty to the sculptor as the price of his statue. The truth was soon discovered, and the money recovered from the seller; but Michel Angelo's merit was acknowledged, and he was invited to Rome, as the proper theatre for talents such as his. At Rome he met with some encouragement; it happened, however, that Soderini was now chosen Gonfaloniere of Florence, and he returned to his native city under the patronage of this good man, who loved the arts as well as Lorenzo had done, but with better motives, for he loved liberty also. For him he executed his colossal statue of David, and made that famous cartoon, which

the

the Medici, when they finally subverted the liberties of their country, suffered to be mutilated and destroyed.

From Florence he was invited back to Rome by Julius II. on his accession to the papal seat. That pope, who patronized the arts better than his successor, because he understood them better, gave Michel Angelo an unlimited commission to make him a mausoleum.

"Having received full powers, Michel Angelo commenced a design worthy of himself and his patron. The plan was a parallelogram, and the superstructure to consist of forty statues, many of which were to be colossal, interspersed with ornamental figures and bronze baso-relievos, besides the necessary architecture with appropriate decorations, to unite the composition in one stupendous whole.

"When this magnificent design was completed, it met with the pope's entire approbation, and Michel Angelo was desired to go into St. Peter's to see where it could be conveniently placed. At the west end of the church, Nicolas V. had, half a century before, begun a new tribune, but the plan had not been continued by his successors; this situation Michel Angelo thought the most appropriate, and recommended it to the consideration of his holiness. He inquired what expence would be necessary to com-

plete it; to which Michel Angelo answered, 'a hundred thousand crowns.' 'It may be twice that sum,' replied the pope; and immediately gave orders to Giuliano da Sangallo to consider of the best means to execute the work.

"Sangallo, impressed with the importance and grandeur of Michel Angelo's design, suggested to the pope that such a monument ought to have a chapel built on purpose for it, where situation and light and shadow might be so attended to, as to display every part to advantage; at the same time remarking, that St. Peter's was an old church, not at all adapted for so superb a mausoleum, and any alteration would only serve to destroy the character of the building. The pope listened to these observations, and to avail himself of them to their fullest extent, ordered several architects to make drawings for that purpose; but in considering and reconsidering the subject, he passed from one improvement to another, till he, at length determined to rebuild St. Peter's itself;* and this is the origin of that edifice which took a hundred and fifty years to complete, and is now the grandest display of architectural splendour that ornaments the Christian world."

The prosecution of this work was suspended by Michel Angelo's resentment at being refused admittance to the pope with marked and meant

* To those who are curious in tracing the remote causes of great events to their source, Michel Angelo perhaps may be found, though very unexpectedly, to have thus laid the first stone of the reformation. His monument demanded a building of corresponding magnificence; to prosecute the undertaking money was wanting, and indulgences were sold to supply the deficiency of the treasury. A monk of Saxony opposed the authority of the church, and this singular fatality attended the event; that whilst the most splendid edifice which the world had ever seen was building for the Catholic faith, the religion to which it was consecrated was shaken to its foundation.

meant insolence. Men of genius are sure to be the objects of envy, hatred, and malice in all ages, and this great man had his full share of their persecution. He was of an irritable nature, and immediately took post for Florence. Five couriers were immediately dispatched to bring him back: they did not overtake him till he was out of the papal states, and their authority of course useless. They requested him to write to the pope, and exempt them from blame. Accordingly he wrote to this effect; that being expelled the anti-chambers of his holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, he had taken the only course left him to pursue, consistent with the preservation of that character which had rendered him worthy of his confidence. Neither would he return, for if he had been worthless to-day, he could be but of little value to-morrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which would neither be creditable to his holiness nor himself.

Upon this Julius wrote the following letter to the government of Florence.

“Health and apostolic benediction to our dearly beloved. Michel Angelo, who has left us capriciously, and without any reason we have been able to learn, is now in Florence, and remains there in fear of our displeasure, but against whom we have nothing to alledge, as we

know the humour of men of his stamp. However, that he may lay aside all suspicion, we invite him with the same affection that you bear towards us; and, if he will return, promise, on our part, he shall be neither touched nor offended, and be reinstated in the same apostolic grace he enjoyed before he left us. Rome, the 8th of July, 1506, 3d year of our pontificate.*”

From the temper of this letter, Soderini concluded that the affair would soon be forgotten, and Michel Angelo chose to remain at Florence. A second followed, in a more decisive tone, and the Gonfalonieri then said to him, “You have done by the pope what the king of France would not have presumed to do, he must be no longer trilled with; we cannot make war against his holiness to risk the safety of the state, therefore his will must be obeyed.” Some Franciscans before this had proposed to Michel Angelo, to go to Turkey, and enter into the sultan’s service, to build a bridge between Constantinople and Pera. This offer he would now have accepted, but for the friendly and earnest dissuasions of Soderini. If a Turkish sultan could have been trusted, it is perhaps to be regretted that the opportunity was lost of attempting a greater work of architecture than ever yet has been achieved. He was, however, persuaded to return to the pope, then at Bologna; where

* Julius pp. 11. Dilectis filiis Prioribus libertatis, et vexillifero justitiæ populi Florentini.

Dilecti filii, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Michael Angelus sculptor, qui, a nobis leviter et inconsulte discessit, redire, ut accepimus, ad nos timet, cui nos non succensemus; novimus hujasmodi hominum ingenia. Ut tamen omnem suspicionem deponat, devotionem vestram hortamur, velit ei nomine nostro promittere, quod si ad nos redierit, illæsus inviolatusque erit, et in eâ gratiâ apostolicâ nos habituros, quâ habebatur, ante discessum.

Datum Romæ 8 Julii 1506 Pontificatus nostri III.

where cardinal Soderini, the Gonfaloniere's brother, undertook to introduce him. The cardinal was ill at the time, and obliged to deputize monsignore, who performed his office awkwardly : The interview was honourable to both parties.

"As Michel Angelo entered the presence-chamber the pope gave him an askance look of displeasure, and after a short pause, saluted him, 'In the stead of your coming to us, you seem to have expected that we should wait upon you.' Michel Angelo replied with submission, that his error arose from too hastily feeling a disgrace that he was unconscious of meriting, and hoped his holiness would pardon what was past. The monsignore* standing by, not thinking this a sufficient apology, endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by saying that great allowance was to be made for such men who were ignorant of every thing but their art ; on which the pope hastily replied, with warmth, 'Thou hast vilified him, which I have not, thou art an ignorant fellow and no man of genius, get out of my sight ;' and one of the attendants immediately pushed him out of the room. The pope then gave Michel Angelo his benediction, and restored him to his friendship ; and before he withdrew desired him not to quit Bologna till he had given him a commission for some work of art. In a few days he ordered a colossal statue of himself to be made in bronze."

Within five years this statue was broken in pieces by the mob, and the fragments cast into a piece of cannon !

When Michel Angelo returned to Rome, it was his wish to proceed without delay upon the mausoleum, which, as he conceived, was to be the noblest monument both of Julius and himself ; but the pope had now changed his mind, and ordered him to paint the walls and ceiling of the Sistine chapel in fresco. It has been villainously said, that this was the work of Bramante, who being jealous of Michel Angelo, persuaded the pope to employ him in a branch of art, in which he expected that he would fail. Of this meanness there is not the slightest proof : Bramante and Michel Angelo were not friends, but the former had too much genius himself, to be capable of such pitiful envy. If the desire of advancing the reputation of his nephew Raffaello, be imputed to him as a motive, surely he must have seen that Raffaello would have derived far more from executing the picture well himself, than from any failure on the part of Michel Angelo. It is wicked to talk of rivalry in such men as these, men so truly great, are above all such base feelings. Michel Angelo's own conduct evinces this ; fresco-painting, he said, was not his profession, and he recommended his holiness to give the commission to Raffaello, in whose hands, he said, it would do honour to them both. This could not have been said from any distrust of his own powers, no man of such mighty powers ever distrusted himself.

"It being now decided that he must make an attempt to execute this great undertaking, he commenced the cartoons, and the archi-

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* Vasari calls this dignitary a bishop (il Vescovo,) but I have preferred the appellation of Monsignore, on the authority of Coadivri.

fect of St. Peter's had orders to construct a scaffolding for the work to be painted in fresco. When the scaffolding was finished he found it extremely objectionable, and in particular from certain holes pierced in the ceiling, for cords to pass through to suspend a part of the machinery. He asked the architect how the ceiling could be completed if they were suffered to remain? To which he answered, It was impossible to avoid making them, and the remedy must be a subsequent consideration. This created a dispute, and Michel Angelo represented it to the pope as a defect which might have been avoided, if he had better understood the principles of mechanism. His holiness therefore gave him permission to take it down, and erect another in its stead. He then designed and constructed one so complete, that Bramante afterwards adopted it in the building of St. Peter's, and is, most probably, that simple and admirable piece of machinery now used in Rome, whenever there is occasion for scaffolding to repair or construct the interior of public buildings. This invention Michel Angelo gave to the poor man whom he employed as his carpenter, and, from the commissions he received for making others on the same construction, he realized a small fortune." *

Having finished this, he began make designs for the sides of the chapel, to complete the design, but, unfortunately for the arts, Julius died. He left it in

charge to two cardinals, the one of whom was his nephew, to see that his monument was completed. The cardinal nephew calculated the expence, and his arithmetic was conclusive; the original design of the mausoleum was laid aside, and Michel Angelo received instructions to make another, on a limited scale, and at a stipulated price.

From this work to which he was applying himself with grateful feeling to the memory of Julius, Leo X. sent him, little to the liking of the cardinal-executors, and less to his own, to build the façade of the church of St. Lorenzo, at Florence, which had remained unfinished from the time of his grandfather Cosmo.

† As soon as he arrived in Florence, he made his arrangements for executing the façade, and went to Carrara to order the marble which might be necessary, and also such as he should want for the monument of Julius, that in Florence no part of his time might be unemployed. At this period the pope received information that good marble was to be obtained in the mountains of Pietra Santa*, in the Florentine state, equal in quality to that of the quarries of Carrara; and while Michel Angelo was there, he received a letter from his holiness, desiring that he would go to Pietra Santa, and examine how far this information was correct. He obeyed his orders, and in a short time after sent him the result of his investigation, which did not prove so favourable

* By his gains, Condivi says, he was enabled to give marriage portions with his daughters. "Disfecce Michel Angelo il ponte e ne cavò tanti canapi, che avendogli donati a un pover uomo, che l'aiutò fu cagione, ch' egli ne maritasse due sue figliuole. Così fece senza corde il suo, così ben tessuto e composto, che sempre era più fermo quanto maggior peso aveva."

† Pietra Santa was the name of a castle, which gave this distinctive appellation to the mountains in its neighbourhood.

yourable as had been represented to his holiness. The marble was more difficult to work, and of inferior quality; added to which there was no practical means of conveying it to Florence, without making a road of many miles to the sea, through mountains, to be cut at a considerable expence, and over marshes which would require to be traversed with fascines and rafts to make them passable. These objections, however, made but a slight impression on the pope's mind, comparing them with the advantages which result from obtaining so valuable a material for building, in a territory which he could at any time call his own; Michel Angelo was therefore desired to proceed, and it is a mortifying reflection, that the talents of this great man should have been buried in these mountains, and his time consumed, during the whole reign of Leo X. in little other than raising stone out of a quarry, and making a road to convey it to the sea."

"To seek for reasons why Michel Angelo was not more fortunately employed during this reign, might afford a wide field of speculation; but if it should appear that the attachment of this pope to the arts, proceeded rather from their importance to the pomp and show of power, which was the delight of his mind, than from a more noble feeling of their worth; it is sufficiently satisfactory to account for his indifference and procrastination, to know, that wars, alliances, and subsidies, exhausted his treasury, and that the money was spent which was to have been appropriated to the façade of St. Lorenzo. At the death of Leo this part of the building was not advanced beyond its foundation, and the time of Michel

Angelo had been consumed in making a road, in seeing that five columns were made at the quarry of Pietra Santa, in conducting them to the sea-side, and in transporting one of them to Florence; this employment, with occasionally making some models in wax, and some trifling designs for the interior of a room in the Medici Palace, appears to have been all the benefit that was derived from his talents, during the whole of this pontificate. As the patronage of the great often depends upon the character of the man as well as upon his genius, it has been supposed that the independent spirit which resisted the impetuosity of Julius II. was ill calculated to conciliate the accomplished manners of Leo X. however this may have been, there appears no evidence that Michel Angelo ever refused submission to his will, or opposed his authority with disrespect: but as the surest way to every man's feelings is through his heart, it is easy to conceive that he was not likely to have the affections of a prince, in whose mind there was no congeniality of sentiment with his own."

Under the pontificate of Clement VII. Florence for a short time resumed its ancient form of government, and made its last struggle for liberty. In such a struggle, however unfortunate its termination, it is glorious to have borne a part. The interests of that state were betrayed by France, and the emperor prepared to reinstate the Medici in their tyranny by force. The republic, feeble as its hopes were, resolved upon defence, and Michel Angelo was appointed military architect and master of the ordnance. Whatever this wonderful man did, he did well. The enemy, immediately

djately on their arrival before the city, began to storm one of the bastions; two guns which he had placed upon a tower so annoyed them, that they were compelled to abandon the attack, and directed their artillery against this tower. Michel Angelo^t hung mattresses of wool from the top; they were suspended from a bold projecting cornice, so that a considerable space was left between them and the wall, and the artillery might have played till doomsday without producing any effect. The enemy saw that the conquest of Florence would not be so easy as they had expected, and had recourse to surer methods than those of assault.

“ Michel Angelo, after the most active service for six months, in which he defended the city, and repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy, was secretly told of treacherous plans to undermine the republic. He lost no time in making the communication known to the government, shewing at once the danger to which they were exposed, and how their safety might be provided for; but instead of attending to him with due respect, he was reproached with credulous timidity: offended with this treatment, he observed it was useless for him to be taking care of the walls, if they were determined not to take care of themselves. Depending upon the correctness of his information, and the perspicacity of his own judgment, he saw inevitable ruin to the common cause; this, added to the personal disrespect he received, determined him to give up his employment and withdraw from the city. As the nature of his information did not allow him to make a public declaration of his intention, he with-

drew privately; but he was no sooner gone, than his departure created general concern. Upon his leaving Florence he proceeded to Ferrara, and from thence to Venice; where, as soon as he arrived, he was followed by the importunities of persons high in office, soliciting him to return, and not abandon the post committed to his charge; at the same time softening by expletives the rudeness and inattention with which he had been treated. These solicitations, addressed to an ardent mind, and strong patriotic feelings, prompted him to obey the will of his country and his friends, and without delay he returned, and resumed his situation.”

A mercenary general sold the republic—he betrayed its plans to the enemy, and finally delivered it up to the Medici. “ Here,” says the author, “ ended the Florentine republic, after three centuries of varied and fluctuating fortune; yet, amidst civil dissensions, internal calamity, or external war, genius flourished; and whatever may be the cause, it is to this contracted territory that our enlightened times owe more than to all the states in Europe that assisted in its ruin.”

“ The diseases of the soul are as hereditary as those of the body. Clement V. had chosen for himself a lying name upon his election, he was as false and as cruel as the rest of his family. “ The general amnesty which he had promised to all those who had injured the pope, his friends and servants; his holiness professed most faithfully to observe, and willingly to forgive those who had been his enemies: but the injuries committed by the same persons in the affairs of the republic, he

he knew of no justice to extenuate, nor mercy to forgive: he therefore imprisoned, banished, and put to death at his own discretion!" Michel Angelo secreted himself in the bell tower of the church of St. Nicholas. His house was eagerly searched, and not a trunk left unopened that could be supposed capable of containing him. After some days, when all search had proved ineffectual, the pope publicly promised that if he would discover himself he should not be molested—on condition of his finishing the monuments of Giuliano de Medici, and his nephew Lorenzo, which he had begun. Michel Angelo accepted the terms, and as Mr. Dappa with his usual good feeling expresses himself,—"with little respect for the persons his genius was to commemorate, and with less affection for his employer, he hastened to complete his labour."

There was no work upon which he would so willingly have proceeded, as upon the monument of Julius; but in this he was by various circumstances so often interrupted, that it became a cause of continual vexation to him. The plan for this monument was now a second time contracted on the score of expence; and an arrangement for its execution concluded, by which he was to be permitted to work for the pope in Florence four months in the year. Having worked there four months, he returned to Rome to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Urbino, who was now the representative of Julius. "But Clement, who was not in the habit of keeping promises, nor of permitting others to do so when it interfered with his inclination or his interest," ordered him to paint the

two end walls of the Sistine chapel. He had formerly made several studies for the west end, where he designed to have painted the Fall of Satan: why this design was not now carried into effect does not appear, but he began the cartoon of the Last Judgment. It is almost sinful to regret any circumstances which occasioned that wonderful picture, yet as the same genius would have been exerted on either subject, we are almost tempted to wish that the one had been preferred which was wholly mythological, and in which the superstitions of the Romish church could not have found a place. He procrastinated this work as much as he could, and secretly proceeded with the monument. Clement died. Paul III. who succeeded, wished to engage Michel Angelo in his service, who resolutely protested that he must devote himself to the fulfilment of his prior engagement. The duke of Urbino, however, was unwilling to offend the pope.—The plan of the monument was once more changed, and three statues only instead of six were required from him, and thus it was at last completed. He then finished the Last Judgment, for which the pope with becoming liberality rewarded him with a pension for life, equal to 600*l*.

At this time San Gallo died, and Michel Angelo was appointed architect of St. Peter's, a situation which, however honourable, proved to him a source of vexation as long as he lived. He was not only a man of genius, and therefore the certain object of envy and malice, but also a man of integrity, and therefore hated by all the numerous persons employed about the building, who till his time had been accustomed to cheat the government with impunity.

nity. Paul understood his merits and protected him.

"As men are generally malevolent in proportion to the disappointment of their mischievous hopes, so the enemies of Michel Angelo grew inveterate from the ill success of their opposition: and to all those who could have any influence in injuring his reputation, they did not fail to use exertions to represent him as an unworthy successor of San Gallo. Upon the death of Paul III.* an effort was made to remove him from his situation, but Julius III. who succeeded to the pontificate, was not less favourably disposed towards him than his predecessor; however they presented a memorial, petitioning the pope to hold a committee of architects in St. Peter's at Rome, to convince his holiness that their accusations and complaints were not unfounded. At the head of his party was cardinal Salviati, nephew to Leo X. and cardinal Marcello Cervino, who was afterwards pope by the title of Marcellus II. Julius agreed to the investigation, Michel Angelo was formally arraigned, and the pope gave his personal attendance. The complainants stated, that the church wanted light, and the architects had previously furnished the two cardinals with a particular example to

prove the basis of the general position, which was, that he had walled up a recess for three chapels, and made only three insufficient windows; upon which the pope asked Michel Angelo to give his reasons for having done so: he replied, "I should wish first to hear the deputies." Cardinal Marcello immediately said for himself and cardinal Salviati, "We ourselves are the deputies." Then said Michel Angelo, "In the part of the church alluded to, over those windows are to be placed three others," "You never said that before," replied the cardinal: to which he answered with some warmth, "I am not, neither will I ever be obliged to tell your eminence, or any one else, what I ought or am disposed to do; it is your office to see that the money be provided, to take care of the thieves, and to leave the building of St. Peter's to me." Turning to the pope—"holy father, you see what I gain: if these machinations to which I am exposed are not for my spiritual welfare, I lose both my labour and my time." The Pope replied, putting his hands upon his shoulders, "Do not doubt, your gain is now and will be hereafter;" and at the same time gave him assurance of his confidence and esteem."

Julius

* "Paul III. died on the 10th of November, 1549. after a pontificate of fifteen years and twenty-eight days. Among the most remarkable acts of his reign is the excommunication of Henry VIII. who was declared to be deprived of his crown and kingdom, his subjects absolved from all obedience, all acts of religion interdicted or forbidden to be performed or celebrated in his dominions, commanding all ecclesiastical persons to depart from his kingdoms, and the nobles to rise up in rebellion against him. This bull is dated the 30th of August, 1535. It was in the reign of this pope, in the year 1540, that the Jesuits were established, and the plan of that extraordinary society, confirmed; and on the first of November, in the year 1542, the celebrated council of Trent met to establish the truth of the gospel, to convince all men of transubstantiation, to prevent the further diminution of the papal authority, and endeavour to do that which is impossible, reconcile the jarring opinions of contending interests.

Julius III. was indeed one of the truest friends of Michel Angelo ; he desired Condivi to write his life, and, as appears by Condivi's dedication, recommended him to imitate his virtue and his excellence. He said also that if it were possible he would gladly take upon himself his years, that the world might have a better chance of not being deprived so soon of a great man. Unfortunately for Michel Angelo, Julius died after a short reign of five years, leaving him an old man of eighty one. Cardinal Marcello, one of his enemies, was elected in his stead ; he died within the month, and was succeeded by Paul IV. ; whose two main objects were to be revenged on his enemies by the sword, and to root out heresy by means of the inquisition, of which he had long been the main patron. This man's religious feelings were offended at the naked figures in the Last Judgment, and he determined that the picture should be reformed. When Michel Angelo heard this, he desired that the pope might be told from him that what he wished was very little and might be easily effected ; for if his holiness would only reform the opinions of mankind, the picture would be reformed of itself. Paul at last determined to destroy the picture altogether,—luckily his cardinals persuaded him that it would be a sin to whitewash the wall, and he contented himself with ordering the figures to be dressed : thereby it is to be presumed expressing his opinion that when the trumpet sounds, the dead are not to rise till they have made themselves decent, for which purpose there will be a resurrection of shrouds and winding sheets also.

This was the barbarian who encouraged or instigated our bloody Mary in all her cruelties. Pius IV. made some little amends to him for the insults and injustices he had received from his predecessor, but Michel Angelo was now going to receive the reward of a long life of integrity and virtue. He died on the 17th of February, 1563, in his eighty-ninth year. Public obsequies were decreed him at Florence ; the work of envy was over ; from that day the excellence of Michel Angelo has been acknowledged, and it will continue to be so, as long as stone and marble can endure, and as long as the engraver can preserve the conceptions of the painter.

“ In the early part of his life, Michel Angelo not only applied himself to sculpture and painting, but to every branch of knowledge connected in any way with those arts, and gave himself up so much to application, that he in a great degree withdrew from society. From this ruling passion to cultivate his mind he became habituated to solitude, and happy in his pursuits, he was more contented to be alone than in company ; by which he obtained the character of being a proud and an odd man, distinctions that never fail to be given to those with whom we wish to find fault for not resembling ourselves. When his mind was matured he attached himself to men of learning and judgment, and in the number of his most intimate friends were ranked the highest dignitaries in the church, and the most eminent literary characters of his time. That princely cardinal, Ippolito de Medici, and the cardinals Bembo, Ridolfi, and Maffeo, were distinguished for their friendship
ship

ship towards him, and, as an Englishman, it gives me pleasure to find cardinal Pole amongst them, entitled, "suo amicissimo." Ippolito de' Medici was particularly partial to him, and understanding that Michel Angelo admired a Turkish horse he possessed, he sent it to his house, with ten mules loaded with corn, and begged his acceptance of the gift as a mark of his esteem. Notwithstanding he ranked in the number of his acquaintance the most distinguished names of his time, he was also pleased with the harmless comedy of human life, and occasionally amused with the eccentric good nature of those who had little else to recommend them. But the person of all others who absorbed his affections and esteem, was that excellent and accomplished woman, the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara; her superior mind and endowments, and her partiality for his genius, impressed him with the most lively sense of esteem. For many years before her death she resided at Viterbo, and occasionally visited Rome for no other purpose than to enjoy his society. To her Michel Angelo addressed three sonnets and a madrigal, and wrote an epitaph, on her death, in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered with the most profound respect for her character. In her last moments Michel Angelo paid her a visit, and afterwards told Condivi he grieved he had not kissed her cheek as he did her hand, since there was then but little hope of his ever seeing her again. The same writer also observes, that the recollection of her death constantly produced dejection in his mind."

Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. From his Life by Lord Holland.

This extraordinary man was born at Madrid, on the 25th of November, 1562: his father had been secretly addicted to poetry; there are so many similar facts recorded, as to justify an opinion that the propensity to poetry, or aptitude for it, is hereditary. Lope's talents were early manifested. The uncommon quickness and brilliancy of his eyes in infancy, indicated a corresponding vivacity of mind, and before his hand was strong enough to guide the pen, he recited verses of his own composition, which he bartered with his play-fellows for prints or toys. Thus, says lord Holland, even in his childhood, he not only wrote poetry, but turned his poetry to account, an art in which he must be allowed afterwards to have excelled all poets, ancient or modern. The bishop of Evila was his first patron; his second was the duke of Alva, at whose instance he wrote his *Arcadia*.

Pastoral works, however, in prose and verse, had already met with considerable success in Spain; of which the *Diana* by Montemayor was the first in point of merit, and I believe in time. The species of composition is in itself tedious, and the conduct of the *Arcadia* evidently absurd. A pastoral in five long books of prose run mad, in which the shepherds of *Arcadia* woo their *Dulcineas* in the language of *Amadis* rather than of *Theocritus*, in which they occasionally talk theology, and discuss in verse the origin and nature of grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, astrology, and

and poetry, and which they enliven by epitaphs on Castilian generals, and a long poem on the achievements of the duke of Alva, and the birth of his son, is not well adapted to the taste of common readers, or likely to escape the censure of critics. In most instances, however, the abstract of a work of this nature, for it must be considered as a poem, forms a very unfair criterion of its merit. The chief objects of poetry are to delineate strongly, the characters and passions of mankind, to paint the appearances of nature, and to describe their effects upon our sensations. To accomplish these ends the versification must be smooth, the language pure and impressive, and the images just, natural, and appropriate; our interest should be excited by the nature of the subject, and kept up by the spirit of the narration. The probability of the story, the connexion of the tale, the regularity of the design, are indeed beauties; but beauties which are ornamental rather than necessary, which have often been attained by persons who had no poetical turn whatever, and as often neglected by those whose genius and productions have placed them in the first rank of the province of poetry. Novels and comedies derive, indeed, a great advantage from an attention to these niceties. But in the higher branches of invention they are the less necessary, because the justness of the imitation of passions inherent in the general nature of man, depends less upon the probability of the situations, than that of manners and opinions resulting from the accidental and temporary forms of society.

“To judge,” says Lord H. “by another criterion of the parts of the *Arcadia* which I have read, and especially of the verses, there are in it many harmonious lines, some eloquence, great facility and occasionally beauty of expression, and above all, a prodigious variety of maxims, similes, and illustrations. These merits, however, are disfigured by great deformities. The language, though easy and fluent, is not the language of nature; the versification is often eked out by unnecessary exclamations, and unmeaning expletives, and the eloquence is at one time distorted into extravagant hyperbole, and at another degenerates into low and tedious commonplace. The maxims, as in all Spanish authors of that time, are often trivial and often untrue. When they have produced an antithesis, they think they have struck out a truth. The illustrations are sometimes so forced and unnatural, that though they may display erudition, and excite surprise, they cannot elucidate the subject, and are not likely to delight the imagination. They seem to be the result of labour, and not the creation of fancy, and partake more of the nature of conundrums and enigmas, than of similes and images. Forced conceits, and play upon words, are indeed common in this as in every work of Lope de Vega; for he was one of the authors who contributed to introduce that taste for false wit, which soon afterwards became so universally prevalent throughout Europe. Marino,* the champion of that style in Italy, with the highest expressions of admiration for his model, acknowledges that
he

* *Essequie poetique*, vol. xxi. Lope de Vega.

he imbibed this taste from Lope, and owed his merit in poetry to the perusal of his works."

After he had been married a few years, Lope de Vega lost his wife, and to fly from painful recollections, embarked with his brother in the famous armada. The conquest of England was fully expected from this powerful armament, and the Spanish poets, at its outset, wrote odes and sonnets of prophetic triumph, which it would have been prudent not to have published before the event, and to have destroyed after it. Gonzara upon the occasion addressed his country in an ode, of which one passage is remarkable, as having been so completely verified in favour of England, instead of Spain. He says to Spain,—

By pious zeal and noble wrath possess,
With restless woods hast thou
Peopled the humid Neptune's billowy
breast:
And all who in thy kingdoms would advance
'Gainst Britain the avenging lance,
Collected in their numbers now,
So multiplied a multitude has sent,
That for their barks the wat'ry element
Scarcely hath scope, and scanty are the
gales
Of Heaven to fill their sails.
Therefore be sure that on thy vengeance
day
Ocean shall dye his waves, now green
and gray,
All scarlet with the English pirates' gore,
And rich with ruins of the fray
Waft their wreck'd navies o'er,
And conquered banners, thy triumphal
boast,
And dash her slaughtered sons upon thy
coast,
Illustrating thy ports and trophied
shore."

Lope de Vega bade the armada go forth and burn the world! he lost his brother in the expedition, and wrote nothing about it on his return. During the voyage, he composed the *Hermosura de Angelica*, one of his longest poems, which professes to take up the story of that princess where Ariosto had dropped it. The Spaniards have several continuations of the *Orlando Furioso*. That by Luis Baraliona de Soto has been highly praised by Lope himself, whose praise, however, was so indiscriminating, as to be of no authority; and also by Cervantes: but Cervantes extols some poems which are of little merit, and there is some reason to think that this is of the same character, as it is so seldom met with, and little known. The *Araucana*, the only heroic poem in the language of real merit, has often been reprinted, nor can the Spaniards be accused of neglecting their early poets. It may therefore be suspected, that those which are neglected, deserve to be so.

The *Hermosura de Angelica* is as ridiculous in fable as possible, but it contains many spirited passages, and is certainly of all Lope's long poems, that which may be read with most pleasure, or perhaps more accurately speaking, with least fatigue. Lord Holland, in his life of Lope de Vega, has given two specimens, well chosen, and happily translated.

Lord Holland quotes from this work, a Latin stanza, as being perhaps the only eight Latin lines of titles and names which are to be found in modern metre, and in a poem written in a modern language. It is an inscription under a golden statue of Philip III. A
proof,

proof, it may be observed, that though he might have begun the poem when on board the armada, this part was not written till the following reign :

"Phillippo Tertio, Cæsari invictissimo,
Omniū maximo regum triumphatori,
Orbis utriusque et maris felicissimo,
Catholici secundi successorī,
Totius Hispaniæ principi, dignissimo,
Ecclesiæ Christi et fidei defensori,
Fama, præcingens tempora alma lauro,
Hoc, simulacrum dedicat ex auro."

Lope de Vega in whose epics every thing which is odd and extravagant may be found, has in like manner inserted a Latin epitaph upon Rodrigo in his Jerusalem Conquistada. It is worth transcribing.

Hoc jacet in sarcophago Rex ille
Penultimus Gothorum in Hispaniâ.
Infelix Rodericus, viator sile,
Ne forte pereat tota Lusitania :
Provocatus Cupidinis missile
Telo, tam magnâ affectus fuit insaniâ,
Quam tota Hiberia vinculis astricta
Testatur mæsta, lachrimatur victâ.

Execrabilem Comitem Julianum
Abhorreant omnes, nomine et remoto
Patrio, appellent Erostratum Hispanum,
Non tantum nostri, sed in orbe toto.
Dum current cœli sidera, vesanum
Vociferent, testante Mauro et Gotho,
Cesset Florindæ nomen suave
Cava viator est, a Cava cave.

In the same volume with the Angelica, he published a collection of sonnets, and another narrative poem of some length upon sir Francis Drake, who of course receives no more mercy at his hands, than he would have done, had he been made prisoner upon the coast of Peru. Lope had little reason to love sir

Francis Drake, and for Elizabeth he entertained a right catholic abhorrence, it is amusing to read the invectives in which the Spanish poets vented their hatred against her. Gongora in his ode upon the Armada, says of England,

How art thou doom'd to everlasting
shame
For her accursed sake,
Who for the distaff dares to take
The sword and sceptre in her bastard
hand !
She-wolf libidinous, and fierce for blood.
Thou strumpet offspring of the adul-
tious bed.
Soon may avenging heaven hurl down
Its lightning-vengeance on thy impious
head.

Lope's Dragontea is a dull poem. An historical subject of such recent date, will not bear the intermixture of invention ; we know the truth so well, that all the fiction has the effect of falshood. This, however, is only the case, in this instance, with an English reader. Spaniards might believe sir Francis Drake to be a tyrant, a slave, and a coward, but the poet who could flatter the passions of his contemporary countrymen, by calling him so, might have known that the reputation of his poem would be temporary as well as local.

Another of his long poems is his St. Isidro, in honour not of the great St. Isidore, who procured for his nephew Hermenegild the honours of canonization, by instigating him to commit rebellion and attempt parricide, but of a labourer in the vicinity of Madrid, who was sainted by the ingenuity of others in inventing miracles for him, not by any knavery of his own in enacting them. The Isidro is a wearying collection of miraculous stories, with no other connection

connection than the order in which they took place, and these are rendered still more wearying by the endless apostrophes and reflections of the author. The metre, however, is wonderfully stimulant, and contrasts provokingly with the dull matter which it conveys ;—it is one of the vernacular metres. Lope says the verse shall be Castilian as well as the subject.

Lope de Vega's fame was now very high.

"Henceforward the licences prefixed to his books do not confine themselves to their immediate object, the simple permission to publish, but contain long and laboured encomiums upon the particular merit of the work, and the general character and style of the author. This was probably the most fortunate period of his life. He had not, it is true, attained the summit of his glory, but he was rising in literary reputation every day ; and as hope is often more delightful than possession, and there is something more animating to our exertions while we are panting to acquire than when we are labouring to maintain superiority, it was probably in this part of his life that he derived most satisfaction from his pursuits. About this time also we must fix the short date of his domestic comforts, of which, while he alludes to the loss of them, he gives a short but feeling description in his Eclogue to Claudio :—"

"Yo vi mi pobre mesa en testimonio;
Cercada y rica de fragmentos míos,
Dulces y amargos r'os

Del mar del matrimonio,
Y vi pagando su fatal tributo,
De tan alegre bien tan triste luto.

"The expressions of the above are very difficult, if not impossible, to translate, as the metaphors are such as none but the Spanish language will admit. The following is rather a paraphrase than a translation.

"I saw a group my board surround,
And sure to me, though poorly spread,
'Twas rich with such fair objects crown'd,
Dear bitter presents of my bed !
I saw them pay their tribute to the tomb,
And scenes so cheerful change to mourning and to gloom.

"Of the three persons who formed this family group, the son died at eight years, and was soon followed by his mother ; the daughter alone survived our poet. The spirit of Lope seems to have sunk under such repeated losses. At a more enterprising period of life, he had endeavoured to drown his grief in the noise and bustle of a military life ; he now resolved to sooth it in the exercise of devotion. Accordingly, having been secretary to the inquisition, he shortly after became a priest, and in 1609 a sort of honorary member * of the brotherhood of St. Francis. But devotion itself could not break in upon his habits of composition ; and as he had about this time acquired sufficient reputation to attract the envy of his fellow poets, he spared no exertions to maintain his post, and repel the criticisms of his enemies."

The faults rather than the success of Lope drew upon him the censure, among others, of Gongora and Cervantes.

"The

* Pellicer Life of Cervantes.

"The genius and acquirements * of Góngora are generally acknowledged by those most conversant in Spanish literature, and his historical ballads or romances have always been esteemed the most perfect specimens of that kind of composition. But his desire of novelty led him in his other poems to adopt a style of writing so vicious and affected, that Lope, with all his extravagancies, is a model of purity in comparison with him. He was however the founder of a sect in literature †. The style called in Castilian *cultismo* owes its origin to him. This affectation consists in using language so pedantic, metaphors so strained, and construction so involved, that few readers have the knowledge requisite to understand the words, and yet fewer the ingenuity to discover the allusion or patience to unravel the sentences. These authors do not avail themselves of the invention of letters for the purpose of conveying, but of concealing their ideas. The art of writing reduces itself with them to the talent of puzzling and perplexing; and they require in their readers a degree of ingenuity at least equal to their own ‡. The obscurity of Persius is supposed to have ruffled the temper of a saint, and an indignant father of the church is said to

have condemned his satires to the flames, with this passionate but sensible observation: *Si non viz intelligi non debes legi*. It might be reasonable to suppose, that the public would generally acquiesce in the truth of this maxim, and that the application of it would be one of the few points of taste in which their judgment might be trusted. But it is the fate of genius, undirected by judgment, to render its very defects the chief object of applause and imitation: of this the example of Góngora furnishes a singular illustration. For near a century after his death, his works had such an influence on Castilian poetry, that little or nothing was admired which could be easily understood. Every word appeared a metaphor, and every sentence a riddle. This revolution in the taste of his countrymen was not however sudden or immediate; for Góngora himself was disappointed at the reception given to what was termed the *new poetry*, and the little success that attended his first efforts at innovation is supposed to have inflamed his animosity against his more popular contemporaries §. Lope did not escape his censures; and galled by his virulent lampoons, as well as alarmed at the progress which his new style of writing was gradually making, he occasionally

* Don Nicholas Antonio. *Bibliotheca Nova*.

† Luzan's *Poetica*, c. 3. l. i.

‡ For a specimen of this style I have only to refer my readers to Luzan's criticism on a sonnet of Góngora ch. 15. l. 2. of his *Poetica*. He will there find that the pen of the historian opens the gates of memory, and that memory stamps shadows on mounds of foam. By these expressions Góngora means to give a poetical description of the art of writing on paper. Luzan, whose object was to explode this taste, which was prevalent even in his time, does not do ample justice to the merits of Góngora, and quotes only his defects without mentioning those poems which are exempt from them, or those beauties which rendered this extravagant style so palatable to the public.

§ *Parnaso Español*, vol. vi.

occasionally satirised the style without naming the authors. Even in his plays are to be found several strokes of ridicule on this subject. Thus, when Severo come to recommend himself as a poet to a bridegroom in the *Amestady Obligacion*, Lope the bridegroom asks him :

Lop. Sois vulgar o culterano ?

Sev. Culto soy.

Lop. Quedaos en casa

Y escribireis mis secretos.

Sev. Sus secretos ! por que causa ?

Lop. Porque nadie los entienda...

Lop. A plain or polish'd bard ?

Sev. My style's polite.

Lop. My secrets then remain with me to write.

Sev. Your secrets ? Why ?

Lop. Because, politely penn'd,
Their meaning sure no soul shall comprehend.

“ And again in the *Bizarrias de Belisa*, the heroine of that piece, in describing the bad qualities of her rival, represents her as a pupil of the new school :

“ Aquella que escribe en culto,
Por aquel Griego language ;
Que no le supo Castilla,
Ni se le enseno su madre.

She who writes in that fine polish'd style,
That language so charmingly Greek,
Which never was heard in Castile,
And her mother ne'er taught her to speak.”

In the contest with *Gongora*, Lope demeaned himself with unusual moderation, calmly investigated the faults of his style, exposed it by a few good-humoured parodies, and was generous enough, in one of his

poems, to celebrate his unquestionable merits, without any allusion to these defects. It is curious, that in his latter days, he yielded in some degree to the fashion, and wrote in the cultivated style himself.

Whenever Cervantes has mentioned him in his printed works, it is not only with respect, but admiration. How different were the fates of these two men ! “ Cervantes was actually starving in the same street where Lope was living in splendour !” Lope is now almost neglected in his own country, and *Don Quixote* is the only book which is read with the same interests in every country in Europe !

Lope dedicated another long poem, of which *Mary Queen of Scots* was the heroine, to *Pope Urban VIII.*

“ Upon this occasion he received from that pontiff a letter written in his own hand, and the degree of doctor of theology. Such a flattering tribute of admiration sanctioned the reverence in which his name was held in Spain, and spread his fame through every catholic country. The cardinal Barberini followed him with veneration in the streets ; the king would stop to gaze at such a prodigy ; the people crowded round him wherever he appeared : the learned and the studious * thronged to Madrid from every part of Spain to see this phoenix of their country, this “ monster of literature ;” and even Italians, no extravagant admirers in general of poetry that is not their own, made pilgrimages from their country for the sole purpose of conversing with Lope. So associated was the idea

* Montalvan, Parnaso Espanol, &c.

idea of excellence with his name, that it grew in common conversation to signify any thing perfect in its kind; and a Lope diamond, a Lope day, or a Lope woman, became fashionable and familiar modes of expressing their good qualities. His poetry was as advantageous to his fortune as to his fame: the king enriched him with pensions and chaplaincies; the pope honoured him with dignities and preferments; and every nobleman at court aspired to the character of his *Mæcenæ*s, by conferring upon him frequent and valuable presents. His annual income was not less than 1500 ducats, exclusive of the price of his plays, which Cervantes insinuates that he was never inclined to forego, and Montalvan estimates at 80,000. He received in presents from individuals as much as 10,500 more. His application of these sums partook of the spirit of the nation from which he drew them. Improvident and indiscriminate charity ran away with these gains, immense as they were, and rendered his life unprofitable to his friends, and uncomfortable to himself."

"He continued to publish plays and poems, and to receive every remuneration, that adulation and generosity could bestow, till the year 1635, when religious thoughts had rendered him so hypochondriac that he could hardly be considered as in full possession of his understanding. On the 22d of August, which was Friday, he felt himself more than usually oppressed in spirits and weak with age; but he was so much more anxious about the health of his soul than of his

body, that he would not avail himself of the privilege to which his infirmities entitled him, of eating meat; and even resumed the flagellation*, to which he had accustomed himself, with more than usual severity. This discipline is supposed to have hastened his death. He fell ill on that night, and having passed the necessary ceremonies with excessive devotion, he expired on Monday the 25th of August 1635.

"The sensation produced by his death, was, if possible, more astonishing than the reverence in which he was held while living. The splendour of his funeral, which was conducted at the charge of the most munificent of his patrons, the duke of Sese, the number and language of the sermons on that occasion, the competition of poets of all countries in celebrating his genius and lamenting his loss, are unparalleled in the annals of poetry, and perhaps scarcely equalled in those of royalty itself. The ceremonies attending his interment continued for nine days.

"The priests† described him as a saint in his life, and represented his superiority over the classics in poetry as great as that of the religion which he professed was over the heathen. The writings which were selected from the multitude produced on the occasion fill more than two large volumes."

Yet Lope de Vega was not contented either with his fame or his profits? and actually complained of neglect, envy and poverty!

"As an author he is most known, as indeed he is most wonderful, for the prodigious number of his writings.

* Montalvan.

† See Funeral Sermons.—Sancha's edit. of Lope.

ings *. Twenty-one million three hundred thousand of his lines are said to be actually printed ; and no less than eighteen hundred plays of his composition to have been acted on the stage. He nevertheless asserts, in one of his last poems, that,

“ No es minima parte, aunque es ex-
ceso,
De lo que està por imprimir, lo im-
preso.

“ The printed part though far too large,
is less,
Than that which yet unprinted waits the
press.

“ It is true that the Castilian language is copious ; that the verses are often extremely short, and that the laws of metre and of rhyme † are by no means severe. Yet were we to give credit to such accounts, allowing him to begin his compositions at the age of thirteen, we must believe that upon an average he wrote more than nine hundred lines a day ; a fertility of imagination, and a celerity of pen, which, when we consider the occupations of his life as a soldier, a secretary, a master of a family, and a priest ; his acquirements in Latin, Italian and Portuguese ; and his reputation for erudition, become not only improbable, but, absolutely, and, one may almost say, physically impossible.

“ As the credibility however of miracles must depend upon the weight of evidence, it will not be foreign to the purpose to examine the testimonies we possess of this extraordinary facility and exube-

rance of composition. There does not now exist the fourth part of the works which he and his admirers mention, yet enough remains to render him one of the most voluminous authors that ever put pen to paper. Such was his facility, that he informs us in his Eclogue to Claudio, that more than a hundred times he composed a play and produced it on the stage in twenty-four hours. Montalvan declares that he latterly wrote in metre with as much rapidity as in prose, and in confirmation of it he relates the following story : *

“ “ His pen was unable to keep pace with his mind, as he invented even more than his hand was capable of transcribing. He wrote a comedy in two days, which it would not be very easy for the most expeditious amanuensis to copy out in the time. At Toledo he wrote fifteen acts in fifteen days, which made five comedies. These he read at a private house, where Maestro Joseph de Valdebieso was present and was witness of the whole ; but because this is variously related, I will mention what I myself know from my own knowledge. Roque de Figueroa, the writer for the theatre at Madrid, was at such a loss for comedies that the doors of the theatre de la Cruz were shut ; but as it was in the Carnival, he was so anxious upon the subject that Lope and myself agreed to compose a joint comedy as fast as possible. It was the Tercera Orden de San Francisco, and is the very one in which Arias acted the part of the saint more naturally than was ever witnessed on the

* Parnaso Espanol.

† Appendix, No. III.

‡ Montalvan's Eulogium.

the stage. The first act fell to Lope's lot, and the second to mine; we dispatched these in two days, and the third was to be divided into eight leaves each. As it was bad weather, I remained in his house that night, and knowing that I could not equal him in the execution, I had a fancy to beat him in the dispatch of the business; for this purpose I got up at two o'clock, and at eleven had completed my share of the work. I immediately went out to look for him, and found him very deeply occupied with an orange-tree that had been frost-bitten in the night. Upon my asking him how he had gone on with his task, he answered, 'I set about it at five; but I finished the act an hour ago; took a bit of ham for breakfast; wrote an epistle of fifty triplets; and have watered the whole of the garden: which has not a little fatigued me.' Then taking out the papers, he read me the eight leaves and the triplets; a circumstance that would have astonished me, had I not known the fertility of his genius, and the domination he had over the rhymes of our language."

One of his admirers told an Italian, he was so good a poet, that in order to oblige a friend, he wrote a whole comedy, with a *Loa* and *Entremesis*, in one night. That, sir, replied the Italian, proves him to be a good friend, but not a good poet.

As Lope had rivalled Ariosto in his *Angelica*, so he thought to rival Tasso in his *Jerusalem*. This poem like the former consists of twenty cantos, it is equally irregular and extravagant in story, and does not contain parts of such beauty, yet it is not one of those books over which the reader feels disposed to fall

asleep. Among other odd things it contains a long string of riddles. There is in the first canto, a picture, which walks out of the pannel, as in the Castle of Otranto. A Portuguese who wrote under the feigned name of Diogo Camacho, has alluded very neatly to this *Jerusalem* and the *Arcadia*, and their great inferiority to the epic, and the pastoral of Tasso.

Lope de Vega, as a dramatic writer, decided the character of the Spanish stage, and to his genius, therefore, are in some measure to be ascribed, the peculiarities which distinguish the modern drama from the ancient.

"Whatever may be their comparative merit, it is surely both absurd and pedantic to judge of the one by rules laid down for the other,—a practice which had begun in the time of Lope, and is not altogether abandoned to this day. There are many excellencies to which all dramatic authors of every age must aspire, and their success in these forms the just points of comparison: but to censure a modern author for not following the plan of Sophocles, is as absurd as to object to a fresco that it is not painted in oil colours; or, as Tiraboschi, in his parallel of Ariosto and Tasso, happily observes, to blame Livy for not writing a poem instead of a history. The Greek tragedians are probably superior to all moderns, if we except Racine, in the correctness of their taste, and their equals at least in the sublimity of their poetry, and in the just and spirited delineation of those events and passions which they represent. These, however, are the merits of the execution rather than of the design; the talents of the disciple ra-

ther than the excellence of the school; and prove the skill of the workman, not the perfection of the system. Without dwelling on the expulsion of the chorus (a most unnatural and inconvenient machine), the moderns, by admitting a complication of plot, have introduced a greater variety of incidents and characters. The province of invention is enlarged; new passions, or at least new forms of the same passion, are brought within the scope of dramatic poetry. Fresh sources of interest are opened, and additional powers of imagination called into activity. Can we then deny what extends its jurisdiction, and enhances its interest, to be an improvement, in an art whose professed object is to stir the passions by the imitation of human actions? In saying this I do not mean to justify the breach of decorum, the neglect of probability, the anachronisms and other extravagancies of the founders of the modern theatre. Because the first disciples of the school were not models of perfection, it does not follow that the fundamental maxims were defective. The rudeness of their workmanship is no proof of the inferiority of the material; nor does the want of skill deprive them of the merit of having discovered the mine. The faults objected to them form no necessary part of the system they introduced. Their followers in every country have either completely corrected or gradually reformed such abuses. Those who bow not implicitly to the authority of Aristotle, yet avoid such violent outrages as are common in our early plays. And those who pique themselves on the strict observance of his laws, betray in the conduct, the sentiments, the cha-

racters, and the dialogue of their pieces (especially of their comedies), more resemblance to the modern than the ancient theatre: their code may be Grecian, but their manners, in spite of themselves, are Spanish, English, or French:—they may renounce their pedigree, and even change their dress, but they cannot divest their features of a certain family likeness to their poetical progenitors.”

“Lope was contemporary with both Shakspeare and Fletcher. In the choice of their subjects, and in the conduct of their fables, a resemblance may often be found, which is no doubt to be attributed to the taste and opinions of the times, rather than to any knowledge of each other's writings. It is indeed in this point of view that the Spanish poet can be compared with the greatest advantage to himself, to the great founder of our theatre. It is true that his imagery may occasionally remind the English reader of Shakspeare; but his sentiments, especially in tragedy, are more like Dryden and his contemporaries than their predecessors. The feelings of Shakspeare's characters are the result of passions common to all men; the extravagant sentiments of Lope's, as of Dryden's heroes, are derived from an artificial state of society, from notions suggested by chivalry, and exaggerated by romance. In his delineation of character he is yet more unlike, and it is scarce necessary to add, greatly inferior; but in the choice and conduct of his subjects, if he equals him in extravagance and improbability, he does not fall short of him in interest and variety. A rapid succession of events, and sudden changes in the situation of the personages, are the charms

charms by which he interests us so forcibly in his plots. These are the only features of the Spanish stage which Corneille left unimproved; and to these some slight resemblance may be traced in the operas of Metastasio, whom the Spaniards represent as the admirer and imitator of their theatre. In his heroic plays there is a greater variety of plot than in his comedies, though it is not to be expected that in the many hundreds he composed, he should not often repeat the same situation and events. On the whole, however, the fertility of his genius, in the contrivance of interesting plots, is as surprising as in the composition of verse. Among the many I have read, I have not fallen on one which does not strongly fix the attention; and though many of his plots have been transferred to the French and English stage, and rendered more correct and more probable, they have seldom or never been improved in the great article of exciting curiosity and interest. This was the spell by which he enchanted the populace, to whose taste for wonders he is accused of having sacrificed so much solid reputation. True it is that his extraordinary and embarrassing situations are often as unprepared by previous events as they are unforeseen by the audience; they come upon one by surprise, and when we know them, we are as much at a loss to account for such strange occurrences as before; they are produced, not for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiarities of character, or the workings of nature, but with a view of astonishing the audience with strange, unexpected, unnatural, and often inconsistent conduct in some of the principal characters. Nor is this the only de-

fect in his plots. The personages, like the author, are full of intrigue and invention; and while they lay schemes and devise plots, with as much ingenuity as Lope himself, they seem to be actuated by the same motives also; for it is difficult to discover any other than that of diverting and surprising the audience. Their efforts were generally attended with success. All contemporary authors bear testimony to the popularity of Lope's pieces; and for many years he continued the favourite of the public. Stories are related of the audience taking so lively an interest in his plays, as totally to give way to the illusion, and to interrupt the representation. A spectator on one occasion is said to have interfered with great anxiety for the protection of an unfortunate princess—'dando voces,' says my author, 'contra el cruel homicida que degollaba al parecer una dama inocente'—crying out against the cruel murderer, who to all appearance was slaying an innocent lady."

"It has often appeared to me," says lord Holland, "that the frequent recurrence of antithesis on the Spanish stage was a natural consequence of the short verses, in which most of their old scenes are composed. As the public are extremely partial to that metre, which is nearly the same as that of the old ballads or romances, and as they think it peculiarly adapted to recitation, a stranger should speak with great diffidence in his own judgment, when it is at variance with the Spaniards on such a subject; but it is certain that such dialogues as contain most points, are those which are best received on their stage; and few couplets in that metre are

quoted with approbation by their critics, but such as abound in anti-thesis, or such as are confessedly of a nature too lyrical for representation. The love of epigram may have rendered a metre, peculiarly favourable to it, popular; but, from the history of their poetry, I am inclined to believe that the epigram rather owes its popularity to the cultivation of a metre, which, when the language is somewhat refined, becomes insipid without it. Such short pauses are evidently more calculated for the expression of wit than of passion. Hence it is not unusual for the characters of Lope, when placed in embarrassing situations, and wavering between the most violent and opposite affections, to express their wishes, describe their feelings, and justify their conduct in a long string of reasoning epigrams; of which the logic is not very convincing, and the wit evidently misplaced."

More than five hundred of Lope de Vega's plays are still extant. Many of them are exceedingly scarce, but all merit preservation.

A Dutch Vendue of Slaves, at Berbische, &c. From Pinckard's Notes on the West Indies.

On arriving at the town, we were surprised to find it quite a holiday, or a kind of public fair. The sale seemed to have excited general attention, and to have brought together all the inhabitants of the colony. The planters came down from the estates with their wives and families all arrayed in their gayest apparel: the belles and beaux appeared in their Sunday suits: even the children were in full

dress; and their slaves decked out in holiday-clothes. It was quite a gala-day, and greater numbers of people were collected than we had supposed to have been in the colony. Short jackets, with tawdry wide-flowered petticoats, and loose Dutch slippers, formed the prevailing dress of the females. Scarlet, crimson, and poppy, with all the bright colours used in a northern winter, rivalled a tropical sun, and reigned conspicuous in the flaming broad-patterned petticoat. To the inhabitants it seemed a day of feasting and hilarity, but to the poor Africans it was a period of heavy grief and affliction, for they were to be sold as beasts of burden—torn from each other—and widely dispersed about the colony, to wear out their days in the hopeless toils of slavery.

The fair being opened, and the crowd assembled, these unpitied sable beings were exposed to the hammer of public auction. A long table was placed in the middle of a large room, or logis. At one end was seated the auctioneer, at the other was placed a chair for the negroes to stand upon, in order to be exposed to the view of the purchasers; who were sitting at the sides of the table, or standing about the different parts of the room. All being in readiness, the slaves were brought in, one at a time, and placed upon the chair before the bidders, who handled and inspected them, with as little concern as if they had been examining cattle in Smithfield market. They turned them about, felt of them, viewed their shape and their limbs, looked into their mouths, made them jump and throw out their arms, and subjected them to all the means of trial

as

as if dealing for a horse, or any other brute-animal. Indeed the indelicacy shewn towards the poor defenceless Africans, by some of these dealers in their species, was not less unmanly and disgusting than it was insulting to humanity.

We were shocked to observe women in the room who had come to the fair for the express purpose of purchasing slaves. Nay, even children were brought to point the lucky finger, and the boy or girl, thus chosen, was bought by papa at the request of superstitious mamma, to give to young massa or missy!

The price of these poor degraded blacks varied from 600 to 900 guilders, according to their age and strength, or their appearance of being healthy or otherwise. The boys and girls were sold for 600 or 700 guilders—some of the men fetched as high as 900—and the women were knocked down at about 800.

In the course of the sale, a tall and robust negro, on being brought into the auction-room, approached the table with a fine negress hanging upon his arm. The man was ordered to mount the chair. He obeyed, though manifestly with reluctance. His bosom heaved and grief was in his eye. The woman remained in the crowd. A certain price was mentioned to set the purchase forward, and the bidding commenced: but on the slave being desired to exhibit the activity of his limbs, and to display his person, he sunk his chin upon his breast, and hung down his head in positive refusal—then, looking at the woman, made signs expressive of great distress. Next he pointed to her, and then to the chair, evidently intimating, that he desired to have her placed by

his side. She was his chosen wife, and nature was correctly intelligible. Not obtaining immediate acquiescence, he became agitated and impatient. The sale was interrupted, and as he could not be prevailed upon to move a single muscle by way of exhibiting his person, the proceedings were at a stand. He looked again at the woman,—again pointed to the chair,—held up two fingers to the auctioneer, and implored the multitude in anxious suppliant gestures. Upon his countenance was marked the combined expression of sorrow, affection, and alarm. He grew more and more restless, and repeated signs which seemed to say—“Let us be sold together. Give me my heart's choice as the partner of my days, then dispose of me as you please, and I will be content to wear out my life in the heavy toils of bondage.” It was nature that spake—and her language could not be mistaken! Humanity could no longer resist the appeal, and it was universally agreed that they should make but one lot. A second chair was now brought, and the woman was placed at the side of her husband. His countenance instantly brightened. He hung upon the neck of his wife, and embraced her with rapture—then folding her in his arms, and pressing her to his bosom, he became composed; and looked round, with a smile of complacency, which plainly said “proceed!—I am yours, yours, or yours! Let this be the associate of my toils, and I am satisfied.” The bidding was renewed! They exhibited marks of health and strength, and, quickly, the two were sold together for 1650 guilders.

3 I 4

“Enough”

"Enough!"—you will say. "Give me no more of slaves, nor of slavery!"—For the present I obey, and, leaving the dusky Africans, proceed to introduce you to the copper-coloured Indians; thus, leading you to the opposite extreme of human life, and placing you among those of our species, who spurn alike the shackles of slavery, and the slavish trammels of society. I have lately had an opportunity of seeing several parties of the wild and naked inhabitants of these woods—men who range at large, in the fullest freedom of nature; neither suffering their liberty to be effaced by bondage, nor abridged by civilization. Being one day at the town of New Amsterdam with the acting surgeon of the garrison, we took a walk down to the bush,* on the border of the creek or river Kannye. Nigh to the water we met with a party of Indians, and observing that they made no attempt to avoid us, we went so near to them as to mix in the group. We found them engaged in various pursuits; and remarked that none of their occupations suffered any interruption from our presence. A woman and her son, who were in the river, continued to bathe before us, and seemed greatly to enjoy the water. Some were cutting wood for firing—some collecting the bush-water † with a calabash, for the purpose of drinking, or of cooking—some, with their pot of baked clay, upon the fire, were stewing crabs, together with capsicum and cassada juice into pepper-pot—and some were eating the raw tops of the mountain-cabbage. To the latter I

held forth my hand implying a desire to partake of their repast. They immediately gave me a part; and seemed pleased on observing me eat of it. A better sallad I never tasted. It was very crisp and white—much superior to the best lettuce or endive; and, in flavour, somewhat resembling the filbert. Perceiving that they were not incommoded by our society, we remained a considerable time attentively watching their proceedings; but their curiosity was not commensurate with our own, for they scarcely looked at us, or appeared to be, in any degree, interested concerning us. With indifference they saw us approach—they regarded us with indifference whilst we remained—and with indifference they witnessed our departure.

Two days after, I saw a much larger party of Indians, who came to the government house to ask for rum, as a compensation for cutting down timber: and the same evening, on walking towards the creek with some of the officers, we met with a still more numerous body of these inhabitants of the forest, who had been employed by the governor to cut down wood preparatory to clearing the land near the town for cultivation. They were busied in packing up all their little store of implements and utensils, in order to return to their native abode in the woods. Bows and arrows, apparatus for preparing cassada, the clay-cooking vessel, hammocks, calabashes, and crab-baskets, constituted their whole list of stores and furniture. All these were light in structure, or made of light materials,

* Upon this coast the forest is termed the *Bush*.

† The rain-water which lodges in the low parts of the forest.

als, and, being arranged in compact order, were easily carried on their backs. The women were made to bear the burden; while the men took no share of the load. One man, who had three wives, very neatly packed upon their backs the whole of what he had to carry away; then taking up a long staff, he marched on before with lordly step, the wives following him in silent train, one after another. We walked gently behind a party of about forty as far as the creek, and there saw some of them embark in their canoes, and paddle up the river, while the others took a narrow path leading into the depths of the forest; and presently the whole body of them were out of sight, leaving not a trace of their visit behind.

They come down, occasionally, in parties, and enter into an engagement to cut wood for a certain compensation; but no dependence can be placed upon them for a single day, for they sometimes pack up all belonging to them, and return suddenly and unexpectedly into the woods; from whence they come not again for several months, perhaps not at all. They are naturally indolent, and being tenacious of freedom, they become impatient of the restraint imposed by daily labour; wherefore, they hastily cast it off, and fly back to the woods to range in their native liberty, which knows no bounds, nor control. From possessing a degree of expertness in the felling of timber, they might be highly useful in forwarding the cultivation of the colony, but they have no sense of industry, nor do they seem to acquire the least disposition to emulate the colonists in any of their pursuits:—content with finding food

and pepper in the woods, they have no ambition to become planters. Cotton is not necessary to protect their naked skins; nor are their appetites so refined as to require either coffee or sugar.

At the fort we have also had a visit from an Indian family, who came to us in the true style of native accommodation—exhibiting the full equipage of the family canoe, and forming a scene of high interest and novelty. Before the canoe reached the fort, we observed the long black hair and naked skins of the man, his two wives, and several children, who were all stowed about the vessel with the strictest attention to equipoise—*trimming* it most exactly. The canoe was large, and, in addition to the family, was loaded with cedar and other kinds of wood, for sale or barter. On the top of the cargo appeared a ferocious-looking animal, setting up his bristles like the quills of the porcupine. It was a species of wild-hog caught in the forest, and hence called a *bush-hog*. A small monkey was likewise skipping about the canoe. At one side sat two very fine parrots, and on the other was perched a large and most beautiful mackaw, exhibiting all the rich splendour of his gay plumage. On the canoe arriving at the landing-place, the bow and arrows, the clay cooking-vessel, calabashes, hammocks, and crab-baskets, were all brought into view, and we gazed on the whole, as forming a very complete and striking specimen of original equipage and accommodation. The whole family,—the household apparatus—the bow and arrows—the canoe and paddles—the hammocks—in short all the furniture and implements for cooking, for sleeping, for shooting, fishing,

fishing, and travelling, were here moved together in one compact body, so as to render it indifferent to them, whether they should return to the home from whence they came, or take up a new abode in any other part of the forest.

*On the Island of Madeira. From
Barrow's voyage to Cochinchina.*

The few good dwelling-houses that are found in the town (of Funchal) are those which are occupied by the British merchants, who have established themselves here in the wine trade. These houses are in general sufficiently spacious, but neither commodious nor comfortable. These and a few others excepted, all the rest have rather a mean appearance. Their roofs are chiefly covered with tiles, on which large loose stones are laid to prevent their being carried away by the blasts of wind that occasionally blow with great violence from the mountains behind the town. The extent of Funchal may be nearly a mile in a line parallel with the beach, and rather more than half a mile in depth. It is said to contain two thousand houses, occupied by about twelve thousand inhabitants. There are besides six other small towns or villages on the island, the whole population of which, including Funchal, is estimated to amount to about ninety thousand persons.

At a little distance behind the government-house, which stands within the fort *Lorenço*, and overlooks the bay, is the *Passao Publico*, the public mall, a short but very pretty walk, well shaded with orange or lime trees, willows and poplars. On one side of the entrance

stands the theatre, which is seldom opened, and on the other the hospital. Funchal, like other towns and cities of Roman Catholic countries, has no scarcity of churches and convents; but we met with little in any of them that could be considered as deserving of particular notice. The beams and the roof of the cathedral are pointed out to strangers as being of cedar, a species of tree with which it is said the island was at its discovery nearly covered. Another curiosity which is shewn in the town is a chamber in one of the wings of the Franciscan convent, the walls and ceiling of which are completely covered with rows of human skulls and human thigh bones, so arranged that in the obtuse angle made by every pair of the latter, crossing each other obliquely, is placed a skull. The only vacant space that appears is in the centre of the side opposite to the door, on which there is an extraordinary painting above a kind of altar, but what the subject is intended to represent I am really at a loss to decide. A figure in the picture, intended probably for St. Francis, the patron saint, seems to be intent on trying in a balance the comparative weight of a sinner and a saint. But a very accurate drawing, from which a print was taken for Mr. Barrow's work, by Mr. Daniell, will perhaps best explain the subject.

A dirty lamp suspended from the ceiling, and just glimmering in the socket, served dimly to light up this dismal den of skulls. The old monk who attended as shewman was very careful to impress us with the idea that they were all relics of holy men who had died on the island; but I suspect they must occasionally

asionally have robbed the church-yard of a few lay-brethren, and perhaps now and then of a heretic. (as strangers are interred in their burying ground,) in order to accumulate such a prodigious number which, on a rough computation, I should suppose to amount to at least three thousand. The skull of one of the holy brotherhood was pointed out as having a lock-jaw, which occasioned his death; and from the garrulity of our attendant, I have no doubt we might have heard the history of many more equally important, which, though thrown away upon us who had no taste for craniology, would, in all probability, have been highly interesting to Doctor Gall, the famous lecturer on skulls in Vienna. On taking leave we deposited our mite on the altar, as charity to the convent, which seems to be the principal object in view of collecting and exhibiting this *memento mori* of the monastic and mendicant order of St. Francis.

There are other convents, to which young women are sometimes sent for the purpose of completing their education; but not a single instance of the veil having been taken occurs for many years past. Married women also, who are particularly tenacious of their character, and who wish to be considered as models of chastity and virtue, sometimes retire into a convent during the absence of their husbands. In those which were visited by our party, we saw only a few antiquated virgins, who affected a considerable degree of shyness; and though their air and general appearance were not ill calculated to inspire feelings of pity, it was not however, of that kind which "melts

the soul to love," but whose less powerful influence pleads rather to the purse than to the heart: and accordingly we gave them, what was considered to be the most acceptable, a few dollars in exchange for pieces of paper cut into representations of the virgin, and saints, and crucifixes. A general languor, occasioned by confinement and the unvaried insipidity of a monastic life, frequently passes in the nun as the token of patient resignation; and we are apt to attach a lively interest to young females, who are thus so cruelly, as we suppose, separated for ever from all society except that of each other: but it is by no means clear that we do not often ascribe to persons under such circumstances notions of purity and delicacy, which are more romantic than just. It is extremely doubtful if they possess those exalted sentiments, nice feelings, and sound understandings, which prevail among females of those countries where they are allowed to enjoy unrestrained freedom. The education of the former is suited to prepare them for their future condition: they are held in such little consideration in their own family, that they are fully aware they cannot be less esteemed in a convent; and they make the sacrifice of their liberty under the consoling reflection that by so doing, they shall secure everlasting happiness in the world to come.

The residence of a few days among a foreign people cannot be supposed to furnish much information of their manners, character, and condition. It requires no little time to get rid of our own prejudices; and while labouring under the influence of those, we are apt

to forget the making of a due allowance for the prejudices of others. It does not require, however, any very long stay at Madeira to perceive that the great bulk of the people of Funchal, as in most other cities, is doomed to encounter the ills of poverty:—ills that, in this country, however, on which Nature has bestowed so fine a climate, would seem to be rather owing to some mismanagement on their own part, than to any system of oppression in the government, deficiency in the means of subsistence, or other moral or physical causes. The steady and moderate temperature which this island enjoys is scarcely excelled in any part of the world. In the winter months, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom descends below 55° , or rises higher than 65° : and the usual range in summer is from 66° to 76° . It is visited, however, occasionally, but very rarely, by a kind of Sirocco wind from the eastward, that scorches vegetation, and renders the air suffocating and insupportable; at such time, the thermometer rises to 90° or 95° . It cannot be the climate, therefore, that occasions the meagre, sallow, and sickly appearance which the inhabitants of Funchal generally wear, but may rather be attributed to the poverty of their food, which chiefly consists of fish, pumpkins, and sour wine, or pernicious spirits; to a life of drudgery and exposure to great vicissitude of climate, by daily ascending the steep and lofty mountains in search of fuel; and, above all, to a total disregard of cleanliness. As a corroborative proof of this being the case it may be mentioned, that almost all the natives are

infected with what they consider an incurable cutaneous disease, a species of itch, which is attended with an extraordinary degree of virulence and inflammation. I do not remember to have seen or heard of any remarkable instance of longevity; and the chances are, that Dr. Price, in speaking of the mortality of this island as one in fifty only of the population, while that of London he considers as one in twenty, is not less inaccurate in these instances than in many other of his calculations.

Productions, and Exports of Madeira. From the same.

The cultivated plants are vines, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, bananas, guavas, apricots, peaches, and European fruits, besides good walnuts and chesnuts. The island produces wheat, barley, and rye; but more than two-thirds of the grain consumed is imported from the Azores or Western Islands, and from America. For more than a century Madeira was considered as valuable chiefly for the quantity of sugar it produced; but since this aromatic reed has been spread over the continent and islands of the new world, little is now in cultivation here; and the sugar extracted from it is of a coarse quality, used only among the lower class of inhabitants, commonly as an inspissated brown juice, not unlike molasses. The arid soil seems much better suited for the growth of the vine than the sugar-cane. Wine, indeed, may be considered as the principal product of the island, of which the quantity made varies, in different years, from fifteen to twenty-

five thousand pipes. The greatest quantity exported in any one year appears to have been fifteen thousand pipes, in the following manner:

To the East Indies	- Pipes	5500
To England	- - - -	4500
To the West Indies	- - -	3000
To America, and taken away by Americans		2000
		<hr/> 15000

The value of which, with a little fruit and other articles exported, may be estimated at 500,000*l.*, of which more than 400,000*l.* is taken by Great Britain and its colonies, in exchange for various manufactures and provisions, amounting in value to about 300,000*l.*, making thus a balance against us of 100,000*l.* America supplies the island with lumber, staves, salt provisions, and grain, to the amount of 80,000*l.* annually, which is more than is imported into the island by Portugal from Europe, Brazil, and the Azores; and the whole amount of produce taken by the mother-country from Madeira does not exceed 10,000*l.* The total revenues of the island, consisting of one-tenth of the produce and duties on import and export, are said to amount to about 100,000*l.*, out of which, after paying the expences of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, the crown is supposed to receive about 30,000*l.*, although the old governor assured lord Macartney that the net sum received by the crown of Portugal seldom exceeded eight or ten thousand pounds.

It will appear extraordinary, and I should not have ventured to mention it had I not the authority for so

doing, of a gentleman who has been thirty years on the island, that so large a quantity of wine should annually be sent to India, and consumed there, (for of this not 300 pipes a year are returned to Europe,) and so little imported into England. The latter would appear to be of less difficult explanation than the former; for although it is supposed that the quantity consumed in Great Britain, under the name of Madeira, is, on the least calculation, equal to the whole quantity that is exported from the island, or more than three times what is actually imported, yet it is well known that a variety of mixtures pass for Madeira, some of which are compounded of wines that never grew on the island, as those of Teneriffe, Lisbon and Xeres. And with regard to India it may be observed, that although the number of English there is very limited, and few of any other nation drink Madeira wine, yet this and claret are the only wines in general consumption at both the presidencies and in the army, the former of which is freely used during dinner.

This wine is known to possess many extraordinary qualities. I have heard it asserted, that if pure genuine Madeira be exposed to frost until it is congealed into a solid mass of ice, and again thawed by the fire; if heated to the boiling point, and then left to cool; if exposed to the sun for weeks together in open casks, or placed in damp cellars; it will not suffer the least injury by such great and violent changes. That part, however, which is consumed on the island is a raw meagre beverage, which, if compared with *London particular*, is as bad as small beer to fine ale.

The

The usual mode of training the vines is by basket-work fixed to espaliers, about five feet high ; but in some vineyards they are led up trees, or high poles ; and in others, cut down to the height of two or three feet, as at the cape of Good Hope. In some places, the hills are terraced, in order to retain the soil, by stone walls. The process of making the wine is very simple. The grapes are picked from the stalk, thrown into a vat, pressed first with the feet and afterwards by a weighted wooden lever. The proprietor of the land and the collector of the taxes for the crown, both attend at the press ; the latter takes out of the tub his tenth of the whole must, after which the remainder is equally divided between the landowner and the tenant. Each takes with him a sufficient number of porters to carry away their respective shares, sometimes in barrels, and sometimes in goat-skin *bourachas*, to the cellars in Funchal. The English merchants usually supply the farmers beforehand with money, to enable them to make a more extensive tillage.

General Observations on the Brazils.

From the same.

The antipathy of the Brazilians to the Portuguese is so great that the viceroy is not able, without some difficulty, to keep up an establishment of twelve rowers of the state-barge. These were the only real natives we had an opportunity of seeing during our stay of three weeks. Their features were not much different from those of the Malays, Tartars, and Chinese. Their stature was short. They

appeared to be of a grave and serious disposition, seldom speaking to each other, and indicating an aversion to communicate with strangers. They had long black hair, and the beard was visible only on the upper lip and under the chin. Those who engage in this service are said to be so much detested by their countrymen, as to prevent them from ever returning to the horde, apprehensive that if once in their possession they would certainly be put to death.

When the Portuguese were sufficiently convinced of the inefficacy of the attempt to reduce the Brazilians to slavery, or to compel them to submit to the labours of agriculture, their next recourse was to the settlements they had already acquired on the coast of Africa for a supply of negroes. Whole cargoes of these ill-fated people were annually transported from their native country and their connections, cut off from every hope of returning and doomed to toil for the remainder of their days in the foreign fields of South America. The number which at present is said to be annually imported amounts, on an average, to twenty thousand ; and as this demand is constant, whilst the quantity of produce is supposed to be little, if at all increased, for several years past, there are strong grounds to suspect that at least an equal number to those imported must be destroyed every year. Yet these people make a boast of treating their slaves better than any other nation. The French and the Dutch do the same ; and they all unite in asserting that the English are the most cruel to their slaves. People, however, are apt to differ in their notions of humanity, as well as on less important points ; and, where

the whole system is bad, the degrees of atrocity may perhaps be the less discernible. Bad as our countrymen are, I am still inclined to hope that few are to be found among them who would act, on a similar occasion, in the same manner as I am about to relate. An officer in the French army, having discovered that dealing in slaves was a more lucrative profession than fighting, was transporting a cargo, consisting of about three hundred, from Mosambique to the isle of France. They had scarcely put to sea when the small-pox broke out among them. On three or four the pustules appeared in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to the nature of the disease; and about a dozen of the rest were considered to be infected. As it was pretty evident that none of the cargo had gone through the disease, and equally so that they could not escape infection; and as the chances were, in this event, that the mortality would greatly exceed *seven per cent.*, the slave-merchant resolved to throw the fifteen or sixteen infected persons immediately overboard. This man afterwards wrote an account of his voyage to the East Indies, in which he talks a great deal about humanity, but carefully avoids the mention of this transaction.

Whatever the pretensions of other nations may be, in regard to the good treatment of their slaves, I am inclined to think that the method pursued by the Portuguese planters of the Brazils is far from being the worst. The master expects from the slave a certain quantity of labour in the week, which is calculated to be sufficient to employ four days of moderate application: the other

two are for himself; but out of the proceeds of the labour of these two days he must clothe and feed himself for the whole week. By such a system the lash of the whip is unnecessary; the master is at no expence beyond the first cost, which is about twenty pounds; and the slave, by the surplus produce of the labour bestowed on his own account, is frequently enabled to lay by a sufficient sum to purchase his freedom. Those who are doomed to work at the mines experience worse treatment than such as are employed in domestic purposes, or in agriculture. The temptation to secrete small diamonds has sometimes induced the slaves to swallow them. Whenever the labour of the day has not been usually productive, or any other cause of suspicion arises that such may have been the case, they are put for a certain time in close confinement, and a strong dose of ipecacuanha is administered. If this should not produce the desired effect, the next step is to ply them, like the pearl fishers of Ceylon, with powerful cathartics, till the poor creatures are nearly exhausted; and this happens very often when they are perfectly innocent.

The slave of the Brazils has many advantages over the slave of the West India islands. The climate of the former is infinitely superior to that of the latter, and the seasons of planting and of reaping are of longer duration. The owner of a sugar plantation in the West Indies has but a short period allowed him during the rains to get his canes into the ground. Equally short is the season of reaping them. If the canes are not cut down when fully ripe, the juice evaporates, and they turn to wood: if they are cut down

and

and not immediately pressed, the juice begins to ferment, and is fit only to be converted by distillation into rum. At these seasons, therefore, and particularly in the latter, every hand that can work, however feebly, is of importance to the planter; and the urgent demand for labour sometimes makes him wholly insensible to acts of inhumanity, which, perhaps, at other times, might appear to him in their true light, and as odious and atrocious in the extreme. This is not the case in the Brazils. The season of planting, on account of the longer continuance of rain, is at least two months longer here than in the West Indies; and the gradual ripening of the plants protracted in the same proportion. It is not therefore found to be necessary here, as is the case in our colonies, to drive the slaves to work with the crack or the lash of the whip, or to regulate the stroke of the bill or the hoe by the measure of a forced song.

If it should unfortunately happen that our colonies in the West Indies may ultimately be involved in the fate of St. Domingo, a considerable mass of property will no doubt be lost to this country; but, at the same time, it cannot well be denied that this loss would be productive of a most important saving to the state, by the number of British subjects who, in their removal to a better climate, would escape a premature death. The most valuable productions of the West India islands were originally transplanted from the East, where the labour of slaves is not required, nor any extraordinary waste of Europeans occasioned. To this source we may again recur, and India and China may eventually prove the great

sheet anchors of our commercial prosperity.

The ruin of the West India islands, it is to be feared, would equally affect the tranquillity of those colonies on the continent of South America, in the possession of the English and the Dutch, which would tend in a very material degree to enhance the value of the possessions of Spain and Portugal on the same continent. But the restrictions, the exactions, and the monopolies, under which the settlements of these two powers are oppressed, and the total want of energy in the inhabitants, which necessarily results from such a system, are so many invincible barriers against any improvement which favourable circumstances might otherwise suggest. Few countries afford so great a number or so great a variety of valuable productions as the Brazils. Beside the articles described in eight ancient paintings, which are noticed in a former chapter of the original work, the country produces an inexhaustible supply of the finest timber, suitable for all the purposes of civil and naval architecture; but the cutting and disposing of it is a monopoly of the crown. The first object of every man who obtains a grant of woodland, is to destroy the best trees as fast as he can: because he is not only forbidden to send them to market, but may have the additional mortification of being obliged to entertain the king's surveyor, whenever he thinks fit to pay him a visit, with a numerous retinue, for the purpose of felling the timber, which he, as owner of the estate, has not the power to prevent. Yet, notwithstanding this discouraging monopoly, together with the difficulty of transport, on account of the badness of the

the roads, and the scarcity of shipwrights, very fine vessels, equal in size to an English 74 gun-ship, have been constructed at Bahia or St. Salvador, and sent afloat, at the expence of about fifteen or sixteen pounds a ton, which in England would have cost from twenty-four to thirty-four pounds a ton.

Wheat, barley, Guinea corn, millet and all the European and tropical grains are produced in the greatest abundance; and all species of provisions and supplies for victualling and storing ships, and fitting them out for actual service at sea, are procurable at moderate rates in almost all the ports of the Brazils. At Rio de Janeiro alone a navy might be built, equipped, and fitted with every necessary for a sea voyage, sufficient to command the navigation of the southern Atlantic; and the fisheries, by proper encouragement, would create a never-failing supply of seamen. Both the black whale and the spermaceti are plentiful on every part of the coast.

Account of a Theatrical Entertainment at Cochinchina. From the Same.

The ambassador had not as yet landed at the town of Turon; and as the principal officers of that place were extremely desirous of testifying their respect by a public entertainment to be given on the occasion, his lordship fixed on the 4th of June for celebrating, with the Cochinchinese on shore, the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day. Whether through accident, or in consequence of former suspicions, or to give *eclat* to the entertainment, did not appear, but on the

evening preceding we observed an unusual bustle about the place, an increased number of troops in and about the town, besides several huge elephants of war. We therefore, on our part, took the precaution of sending the two armed brigs up the river opposite to the town, to make a retreat, if necessary, the more secure. The day, however, passed over in harmony and conviviality. We were conducted from the place of landing to a temporary building, on a larger scale than that which we had hitherto occasionally occupied. The two pitches of its roof were supported by a row of bamboo poles which, running down the middle, divided the building into two parts. The sides and the roof were covered with thick double matts, and lined within with coarse Manchester cottons, of various patterns. These prints appeared to be new, but damaged, and were probably the refuse of the China market, carried thither by the Portuguese trader. In the first compartment of the building was a long table covered with linen, and laid out with plates, knives and forks, in the manner and style of Europe. Our Portuguese friend, it seemed, by way of making some atonement for the injury he had nearly, though perhaps not maliciously, done us, had prevailed on the Cochinchinese to allow him to be master of the ceremonies for the day, concluding in his own mind that, as the eating and drinking would be considered by us as the best part of the entertainment, he would be able to suit our taste in these respects better than the Cochinchinese; and under this impression, to do him justice, he had spared neither trouble nor expence in making his dinner as complete as

circumstances would admit: and thus, by his misplaced zeal, a good Cochinchinese entertainment was entirely marred by a bad Portuguese dinner.

A trifling circumstance occurred on our first entering the building, which was rather embarrassing to the Cochinchinese officers. These people who, on most occasions, adopt the Chinese customs, had prepared a yellow skreen of silk, bearing, in large painted characters, the name of the young adventurer at Hué. Whether they took it for granted, or were so told by Manuel Duomé, that the English, as a matter of course, would make the usual prostrations to this shade of majesty, we did not inquire, but it was very evident they expected it; for when the general commanding at Turon, and who sat cross-legged on a bench as proxy for his master, observed that, having made our bow, we filed off and took our seats regardless of the yellow skreen, he appeared to be greatly disconcerted, and could hardly be said to recover himself the remainder of the day. His disappointment in missing the nine prostrations seemed to operate on his mind as if he had been sunk so many degrees in the estimation of his brother officers. He took little notice when the rank and station were explained, though at his own desire, which each of us held in the embassy, until the Chinese interpreter announced captain Parish of the artillery as the "overseer of the great guns," upon which his attention was suddenly roused, and he seemed the whole day to regard this officer as a very formidable and a dangerous man.

In the farther division of the building a party of comedians was en-

gaged in the midst of an historical drama when we entered; but on our being seated they broke off and coming forward, made before us that obeisance of nine genuflexions and prostrations, which we had been so very uncivil to omit to the Mandarin and his painted skreen of silk; after which they returned to their labours, keeping up an incessant noise and bustle during our stay. The heat of the day, the thermometer in the shade standing at 81° in the open air, and at least ten degrees higher in the building, the crowds that thronged in to see the strangers, the horrible crash of the gongs, kettle-drums, rattles, trumpets, and squalling flutes, were so stunning and oppressive, that nothing but the novelty of the scene could possibly have detained us for a moment. The most entertaining as well as the least noisy part of the theatrical exhibition was a sort of interlude, performed by three young women, for the amusement, it would seem, of the principal actress, who sat as a spectator in the dress and character of some ancient queen; whilst an old eunuch, very whimsically dressed, played his antic tricks like a scaramouch or buffoon in a harlequin entertainment. The dialogue in this part differed entirely from the querulous and nearly monotonous recitative of the Chinese, being light and comic, and occasionally interrupted by cheerful airs, which generally concluded with a common chorus. These airs, rude and unpolished as they were, appeared to be regular compositions, and were sung in exactly measured time. One in particular attracted our attention, whose slow melancholy movement breathed that kind of plaintive softness so peculiar

to the native airs of the Scotch, to which indeed it bore a very close resemblance. The voices of the women were shrill and warbling, but some of their cadences were not without melody. The instruments at each pause gave a few short flourishes, till gradually overpowered by the swelling and deafening gong. Knowing nothing of the language, we were of course as ignorant of the subject as the majority of an English audience is of an Italian opera. In the shed of Turon, however, as well as in the theatre of the Haymarket, the eye was amused as well as the ear. At each repetition of the chorus the three Cochinchinese graces displayed their fine slender shapes in the mazy dance, in which, however, the feet were the least concerned. By different gestures of the head, body, and arms, they assumed a variety of figures; and all their motions were exactly adapted to the measure of the music. The burden of the chorus was not unpleasing, and was long recollected on the quarter-deck of the *Lion*, till the novelty which succeeded in China effaced it from the memory. In the latter country, however, we saw no dancing, neither by men nor women, which makes it probable that this part of the Cochinchinese entertainment must be an amusement of their own invention, or introduced from the western part of India.

No entrance money is ever expected in the theatres of China or Cochinchina. The actors are either hired to play at private entertainments, at a fixed sum for the day; or they exhibit before the public in a temporary shed, entirely exposed in front. On such occasions, instead of cheering the performers with empty plaudits, the audience throw

among them pieces of copper money: for this purpose, the Mandarins brought us some hundred pieces strung on cords, of the same kind as those which are current in China. By the Cochinchinese the regular drama is called *Troien*, or a relation of histories. To the operatic interlude of recitative, air, and dancing they give the name of *Song-sang*; and a grand chorus accompanied with the gong, the kettle-drum, castanets, trumpets and other noisy instruments, is called the *Ring-rang*. The ambassador had ordered his band to attend on shore, where they played a few light airs; but the Cochinchinese had no ear for the soft and harmonious chords of European music. Their *Ring-rang* and their *Song-sang* were infinitely superior in their estimation, and were the more applauded in proportion as they were the more noisy.

On the Character of the Cochinchinese. From the same.

Cochinchina, until a few centuries after the Christian æra, formed a part of the Chinese empire; and the general features of the natives, many of the customs, the written language, the religious opinions and ceremonies still retained by them, indicate distinctly their Chinese origin. In the northern provinces, however, they are more strongly marked than in those to the southward. The same characteristics are likewise discernible, but in a fainter degree, in Siam which is properly Se-yang, or the western country; in Pegu, probably Pequo, or the northern province; and in Ava and the rest of the petty states now comprehended under the Birman empire, where,

however, from an intermixture with the Malays of Malacca and the Hindoos of the upper and eastern regions of Hindostan, the traces of the Chinese character are in many respects nearly obliterated. The Cochinchinese of Turon, notwithstanding the loose manners of the women which I shall presently have occasion to notice, and the tendency which all revolutions in governments have to change, in a greater or less degree, the character of the people, have preserved in most respects a close resemblance to their original, though in some points they differ from it very widely. They perfectly agree, for instance, in the etiquette observed in marriage and funeral processions and ceremonies, in the greater part of religious superstitions, in the offerings usually presented to idols, in the consultation of oracles, and in the universal propensity of inquiring into futurity by the casting of lots; in charming away diseases; in the articles of diet and the mode of preparing them; in the nature of most of their public entertainments and amusements; in the construction and devices of fire-works; in instruments of music, games of chance, cock-fighting and quail-fighting. The spoken language of Cochin-china, though on the same principle, is so much changed from the original as to be nearly, if not wholly, unintelligible to a Chinese; but the written character is precisely the same. All the temples which fell under our observation were very humble buildings; and we saw no specimens either of the heavy curved roofs, or of the towering pagodas, so frequently met with in China; but it seems there are, in many parts of the country, monasteries

that are amply endowed, whose buildings are extensive and enclosed with walls for their better security. The houses in general near Turon-bay consisted only of four mud walls, covered with thatch; and such as are situated on low grounds, in the neighbourhood of rivers, are usually raised upon four posts of wood, or pillars of stone, to keep out vermin as well as inundations.

The dress of the Cochinchinese has undergone not only an alteration, but a very considerable abridgment. They wear neither thick shoes, nor quilted stockings, nor clumsy sattin boots, nor petticoats stuffed with wadding; but always go barelegged and generally barefooted. Their long black hair, like that of the Malays, is usually twisted into a knot, and fixed on the crown of the head. This, indeed, is the ancient mode in which the Chinese wore their hair, until the Tartars, on the conquest of the country, compelled them to submit to the ignominy of shaving the whole head except a little lock of hair behind.

On the precepts of Confucius is grounded the moral system for the regulation of the conduct in this country as well as in China. Here, however, to the exterior forms of morality very little regard seems to be paid. In China these precepts are gaudily displayed in golden characters in every house, in the streets and public places; but here they are seldom seen and never heard. Were they, indeed, repeated in their original language, (and they will scarcely bear a translation,) they would not be understood. Their conduct, in general, seems to be as little influenced by the solemn precepts of religion as by those of morality.

morality. The Cochinchinese are, like the French, always gay and for ever talking; the Chinese always grave, and affect to be thinking: the former are open and familiar, the latter close and reserved. A Chinese would consider it as disgraceful to commit any affair of importance to a woman. Women, in the estimation of the Cochinchinese, are best suited for, and are accordingly entrusted with, the chief concerns of the family. The Chinese code of politeness forbids a woman to talk unless by way of reply, to laugh beyond a smile, to sing unless desired, and, as to dancing, she labours under a physical restriction which makes this kind of movement impossible. In Cochinchina the women are quite as gay and unrestrained as the men. And as a tolerably accurate conclusion may be drawn of the state of their society, from the condition in which the female part of it is placed, and the consideration in which the female character is held among them, I shall be more particular in describing the situation here assigned to them, in so far at least as our limited means afforded us the opportunity of observing, than on other points.

In some of the provinces of China women are condemned to the degrading and laborious task of dragging the plough, and otherwise employed in various kinds of heavy drudgery. In Cochinchina it would appear likewise to be the fate of the weaker sex to be doomed to those occupations which require, if not the greatest exertions of bodily strength, at least the most persevering industry. We observed them, day after day, and from morning till night, standing in the midst of pools of water, up to the knees,

occupied in the transplanting of rice. In fact, all the labours of tillage, and the various employments connected with agriculture, seem to fall to the share of the female peasantry; whilst those in Turon, to the management of domestic concerns, and the superintendence of all the details of commerce. They even assist in constructing and keeping in repair their mud-built cottages; they conduct the manufacture of coarse earthen ware vessels; they manage the boats on rivers and in harbours; they bear their articles of produce to market; they draw the cotton wool from the pod, free it from the seeds, spin it into thread, weave it into cloth, dye it of its proper colour, and make it up into dresses for themselves and their families. Almost all the younger part of the males are compelled to enrol themselves in the army; and such as are exempt from military service employ themselves occasionally in fishing, in collecting swallow's nests and the *biches de mer* among the neighbouring islands, as luxuries for the use of their own great men, but more particularly as articles of export for the China market; in felling timber; building and repairing ships and boats, and a few other occupations which, however, they take care shall not engross their whole time, but contrive to leave a considerable portion of it unemployed, or employed only in the pursuit of some favourite amusement: for they are not by any means of an idle disposition. But the activity and the industry of the women are so unabating, their pursuits so varied, and the fatigue they undergo so harassing, that the Cochinchinese apply to them the same proverbial expression which we

confer on a cat, observing that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing. It is evident, indeed, from the whole tenor of their conduct, that the men, even in the common ranks of life, consider the other sex as destined for their use; and those in a higher station, as subservient to their pleasures. The number of wives or of concubines, which a man may find it expedient to take, is not limited by any law or rule; but here, as in China, the first in point of date claims precedence and takes the lead in all domestic concerns. The terms on which the parties are united are not more easy than those by which they may be separated. To break a sixpence between two parting lovers is considered, among the peasantry of some of the counties in England, as an avowal and pledge of unalterable fidelity. In Cochinchina, the breaking of one of their copper coins, or a pair of chop-sticks, between man and wife, before proper witnesses, is considered as a dissolution of their former compact, and the act of separation.

In China the men have sedulously and successfully inculcated the doctrine, that a well bred woman should not be seen abroad; that she should confine herself constantly to her own apartments; that in the presence of even her nearest male relations she should not expose her neck and her hands, to prevent which her gown is buttoned up close to the chin, and its sleeves hang down below the knee; and so craftily have they contrived their precepts to operate, that the silly women have actually been prevailed on to consider a physical defect which confines them to the house as a fashionable accomplishment.

Here, in this respect, there is a total difference with regard to the sex. So far from the Cochinchinese women being deprived of the free use of their limbs or their liberty, they have the enjoyment of both to the fullest extent. It certainly was not in Cochinchina where Eudoxus, in his travels, is said to have observed the feet of the women to be so small, that they might with propriety be distinguished by the name of the "ostrich-footed;" *femini plantas adeo parvas ut Struthopodes appetentur*; as by their bustling about with naked feet, they become unusually large and spreading; but the name might aptly enough be applied to the feet of the Chinese ladies, whose undefined and lumpish form is not unlike the foot of the ostrich.

Extremes often approximate. The same cause which in China has operated this total seclusion of the sex from society, and the abridgment of their physical powers, has produced in Cochinchina a diametrically opposite effect, by permitting them to revel uncontrolled in every species of licentiousness. This cause is their being degraded in public opinion, and considered as beings of an inferior nature to the men. Thus situated, character becomes of little value either to themselves or to others; and, from all accounts, it appears they are fully sensible of its unimportance in this respect. The consequence of which is, that women of less scrupulosity, or men of more accommodating dispositions, are not certainly to be met with in any part of the world than those in the environs of Turon bay. It is to be hoped, however, that the general character of the nation may not exactly correspond with that which prevails

prevails at one of the most frequented of its sea-port towns. The singular indulgence, granted by the laws of Solon, of permitting young women to dispose of personal favours, for the purpose of enabling them to procure articles of the first necessity for themselves or their families, is sanctioned by the Cochinchinese without any limitation as to age, condition, or object. Neither the husband nor the father seem to have any scruples in abandoning the wife or the daughter to her gallant.

There was little prepossessing in the general appearance and character of the Cochinchinese. The women had but slender pretensions to beauty; yet the want of personal charms was in some degree compensated by a lively and cheerful temper, totally unlike the dull, the morose, and secluded Chinese. An expressive countenance, being as much the result of education and sentiment as a delicate set of features and a fine complexion are of health, ease, exemption from drudgery and exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, could hardly be expected in Cochinchina. In point of fact, both sexes are coarse featured, and their colour nearly as deep as that of the Malay; and, like these people, the universal custom of chewing areca and betel, by reddening the lips and blackening the teeth, gives them an appearance still more unseemly than nature intended. The dress of the women was by no means fascinating. A loose cotton frock, of a brown or blue colour, reaching down to the middle of the thigh, and a pair of black nankin trowsers made very wide, constitute in general their common cloathing. With the use of stock-

ings and shoes they are wholly unacquainted; but the upper ranks wear a kind of sandals or loose slippers. As a holiday dress, on particular occasions, a lady puts on three or four frocks at once, of different colours and lengths; the shortest being uppermost. Their long black hair is sometimes twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head, and sometimes hangs in flowing tresses down the back, reaching frequently to the very ground. Short hair is not only considered as a mark of vulgarity, but an indication of degeneracy. The dress of the men has little, if any thing, to distinguish it from that of the other sex, being chiefly confined to a jacket and a pair of trowsers. Some wear handkerchiefs tied round the head in the shape of a turban; others have hats or caps of various forms and materials, but most of them calculated for protecting the face against the rays of the sun; for which purpose they also make use of umbrellas of strong China paper, or skreens of the leaves of the borassus or fan-palm, and other kinds of the palm-tribe, or fans made of feathers. Consonant with the appearance of their mean and scanty cloathing, as frequently thrown loosely over their shoulders as fitted to the body, were their lowly cabins of bamboo. In short, nothing met the eye that could impress the mind of a stranger with high notions of the happy condition of this people.

On the State of the Arts, &c. From the same.

That particular branch of the arts in which the Cochinchinese may be
3 K 4 said

said to excel at the present day is naval architecture, for which, however, they are not a little indebted to the size and quality of the timber employed for that purpose. Their row-gallies for pleasure are remarkably fine vessels. These boats, from fifty to eighty feet in length, are sometimes composed of five single planks, each extending from one extremity to the other, the edges morticed, kept tight by wooden pins, and bound firm by twisted fibres of bamboo, without either ribs or any kind of timbers. At the stem and stern they are raised to a considerable height, and are curiously carved into monstrous figures of dragons and serpents, ornamented with gilding and painting. A number of poles and spears bearing flags and streamers, pikes ornamented with tufts of cows' tails painted red, lanterns and umbrellas, and other insignia denoting the rank of the passenger, are erected at each end of the boat. And as these people, like the Chinese, differ in most of their notions from the greater portion of mankind, the company always sit in the fore part of the boat; but as it would be a breach of good manners for the rowers to turn their backs on the passengers, they stand with their faces towards the bow of the boat, pushing the oars from them instead of pulling towards them, as is usually done in the western world. The servants and the baggage occupy the stern of the boat. The vessels that are employed in the coasting trade, the fishing craft, and those which collect the trepan and swallow's nests among the cluster of islands called the Paracels, are of various descriptions; many of them, like the Chinese Sampan, covered with sheds

of matting, under which a whole family constantly resides; and others, resembling the common proas of the Malays, both as to their hulls and rigging. Their foreign traders are built on the same plan as the Chinese junks, the form and construction of which are certainly not to be held out as perfect models of naval architecture; yet, as they have subsisted some thousands of years unaltered, they are at least entitled to a little respect from the antiquity of the invention. As these vessels never were intended for ships of war, extraordinary swiftness for pursuit or escape was not an essential quality: security rather than speed was the object of the owner. And as no great capitals were individually employed in trade, and the merchant was both owner and navigator, a limited tonnage was sufficient for his own merchandize; the vessel was therefore divided, in order to obviate this inconvenience, into distinct compartments, so that one ship might separately accommodate many merchants. The bulk heads by which these divisions were formed consisted of planks of two inches thick, so well caulked and secured as to be completely water-tight.

Whatever objections may be started against the dividing of ships' holds, and the interference in the stowage seems to be the most material one, it cannot be denied that it gives to large vessels many important advantages. A ship, thus fortified with cross bulk heads, may strike on a rock and yet sustain no serious injury; a leak springing in one division of the hold will not be attended with any damage to the articles placed in another: and by the ship being thus so well bound together,

together, she is firm and strong enough to sustain a more than ordinary shock. It is well known to seamen, that when a large ship strikes the ground, the first indication of her falling in pieces is when the edges of the decks begin to part from the sides; but this separation can never happen when the sides and the deck are firmly bound together by cross bulk-heads. In fact, this old Chinese invention is now on trial in the British navy, as a new experiment. Other schemes have likewise been proposed in this country for propelling ships in a calm, by large scullers, by water-wheels placed at the sides or through the bottom, and by various other modes; all of which, though taking the name of inventions, have been in common use among the Chinese for more than two thousand years.

Although the present king of this country has, to a certain degree, broken the fetters of custom, as far as regards the construction of ships of war, yet, in doing this, he has not been unmindful of popular prejudice which, in Asiatic countries in particular, where they are wholly guided by opinion, is stamped with a character too sacred to be torn up at once by the roots. Out of deference to this prejudice, he caused that part only of the hull or body of the vessel to be altered which is immersed in the water; all the upper works, the masts, sails and rigging, remaining Cochinchinese. Indeed it may be questioned if the pliant bamboo, which forms so material a part of the upper works of their vessels, could be displaced with any advantage by solid timber, than which it is more light and equally strong. It is impossible not to admire the good sense of this wise and

active prince, who, in steering this middle path, obtained a real advantage without introducing any visible change.

Of tenacity to ancient custom a curious instance appeared on the part of the emperor of Japan, when the Dutch carried to this sovereign from Batavia, a few years ago, among other presents, the model of a ship of war. The ambassador happening to observe the emperor casting his eye upon this model, and conceiving the occasion might be turned to the advantage of his employers, ventured to make a proposal for sending to Japan a number of proper artificers from Holland, for the purpose of instructing his subjects in the art of ship-building, according to the practice of Europe. The emperor desired he might be asked how long his countrymen had been acquainted with the art of constructing ships on the model he had brought. The ambassador replied, about three hundred years. "Tell him" says the emperor, "that my people have built such ships as he sees floating in my harbours for as many thousand years, and that I have not yet heard of any complaints against their utility. I shall not, therefore, pay so ill a compliment to myself or to my people, as to lay aside the test of ages for an invention of yesterday. The Dutch ships may suit the Dutch, but not the Japanese. Tell him, therefore, I would advise him to take back this part of his present."

Character of the late Right Honourable William Pitt.

William Pitt, the illustrious earl of Chatham, had three sons, of whom

whom William was the second. He was born May 8, 1759, at a time when his father's glory was at its zenith.

On the accession of his present majesty, that great statesman, in consequence of new arrangements, chiefly occasioned by the rising influence of the earl of Bute, retired from the station which he had so honourably filled; and consigning his other sons to the care of tutors, he devoted his own time to the education of William, on a strong and well-founded persuasion (as he was in the habit of saying,) that "he would one day increase the glory of the name of Pitt." His classical knowledge Mr. Pitt acquired under the care of a private tutor at Burton Pynsent, the seat of his father; and the earl took great pleasure in teaching him, while still a youth, to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance and force. He judiciously accustomed him to the practice of making accurate inquiries respecting every subject that caught his attention, and taught him not to remain satisfied with a superficial observation of appearances.

That he might enjoy all the benefits of instruction which this country could give him, and, at the same time, by a rapid progress in the preliminary studies, qualify himself early for the senate, he was taken, between fourteen and fifteen years of age, from his father's roof, and the care of a very enlightened and worthy clergyman, Mr. (now Dr.) Wilson, and sent to Pembroke college, Cambridge, where he was admitted under the tuition of Messrs. Turner and Prettyman, both very able men, and willing to second to the utmost of their power, the intentions of his father. Mr. Pretty-

man was also his private instructor, and a better choice could not have been made, as far as classical and mathematical knowledge were concerned. For eloquence he could not look up to either of his instructors; but his father's example and precepts required no farther assistance on that head.

In Cambridge he became a model to the young nobility and fellow-commoners; and it was not doubted that, if the privileges of his rank had not exempted him from the usual exercises for the bachelor's degree, he would have been found among the first competitors for academical honours. On his admission, according to custom, to his master's degree, the public orator found it needless to search into genealogy, or even to dwell much upon the virtues of his father, for the eyes of the university were fixed on the youth: the enraptured audience assented to every encomium, and each breast was filled with the liveliest presages of his future greatness.

Mr. Pitt was afterwards entered a student of Lincoln's inn, made a rapid progress in his legal studies, and was called to the bar, with every prospect of success.

We are informed, that he once or twice went the Western circuit, and appeared as junior counsel in several causes. He was, however, destined to fill a more important station in the government of his country, than is usually obtained through the channel of the law.

At the general election, 1780, we find him nominated by some of the most respectable persons in Cambridge as a candidate to represent that university; but notwithstanding the high character he had obtained there, he found very few to second his pretensions. In the following

following year, however, he was returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of sir James Lowther. On taking his seat in the house of commons, he enlisted himself on the side of the party which had constantly opposed the minister, lord North, and the American war, and which regarded him with a degree of veneration; recognising in his person the genius of his illustrious father, revived and acting, as it were, in him. His first speech was in favour of col. Barré's motion for substituting a set of other gentlemen, than what the minister (lord North) had appointed, as commissioners for auditing the public accompts, at the head of whom was John Elwes, esq.; and one of the first acts, in which he took the lead in that house, was extremely well calculated to increase his popularity; this was his motion for a committee, to consult upon the most effectual means to accomplish a more equal representation of the people in parliament.

On the death of the marquis of Rockingham, the old whig party fell into a state of disunion, nearly bordering upon dissolution. A new arrangement took place soon after, and lord Shelburne became the first lord of the treasury, assisted by Mr. Pitt, who astonished the country, and, indeed, all Europe, by the phenomenon of a chancellor of the exchequer at the age of *twenty-three*!

This administration, however, of which he was one of the most distinguished members, was short-lived. On its dissolution, and the coalition ministry being formed, Mr. Mans-

field vacated his seat for Cambridge by accepting the office of solicitor-general, and his return for the university was unsuccessfully opposed by Mr. Pitt, who was treated with contempt by many of the heads and members of the college. One of them almost threw the door in his face, and wondered at the impudence of the young man, thus to come down and disturb the peace of the university! From such a scene he retired in a few days in disgust; and afterwards went abroad for some time, visiting France, Italy, and several of the German courts.

A few months, however, changed the scene; the British dominions in India having long been in an alarming situation, it was generally admitted that an immediate remedy was indispensably necessary to preserve them. On this occasion, Mr. Fox, then secretary of state, formed, digested, and brought forward his famous India bill, which he carried through its several stages in the lower house with a high hand; but it being rejected by the lords, the coalition ministry was thrown out, and lord North with his new allies were accordingly dismissed, and that too in a very unusual manner; and Mr. Pitt, the new premier, who had in the interim re-appeared on the great theatre of politics, was assisted by lord Thurlow, as keeper of the great seals—arrangements, which, at that time, were, however, only considered as temporary.

He now astonished the commercial and political world, by his own India bill! He had, however, the mortification to find the majority of the

the house of commons against him; and he was placed in the peculiar situation of a minister acting with a minority, and that in opposition to the strongest union of talents ever combined against any administration. He, however, remained firm in his seat amidst a general confusion; and though the house had petitioned his majesty to dismiss him and his coadjutors, our young premier ventured to inform the representatives of the nation, that their petition could not be complied with!

This struggle between the commons and the crown was of the greatest importance; but the people at large were of opinion, that the former encroached upon the regal prerogatives; and on the question being, in a manner, thrown into their hands by a dissolution of parliament, a new one was returned, which changed the majority in favour of the premier; who had again repaired in confidence to Cambridge, where he was received with open arms by the heads of the university, and now carried his election, in conjunction with lord Euston, who was supported by the interest of the duke of Grafton, chancellor of the university.

To notice the various public measures brought forward by this active minister, would far exceed the bounds of a memoir so limited in its object as the present. They are incorporated in the history of his country, and at present familiarly recollected by his contemporaries. —The following, however, are some of the dates of the principal incidents in his life, which, as they form part of our history, are par-

ticularly detailed in the Annual Register of the times. They will be sufficient to guide the inquiry of our readers.

He came first into parliament for the borough of Appleby, 23d January, 1781, upon the interest of sir James Lowther; and on the 10th of July, 1782, being two months more than twenty-three years of age, he became chancellor of the exchequer, lord Shelburne being first lord of the treasury. March 31, 1803, he announced his resignation, and the coalition ministry was formed. On the 18th of November, 1783, Mr. Fox produced his celebrated India bill, and in consequence of the contest upon this subject was defeated by Mr. Pitt, who met the parliament as minister a second time, Jan. 12, 1784, Mr. Fox and lord North being dismissed, Dec. 18, 1783. On the 26th of January, 1784, a meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, of the most independent members of parliament, proposed an union of parties to Mr. Pitt and the duke of Portland, which it was found impossible to effect upon equal terms. On the 9th of March, 1787, he voted for the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. The important debates on the regency commenced Dec. 10, 1788, and his letter to the prince of Wales on that subject, was written December 30, but the necessity for coming to extreme measures was prevented by the fortunate recovery of his majesty. Shortly after, Nootka Sound became an object of contention with Spain, and we were involved in a short contest with Russia respecting Oczakow. The French revolution, which has
nearly

nearly subverted all the powers of Europe, then broke out, and his majesty having sent a message to parliament, on the 12th of February, 1793, respecting the aggression on Holland, a war was immediately commenced with France, for the conduct of which, and the administration of the government of the country, during a long period of the greatest difficulty, Mr. Pitt, must claim his highest praise. On the consequences of that war it is impossible now to speak, for they are not yet complete; and, if Mr. Pitt was not as triumphantly successful as his father, he yet called forth all the energies of his country, against an enemy whose power has been rarely, if ever, equalled, and extended the naval greatness of Britain beyond all example of naval power in all times.

In 1794 were passed the Bills for suspending the habeas corpus act, and the suppression of popular societies, and on the 2d of October in that year, occurred the trials of Hardy, Tooke, and others, for high treason.

Mr. Pitt having favoured reform in parliament, and proposed a plan for that purpose, the 2d of May, 1783; afterwards, on the 26th of May, 1797, on the motion of Mr. Grey, stated his reasons for not acceding to a reform. Shortly after succeeded the mutiny at the Nore.

In July, 1798, were opened the negotiations with the French plenipotentiaries and lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, which were shortly after broken off. In 1799, an address to his majesty, proposing an union of the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, was voted by both houses

of parliament, and in 1800 that plan was ratified by the Irish parliament, which constitutes one of the most important events of the present reign, by concentrating the energies of two great countries under one imperial monarch. In the same year the first consul of France made overtures of peace, which were rejected, and Mr. Pitt gave the reasons for the conduct of ministry, in one of the ablest and most eloquent speeches that was ever delivered in any assembly. In 1801, Mr. Pitt resigned his official situation as minister, which he had held so long, on the avowed occasion of the impossibility of carrying into effect his views with respect to catholic emancipation, which he had considered as a grand object in forming the union.

During the interval of his retiring from office, and becoming minister for the last time, he lived in great retirement, sold his seat at Holwood, in Kent, and occupied a small house in Baker-street, where his sinecure of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, was his sole revenue.

In 1802 he defended the treaty of Amiens, and gave his firm support to the administration of his successor, Mr. Addington; but, in 1804, after the breaking out of hostilities with France, thinking that ministry unequal to the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, he opposed the Additional Force Bills, for the defence of the country, and even joined Mr. Fox in several motions against the ministry, succeeded in overthrowing it, and became chancellor of the exchequer, and first lord of the treasury again, May 12, 1804.

In 1805 the character of his great colleague, lord Melville, was vio-

lently attacked in the house of commons, and notwithstanding the able defence of the minister, a resolution passed the house, by the casting vote of the speaker, which afterwards led to his impeachment, on which he was afterwards acquitted. Mr. Pitt's own conduct was inquired into by the house, on the subject of an advance of 40,000*l.* of the public money, to Messrs. Boyd, and Co. in 1796, by a loan upon scrip, and he was by all parties acquitted of any improper or interested views in this transaction, and a bill of indemnity for his conduct was passed. This year was full of labour and difficulty to Mr. Pitt, and replete with disaster to the arms of those allies, whose assistance he had procured for this country against France. His constitution became greatly enfeebled, and in the autumn of this year he was afflicted with the disorder which terminated his existence Jan. 21, 1806. In grateful remembrance of his services, parliament not only voted a public funeral, the particulars of which we have detailed in another place, but also a sum of 40,000*l.* for payment of his debts.

He was not of age when his father died, and it is most honourable to his memory, that an attack having been made upon some part of the conduct of his beloved parent, he wrote a very vigorous pamphlet in his defence, and he was remarkable for his filial and pious attention to his mother, who survived lord Chat-ham many years, and lived to enjoy the proud satisfaction of beholding her son's greatness.

His skill in measures of finance, was acknowledged by his bitterest enemies; and there can be little doubt, that by the operation of his

plan for the reduction of the national debt, had not the war of the French revolution commenced, he would have raised this country, its commerce, and its wealth, to a pitch of greatness almost beyond hope. The plan of reducing the debt by a sinking fund, it is admitted is not the invention of the minister, but it is his praise to have adopted it, and to have persevered in it. Plans of economy are not of difficult discovery, it is only the fortitude which adheres to them in all trials, that is rare or difficult. In all details of business, and particularly in opening the budget, Mr. Pitt was eminently skilful; his statements were not only the most perspicuous and connected, but the most animating and impressive. His precision of language upon all such occasions was admirable; he said every thing that he ought, every thing in its right place, and every thing with a powerful and appropriate emphasis of manner and of diction. Not a figure was dropped in his calculations, not an illustration, nor even a word wanting in his speech. It was the characteristic of his style to be always accurate, fluent, firm, dignified, energetic, grand, as occasion suited. In fluency and correctness no orator ever equalled him. He was so fastidiously accurate, that in the most unpremeditated speech, if any interruption occurred to suspend the thread of his discourse, he would resume it as if reading from a book, just at the word where he had left off, pursuing the sentence to the end. Yet with all this fastidious accuracy, he never was deficient in dignity, strength, or animation. His sarcasm was bitter, pointed, and excruciatingly severe.

Amongst

Amongst the leading principles of his conduct it will be observed, that he never denied the necessity of some reform in parliament, but objected to the time of commencing it; that he always supported the bills for the abolition of the slave trade; and that, while he opposed the repeal of the test act, he encouraged the hope of relief to Ireland, by what is called catholic emancipation.

In war he had to cope, as it were, with a demon of gigantic force, the offspring of the revolution, with whom no human power could contend without injury; but at least he prevented this country from being over-run by a foreign enemy, and its constitution from being subverted by a democratic revolution amongst the people. If he has been suspected of not favouring sufficiently the principles of liberty, it is, perhaps, more to be attributed to the danger, and general corruption of the times, which forced him to adopt strong measures, and hold the reins of government with a strict hand, than to any want of virtue or love of freedom. His integrity was unimpeachable.

Amongst his personal qualifications, courage has been allowed to him in an eminent degree. He met Mr. Tierney in a duel, upon an unfortunate occasion, with the coolest intrepidity; and an instance of a much better courage has been given, that once, for the purpose of necessary information with respect to the revenue, he put to sea for Calais in an open boat, at the hazard of his life, with a spirit and daring equal to that of Cæsar, when he embarked from Dyrrachium. He got safe to his port, and in the next session of parliament introduced a bill

which had for its object, and in great part effected, the stoppage of smuggling, by measures which he had devised through the means of information acquired in this voyage.

Of private anecdotes there are very few told concerning him. It is said, that he rose late, and drank port wine rather freely, even when at Cambridge, an indulgence to which he was led from an original debility of the stomach; that he was often convivial, but more frequently dignified and polite than familiar. In the recess, during the interval that he was last out of office, he paid great attention to the corps of the Cinque Port volunteers, which he commanded, with a skill little, if at all, exceeded by any regular officers, and we have heard his knowledge of military tactics praised highly. His classical attainments were great, as must be apparent from his speeches, and as he possessed considerable imagination, as well as critical judgment, it is not improbable that he had in his youth cultivatvd poetry. We have heard that, when at college, he wrote a tragedy, which was afterwards seen, read, and admired, by an intimate friend, who returned it to him with high compliments, and was no less struck with astonishment than regret, when, upon giving it into the hands of the then minister, he made no reply, but calmly consigned the manuscript to the flames, as he stood near the fire.

It cannot be supposed that he was unsusceptible to the charms of female beauty, but the toils of a life like his were ill suited to connubial happiness, and he was never married; and, perhaps, he might almost consider it a duty as well as a virtue,

virtue, to place his sole happiness in promoting the greatness of his country, to be devoted alone to her interests, and to remain unmarried, and without a progeny, that he might be, in a sense somewhat different from Cato, *urbi pater urbiq; maritus*.

Of lady Hester Stanhope, his niece, he shewed the highest regard.

An attention to commerce greatly distinguished Mr. Pitt's administration. Perhaps there is no man in the kingdom better acquainted with the principles of trade than he was.—The oldest and most experienced merchants have been astonished at his readiness in conversing with them upon subjects of which they thought themselves exclusively masters.—Many who have waited upon him, in full confidence that they should communicate some new and important information, have, to their great surprise, found him minutely and intimately acquainted with all those points to which they had conceived he was a stranger. By the close attention which he uniformly paid to the mercantile interests, he also secured to himself an exclusive basis of support, which enabled him not only to resist a most vigorous opposition, but to carry into effect financial measures until his time deemed impracticable.

Some men have charged him with political tergiversation, on the ground of having abandoned, if not opposed, the project of a parliamentary reform. If he really considered such a reform as no longer necessary, it will not be difficult to exonerate him from this heavy accusation. But there certainly is a great difference between absolute apostacy and an occasional cessation from a particular system of opinions

or line of conduct. It does not follow that Mr. Pitt was an enemy to necessary reform, because he considered the existing circumstances of the country as too critical to admit the trial of the experiment.

One trait in the character of Mr. Pitt should be noticed to his honour, namely, his grateful remembrance of those to whom the care of his earliest years and the task of his instruction had been consigned. Under his patronage, Dr. Wilson, his first instructor, is now canon of Windsor; and one of his sons has a lucrative sinecure in Jamaica. The worthy Dr. Turner is dean of Norwich; and Dr. Prettyman has been rewarded with the bishopric of Lincoln, and the deanery of Saint Paul's.

This principle of gratitude was displayed by him in other instances. His first coming into parliament was somewhat extraordinary. Sir James Lowther was possessed of several boroughs, and had some peculiar notions with respect to parliamentary influence. The duke of Rutland saw and valued the talents of Mr. Pitt in his youth, and knowing what sir James could do for him, took occasion, as he was walking in Pall-Mall, and accidentally met Mr. Pitt, to recommend him to the notice of sir James, telling him that it would be a public service to the country, to put a young man of his splendid talents into parliament. Sir James acceded to the proposal, gave him a seat for Appleby, and in the most honourable manner accompanied it with a written declaration, that he should require of him no political adherence to any party. So little was he fettered with terms, that one of his first public exertions was to promote a reform in parliament,

ment, and overthrow all private influence in obtaining seats in an assembly, where he was placed, not by the votes of the people, but by the will of one rich and powerful commoner. Were boroughs always so disposed of, all arguments for reform must be absurd; and it must at least be admitted, that the house of commons has frequently owed the possession of its brightest ornaments, as senators, to the influence of individual patronage. Men of splendid, but unknown or unpopular talents, can find no other means of admission. It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr. Pitt, in his subsequent accession to power, did not forget to gratify sir James Lowther with a peerage, while he conferred on the duke of Rutland the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Lord Carrington (formerly Mr. Smith) early formed a friendship with Mr. Pitt, whose greatness of mind, and independence of character, were qualities so congenial with his lordship's sentiments, as served to bind and continue that friendship with unabated cordiality, and which ceased but with the termination of Mr. Pitt's life.

As a public speaker, Mr. Pitt was almost unequalled, and is not to be characterised by overstrained parallels, drawn from the orators of antiquity. He possessed rather the elegance and grace of Cicero than the fire of Demosthenes. He displayed, however, more of the acute logician, than of the mere rhetorician; but his voice was clear, powerful, and harmonious; and his copious eloquence rather stormed the judgment than charmed the ear, or stole upon the heart.—To a magnificent dignity of style, which never failed him, was added

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a forcible method of reasoning, and a facility of stating his arguments, which made them not only conceivable by the meanest understanding, but gave them frequently a precision and vigour which may be pronounced irresistible.

As an orator, he possessed an advantage of inestimable value, namely, a great command over his temper, added to much coolness during the ardour of debate.

This enabled him to reply clearly and particularly to the arguments of his opponents, and to defend his cause, by often turning the weapons upon themselves. Though confident, and frequently, it must be confessed, even arrogant, in his speeches, which sometimes provoked his adversaries to harsh language, yet he seldom lost his own temper, or retorted in anger.

His action was not strictly graceful, which was, in some measure, owing to the disadvantage of an exterior, which, however dignified, was yet not engaging; for he was very tall and thin. His countenance was also severe and forbidding, expressive, indeed (in the language of physiognomists) of a capacious mind, and inflexible resolution; but also of a too lofty, and, perhaps, unbending spirit.

The commonly received account of the last illness of Mr. Pitt is interesting. It originated in extreme debility, brought on by excessive anxiety and unwearied attention to business. By this debility, his whole nervous system was so deranged, that for weeks together he was unable to sleep, and this privation of rest, originating in debility, still farther augmented the cause, so as to lead to a general breaking up of his constitution. An heredi-

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tary gout completed the whole—producing, according to its ordinary effect on a debilitated system, water in the chest, and such a weakness of stomach, that he could neither admit nor retain any thing.

Under these circumstances a Bath journey was determined on. Mr. Pitt left town on the 7th of December, attended by his physician, sir W. Farquhar, and the Hon. Charles Stanhope, who attended him during the whole of his stay, and on the 11th of January returned with him to his house at Putney, which he reached with considerable difficulty, having derived little or no benefit from the waters. On Tuesday the 14th he was gratified by a visit from marquis Wellesley, one of his oldest and dearest friends, just returned from India, who experienced a truly cordial and welcome reception. On the same day Mr. Pitt had the pleasure of seeing his brother the earl of Chatham, and again the ensuing Friday.

On Sunday, Jan. 19, 1806, his disorder had taken a more favourable turn and the fever was apparently so abated, that his physicians encouraged hopes of his recovery : but, on the following day, more especially towards the evening, when the physician who chiefly attended him paid his visit, before taking leave of his patient for the night, he found that the fever had returned with increased violence. On the Tuesday every symptom was so aggravated, that all expectation was at an end. On the Wednesday it became necessary to declare an opinion, and to acquaint Mr. Pitt himself with the imminent danger. The bishop of Lincoln, his tutor and early friend, was called out of the room, and the following opinion

was expressed to him nearly in these words :—‘He cannot live forty-eight hours—the disorder has taken a mortal turn—any attempt to rouse from his present lethargy would be attended with instant death ; he is not strong enough for medicine, or any restorative application. If he lingers a few days, it will astonish me.’

The bishop of Lincoln now saw the necessity of intimating the danger to Mr. Pitt. He fulfilled this painful office with firmness ; Mr. Pitt was hardly sensible : this dreadful shock had scarcely power to dissipate his lethargy ; but after a few moments he waved his hand, and was left alone with the bishop.

He instantly expressed himself perfectly resigned to the Divine will ; and, with the utmost composure, asked sir Walter Farquhar, who was present, How long he might expect to live ?

Mr. Pitt then entered into a conversation of some length with the bishop of Lincoln upon religious subjects. He repeatedly declared ; in the strongest terms of humility, a sense of his own unworthiness, and a firm reliance upon the mercy of God through the merits of Christ.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln prayed by his bedside for a considerable time ; and Mr. Pitt appeared greatly composed by these last duties of religion.

A man of the superior mind of Mr. Pitt could not but have the strongest impressions of religion ; doubtless at this awful moment they smoothed his pillow, and whispered comfort to his soul.

The physician now thought proper to discontinue medicine.—In the course of Wednesday repeated enquiries were made after him, and a statement

statement of his danger was transmitted to his majesty, to his relations, and most of his friends.—The royal family had been throughout most anxious on the occasion, and Col. Taylor called that very morning by his majesty's direction.—Lady Hester Stanhope, his niece, had an interview with him on the Wednesday evening, and received his last adieu, which he gave in the most affectionate and solemn manner. Mr. James Stanhope continued with him all night, during which he expressed at intervals frequent solicitude as to the political intelligence at that time expected. The mortal symptoms were now approaching to a crisis. His extremities were already cold, and his senses began to fail. As a last and desperate effort to protract life, blisters were applied to the soles of his feet. They restored him to something of life and recollection, but they could arrest nothing of the progress of death. It is said that he continued clear and composed till a short time before his dissolution, which took place without any addition of suffering or struggle, at half past four on Thursday morning. His last words are said to have been—"O my country!"

Mr. Pitt was in the 47th year of his age; the age of our immortal Nelson.

Thus died a man as eminent in his virtues as his station! a man whose foibles were only rendered conspicuous as they were elevated into notice by his worth. An inflexible constancy of purpose, equally proof against casual failure, and the most insurmountable difficulties; an erectness of principle, and a pride originating in and supported by his conscious talents and integrity; these were his chief characteristics as a minister; and his

foibles as connected with, and in a manner resulting from these same virtues, were in fact nothing but their excess. Thus his constancy of purpose approached to obstinacy; and his pride of conscious integrity rendered him occasionally too indifferent to the defence of his conduct.—This was not suited to a country with a constitution so popular as is our own. Mr. Pitt was accordingly regarded by many in an indifferent point of view. He has divided the country into two parties,—his advocates, and his opponents.—In one thing alone all were agreed,—in lamenting his death.

His firmness of purpose,—his erect principle,—his honourable pride,—were talents suited to the perils of the times. The country owes him much,—we acknowledge the debt; and in its present situation more than acknowledge it,—we feel it.

He shewed in every thing a peculiar magnanimity, a characteristic grandeur, which never failed him.—His schemes, considered in the general, and as separated from their execution, were always great, and, as far as depended upon himself, the means and the execution had the same character; he was altogether a great man, and a just pride to his country. His ambition, however ardent, had hands as clean as active; he had nothing personally sordid.—His incorruptible integrity was rooted in his very system.

This is not the character of a partial friend, his praise is, therefore, not the less valuable.

As to his private character, it was beyond the reach of calumny. His social feelings were warm, and his attachment to those around him, kind and unremitting. Indeed; no man ever died more sincerely lamented

mented by all his connections, whether relatives, friends, or domestics. He is thus described by the right honourable George Rose,* than whom none can be more capable of judging, and he thus expresses himself:—

“I have hitherto confined myself to matters within the immediate department at which Mr. Pitt presided; but considering the pre-eminence he long held in the councils of his majesty, and that unhappily for the country he is no longer among us, I may, I hope, be allowed to refer very shortly to some of the principal matters that occurred during the eventful period of his administration, and to say a few words respecting his character.

“If we look to naval and military operations, it will be seen, with no small degree of astonishment as well as satisfaction, that in the period referred to, we took and destroyed more ships of the line of our enemies,† than in all the wars we have been engaged in since the Revolution, viz. those in the reign of King William, Queen Anne, during the hostilities with Spain, in the reign of George the First, when the fleet of Spain was destroyed in the Mediterranean, in the wars of 1742, of 1756, and the American war.

“That the French under their emperor Buonaparte, were driven out of Egypt by an inferior army, composed of troops from the banks of the Thames and of the Ganges,

who met in that country, and there gained immortal honour; and that they were deprived of every foot of land they had on the continent of India, as well as of almost all their colonies in the West Indies; and that many of those of Spain and Holland were taken by the British arms, while the numerous and extensive possessions of Great Britain in all parts of the world, were completely protected.

“If we turn our attention to what has passed within these kingdoms, under our immediate view, we shall not have less reason to admire the character, and to revere the memory, of one of the most able, firm, virtuous, and disinterested men, that ever lived in any nation or in any time. His conduct during the long and dangerous illness of our beloved sovereign, in 1788-9, will not soon be forgotten by his grateful countrymen. It is the pride of the British constitution, as now understood and administered; that the personal interest of the monarch is so much identified with the interests of the people, that the latter feel every circumstance tending to the health, the comfort, or the dignity of their sovereign, as a favourite acquisition to themselves: and I think I may venture to say, there never was a period of more genuine national joy, than when our beloved king, after a considerable interval of alarming indisposition, was restored to the enjoyment of health, and to the exercise of his public

* See a brief examination into the increase of the revenue, commerce, and navigation of Great Britain, during Mr. Pitt's administration.

† These amount to 110 ships of the line; while those in the former wars were in number only 109. In this comparison the ships destroyed in the very arduous enterprize at Copenhagen, are not included, although the expedition was equipped under Mr. Pitt's government, nor several ships of the line lost in a storm, when the invasion of Ireland was attempted.”

public functions. At that juncture there were particular circumstances in the political state and political opinions of Europe, which tended more than ever to endear to every good and virtuous man, the monarch they saw re-established, and the tranquillity which that happy event had restored. The display of wisdom and firmness evinced by Mr. Pitt, during that interval of national anxiety which the king's illness occasioned, did him infinite honour: he took that high ground which his virtue as well as his ability, entitled him to take, and with a dignity and courage inspired by both, rebuked at once the fears of the timid, and supported the rights of his sovereign: not less faithful to his country than loyal to his king, he devoted his services to both in a manner equally manly and disinterested. We rejoice that the danger,

“Which overcame us like a summer's cloud,”

was too short to give all the effect to his services, which circumstances less favourable might have shewn them calculated to produce.

“Nor should the perils with which the country and its constitution were for some time threatened, in consequence of what may be termed the mania of the French revolution ever be forgotten; though, perhaps, not now strong in the imagination of the people (and to some of the less considerate or less candid seem to have been exaggerated beyond the truth) from the very success with which they were opposed: by those, however, who had better oppor-

tunities of appreciating Mr. Pitt's services, and of calculating the magnitude of those dangers which he opposed and overcame, the recollections of that acuteness, and clearness of perception, that soundness of judgment, that composure and fortitude of mind, which never forsook him on the most trying occasions, and with which he met the difficulties of his own and of the public situation, will be now remembered, as at the time they were acknowledged, as not less admirable in themselves, than important in their consequences.

“An intention is entertained of a history of Mr. Pitt's whole life being given to the public. In the mean time I trust I shall be excused in making some very short observations respecting him, as few had better, perhaps none so frequent, opportunities of forming a judgment on the subject, in the last two-and-twenty years of his life, during which period I had the happiness to possess his affectionate friendship and perfect confidence, without the slightest or shortest interruption.

“To those who enjoyed his intimacy I might safely refer for the proof of his possessing those private virtues and endowments, which, though they may sometimes be accounted foreign to the public character of a statesman, the congenial feelings of Englishmen always dispose them to regard as the best pledges of a minister's upright administration. Around these, in the present case, an additional lustre as well as sacredness has been thrown by the circumstances of his death; by the manner in which he met it; and by the composure, the fortitude,

the resignation, and the religion, which marked his last moments. With a manner somewhat reserved and distant, in what might be termed his public deportment, no man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing the attachment of his friends, than Mr. Pitt. They saw all the powerful energies of his character softened into the most perfect complacency and sweetness of disposition, in the circles of private life, the pleasures of which no one more cheerfully enjoyed, or more agreeably promoted, when the paramount duties he conceived himself to owe to the public, admitted of his mixing in them that indignant severity with which he met and subdued what he considered unfounded opposition; that keenness of sarcasm with which he repelled and withered (as it might be said) the powers of most of his assailants in debate, were exchanged, in the society of his intimate friends, for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanour, and playfulness of good humour, which none ever witnessed without interest, or participated without delight. His mind which, in the grasp and extent of its capacity, seized with a quickness almost intuitive, all the most important relations of political power and political economy, was not less uncommonly susceptible of all the light and elegant impressions, which form the great charm of conversation of cultivated minds.

“This sensibility to the enjoyments of private friendship, greatly enhanced the sacrifice he made of every personal indulgence and comfort, to a rigid performance of duty to the public; that duty, for the last year of his life, was, indeed, of the

most laborious and unremitting kind. The strength of his attachment to his sovereign, and the ardour of his zeal for the welfare of his country, led him to forego, not only every pleasure and amusement, but almost every pause and relaxation of business, necessary to the preservation of health, till it was too late, in a frame like his, alas! for the preservation of life! That life he sacrificed to his country; not certainly, like another most valuable and illustrious servant of the public, (whose death has been deeply and universally lamented) amidst those animating circumstances in which the incomparable hero often ventured it in battle, and at last resigned it for the most splendid of all his unexampled victories, but with that patriotic self-devotedness which looks for a reward only in its own consciousness of right, and in its own secret sense of virtue.

“The praise of virtue, of honour, and of disinterested purity, whether in public or private character, need scarcely be claimed for his memory; for those his enemies (if now he has any, which I am unwilling to believe, although some are frequently endeavouring to depreciate his merits) will not venture to deny; and his country, in whose cause they were exercised to the last, will know how to value and record them. That they should be so valued and recorded, is important on every principle of justice to the individual, and benefit to the community. To an upright minister in Great Britain, zealous for the interest and honour of his country, there is no reward or profit, emolument or patronage, which can be esteemed a compensation for the labours, the privations, the anxieties,

ties, or the dangers, of his situation ; it is in the approbation of his sovereign, and in the suffrage of his countrymen, added to his own conviction of having done every thing to deserve it, that he must look for that reward which is to console him for all the cares and troubles of his station ; the opposition of rivals, the misrepresentation of enemies, the desertion or peevishness of friends, and sometimes the mistaken censures of the people. 'Tis the honourable ambition that looks beyond the present time, that must create, encourage, and support a virtuous and enlightened statesman ; that must confer on his mind, the uprightness and purity that rise above all self-advantage ; the courage that guards the state from foreign hostility or internal faction ; the firmness that must often resist the wishes, to ensure the safety of the people.

“ This is the legitimate ambition of a statesman ; and that Mr. Pitt possessed it, his friends are convinced ; but he has been sometimes accused (by those who, although their opposition was active and systematic, yet knew how to honour the man) of a less laudable, and less patriotic ambition, that wished “ to reign alone,” to exclude from the participation of office and of power, other men, whose counsels might have assisted him to guide the country amidst its difficulties and embarrassments, or might have contributed to its safety in the hour of its danger. It is, however, perfectly well known to some of the highest characters in the kingdom, that Mr. Pitt, after the resignation of Mr. Addington, in the summer of 1804, was most anxiously desirous that lord Grenville and Mr. Fox should form a part of the new ad-

ministration, and pressed their admission into office in that quarter where only such earnestness could be effectual ; conceiving the forming a strong government as important to the public welfare, and as calculated to call forth the united talents as well as the utmost resources of the empire ; in which endeavour he persisted till within a few months of his death. I am aware of the delicacy of such a statement, but I am bold in the certainty of its truth. My profound respect for those by whom such averment, if false, might be contradicted, would not suffer me to make it, were it not called for, to do justice to that great and virtuous statesman, whose unrivalled qualities, both in private and in public life, will ever be in my recollection.

“ *Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus
hos regit artus.*”

*Memoirs of the Right Honourable
Charles James Fox.*

Charles James Fox, second surviving son of Henry, the first lord Holland, and lady Georgina Carolina Lenox, daughter of the duke of Richmond, was born on the 24th day of January, 1749.

His lordship's immediate ancestor, sir Stephen Fox, was the youngest son of William Fox, of Farley, in Wiltshire, and born there the 27th of March, 1627. He married his first lady, Elizabeth, the only surviving issue of Mr. William Whittle, of Lancashire, and afterwards went abroad with king Charles the Second in his exile. While accompanying the king abroad, Stephen, his eldest son by this marriage, was born and

buried in France. His second son by this marriage was born in 1659, and the king standing for his godfather, was christened Charles. After the restoration he had five other sons born in England; Stephen, who was buried in Westminster Abbey; William, who was buried by him, aged 20; Edward, buried in the same place, aged 7; James, who died, aged 13; and John, who died aged one. He also by the same marriage, had three daughters, Elizabeth, married 27th of December, 1673, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, to the Honourable Charles Cornwallis, who succeeded to the peerage, 1676, and from which marriage the present marquis Cornwallis is descended; Jane, the youngest daughter of sir Stephen Fox, by his first wife, married George Compton, fourth earl of Northampton, from which marriage the present earl of Northampton is lineally descended; Margaret, the second daughter, was buried in Westminster Abbey, unmarried. Charles, the eldest surviving son of sir Stephen Fox, by his first marriage, held several offices and honourable employments to the end of his life. He was joint paymaster general of the forces, at the age of twenty-three years, and his abilities, candour, integrity and honour, were so conspicuous, that he held the same office of pay-master general under the successive reigns of Charles II. James II. and queen Anne. He was vice-treasurer to king William, and treasurer to Catherine of Braganza, the queen dowager. He married Miss Trollop, daughter of sir William Trollop, by whom he had no issue, and he died in his 54th year, A. D. 1713. A very fine portrait of him is preserved at the family

seat of Holland house, at Kensington.

Sir Stephen Fox married his second wife, Miss Hope, daughter of the rev. Mr. Hope, in 1703, and the only surviving issue of the marriage. On the death of sir Stephen, there were two sons, Stephen and Henry, and also one daughter, named Charlotte. The first son was created earl of Ilchester, the second lord Holland, and the daughter was married to the hon. Edward Digby, second son of lord Digby, and was grandfather to the present earl Digby.

Of this sir Stephen Fox, who appears to have been a man of great liberality, as well as high honour, Collins, in his peerage, vol. 6. p. 392. records, amongst others, the following acts of munificence:—

“The just profits of his offices enabled him to provide for his family, and exercise those acts of generosity and charity, which in the course of his whole life he gave such extensive and uncommon instances of. His disposition to all who had any claim to his assistance, and that diffusive charity which was visible in him to the last of his life, begun with the increase of his fortune, at an age when most are inclined to pleasures, and at the time when the court was in the greatest gaiety. His first regard was to the place of his birth, for at Farley he built the church at his own charge; and in 1678 built and founded there an hospital for six old men, and six old women; a neat building, with a chapel in it, and handsome lodgings for a chaplain, who resides there, and hath the title of warden of the hospital. This he endowed with 188l. per annum; and there is likewise a charity school, wherein are taught six boys and six girls, all at his sole charge.

He

He also built an hospital at Brome, in Suffolk, and another at Ashby, in Northamptonshire.

"In the north part of Wiltshire, he built a chancel entirely new, where he was not at all concerned in the tythes, but the rector being unable, it moved him to build it. He likewise built the church of Culford, in Suffolk; and pewed the body of the cathedral church of Sarum, in a manner suitable to the neatness of that church, to which he was many other ways a great benefactor.

"These are lasting monuments of his piety and generosity; but his whole life was full of good works of all kinds, to the glory of God, the honour of the kingdom, the benefit of the public, and the relief of the poor of all sorts*. He was the first projector of the noble design of Chelsea hospital, and contributed to the expence of it above 13,000*l*. His motive to it was known from his own words: he said, *He could not bear to see the common soldiers, who had spent their strength in our service, to beg at our doors.* He therefore did what he could to remove such a scandal from the kingdom. He first purchased some grounds near the old college at Chelsea, which had been escheated to the crown in the reign of king James the First, and which that monarch designed for the residence and maintenance of protestant divines, to be employed in the defence of the reformation against all opposers: and on these grounds the present college is erected. In memory of which public benefaction, his name is transmitted to posterity, in a fine prospect and description of

Chelsea college, by Mr. English, then comptroller of the works thereof, inscribed to the right hon. sir Stephen Fox, the earl of Ranelagh, and sir Christopher Wren, with their several coats of arms."

Collins also mentions many others of the family of the Foxes, who served in parliament, and held offices of dignity under several of our earlier monarchs, and amongst the rest, as the most ancient of the name, mentions Thomas Fox, sheriff of London, in the 8th year of the reign of Edw. I. 1280; and a William Fox, who was employed by Edward III. with Simon de Stanes, in an embassy to treat with the earl of Flanders. It would greatly exceed our limits to follow Collins in his account of the family, or even to add many particulars of the life of that active statesman, Henry lord Holland, the father of Mr. Fox. He possessed at least all the talents of his father, sir Stephen Fox. He was chosen one of the members for Hindon, in Wiltshire, on a vacancy in March 1735, in that parliament which first met Jan. 23, 1734; and being constituted surveyor-general of his majesty's board of works, a writ was ordered, June 17, 1737, and he was re-elected. In the next parliament, which was summoned to meet June 25, 1741, and sat on business Dec. 4th, following, he served for Windsor; and in 1743, being constituted one of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, a writ was issued, Dec. 21, that year, for a new election, and he was re-chosen. Also in 1746, being appointed secretary at war, on a writ issued

* Vide the Sermon at his funeral by Mr. Eyre, canon-residentiary of the church of Sarum.

† British Parl. Regist. No. 4.

issued May 27, the same year *, he was again re-elected. And on his majesty's being present in council at Kensington, the 23d of July following, he was, by his command, sworn of his most honourable privy council †, and took his place at the board accordingly. In the parliament; which first sat on business Nov. 12, 1747, he was again chosen one of the members for Windsor; also in the parliament which first met on May 31, 1754. In December following, he was summoned to be of the cabinet council to his majesty; and on ‡ 26 April, 1755, the sovereign declaring his intention of leaving the kingdom, appointed him one of the lords justices for the administration of the government, till his return, distinguishing his integrity and fidelity, by conferring those eminent trusts on him, which no secretary at war ever before held. Nov. 14, 1755, he was appointed one of the secretaries of state, which office he held until 1756, when he was succeeded by the right honourable William Pitt, earl of Chatham. On July 5, 1757, he was appointed pay-master of the forces, in which office he was continued by his present majesty, on his accession, but soon after resigned. His lordship was afterwards a lord of the privy council, and clerk of the Pells in Ireland, granted him for his own life and that of his two sons. April 16, 1763, he was raised to the peerage by the style and title of lord Holland, baron of Foxley, in the county of Wilts, to him and his heirs male.

He married, May 2, 1744, lady Georgina Carolina, eldest daughter of his grace Charles late duke of

Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, (created baroness Holland, May 1762, 2d Geo. III.) by whom he had issue, the honourable Stephen Fox, (the late lord Holland) born Feb. 20, O. S. 1744-5, and married April 20, 1766, to lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, earl of Upper Ossory, in the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he had issue a daughter, born Nov. 3, 1767; Henry, born Oct. 8, 1746, who died in the January following; Charles James, born Jan. 13, O. S. 1748-9; and Henry Edward, born March 4, 1755.

His lordship died July 1, 1774, and was succeeded by his son Stephen, who succeeded also as baron of Holland, in Lincolnshire, on the death of his mother, July 24, 1774, who dying Dec. 26, 1774, was succeeded by Henry Richard, the present earl of Holland.

Lord Holland early planned a system of education, which, if the accounts given of it be true, was of a very extraordinary kind, and tended to give full scope to the natural character and warm feelings, as well as the genius and talents of his son.

He, however, early perceived the genius of this his favourite son, and placed him first at Hackney, at a school kept by Dr. Newcomb, whence he removed him to Eton, under Dr. Bernard, for his private tutor. His progress was rapid, and of every class in which he entered he was soon the head; while, on every occasion that offered, his juvenile compeers with one accord appointed him their leader.

Among his contemporaries, with many others who have subsequently distinguished

* British-Parl. Regist. No. 4.

† Gazette, No. 3556.

‡ Ibid. No. 9471.

distinguished themselves in parliament, were the duke of Leinster, the earls of Fitzwilliam and Carlisle; from the latter of whom he received the following pleasing testimony of the promise of his future abilities.

How will my Fox alone, by strength of parts,

Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
Of fearful statesmen! while around you stand,

Both peers and commons, listening your command;

While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,

His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words.

What praise to Pitt, to Townshend e'er was due,

In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you.

Mr. Fox left Eton with the highest credit, and was entered of Hertford college, in Oxford. Here his time was so divided between learning and dissipation, that of him it might be said, "to have seen him in either one or the other, it must have been supposed that each was his peculiar study."

It has been recorded of him, with no apparent partiality, that, at this time, "he read Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Poetics*, with an ease uncommon in those who have principally cultivated the study of the Greek writers. His favourite authors were Longinus and Homer, with the latter of whom he was particularly conversant; he could discuss the works of the Ionian bard, not only as a man of exquisite taste, and as a philosophical critic, which might be expected from a mind like his, but also as a grammarian. He was indeed capable of conversing with Longinus, on the beauty, sublimity, and pathos of Homer; with Aristotle, on his delineations of man; with a pedagogue on dactyls, spondee, and anapæsts, and all the arcana of

language. History, ethics, and politics, were, however, his particular studies."

Completing his studies, he accompanied his father to Spa, then the fashionable resort on the continent, and afterwards made the grand tour alone, visiting every scene of importance or celebrity, and entering, with his usual eagerness, into every pleasure which they offered. For the vivacity of Mr. Fox, the manners of France and Italy must have possessed no common charm; in the season of gaiety, is it then to be wondered if he exceeded the bounds of propriety.

Lord Holland procured for him a seat in parliament, at the general election of 1768, as representative of Midhurst, in Sussex, anticipating the age of parliamentary competency by at least more than twelve months.

The maiden speech of Mr. Fox took place on the discussion of Mr. Wilkes's petition, to "take his seat and satisfy his constituents," being, at the same time, a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, and confined in the king's-bench prison. This speech was not on the popular side of the question, which was, at the same time, strongly argued to be that of justice; nor was it indeed to be expected that he was to make his first appearance in the senate in opposition to the government, of which his own father was in the particular confidence.

Mr. Wilkes had been outlawed, for not appearing to a conviction for a libel in the *North Briton*, No. 45, and expelled the house of commons for an indecent poem, to which the name of bishop Warburton had been in levity attached; he had, after a tedious exile, obtained the reversal of his outlawry, and an election for
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the county of Middlesex, but was precluded from taking his seat by incapacity, arising from the causes of his former expulsion. Notwithstanding this preclusion, Mr. Wilkes continued to threaten and annoy the government with petitions, which, if they obtained not their prayer, served at least to keep him in the public view, and afford new pretexts for tumult; and it was in opposition to the selfish violence of this refined and turbulent person, that Mr. Fox, with that clear perception of character, for which he was afterwards so remarkable, made his maiden speech.

In this first effort he was opposed, among others, to the celebrated Mr. Burke, who, by his tongue and pen, asserted the unconstitutional grounds of the expulsion. Yet such was the immediate effect of his powers, as to attract the attention both of the senate and the world; and through the whole of the proceedings on the different elections for the county of Middlesex, he was an active and useful champion of the government. The result was, an early appointment of Mr. Fox to the office of paymaster of pensions to the widows of land officers; and, in the beginning of 1770, to a seat at the admiralty board.

In March, 1771, when freedom was determined to consist in a rude disdain of superiors, and alderman Oliver was summoned before the house of commons, Mr. Fox is said, in the heat of indignance for unworthy artifice, to have called him assassin—a circumstance too advantageous to escape the colleague of Mr. Wilkes. His principal parliamentary operations for the ensuing year, consisted in opposing the marriage

act, and afterwards in moving for its repeal. He was also of the secret committee for enquiring into the malversations then the subject of complaint in the East Indies. Some dispute, however, arising between Mr. Fox and the minister, he is reported to have dismissed himself from office in a very laconic manner, by the following note:—

“My lord,

“You have greatly insulted me, and I will resent it, I am about to set out for St. James’s, to resign my seal at the admiralty-board to the king.

“I am, my lord,

“Your lordship’s humble servant,
“C. J. Fox.”

This difference lasted but a short time, and Mr. Fox became one of the lords of the treasury.

The genial sympathy of corresponding minds, however, had already drawn the young statesman into an union with Mr. Burke. From him Mr. Fox did not hesitate to acknowledge, that “he learned more than from all others.” His attraction to the most powerful chief of opposition did not long escape the penetration of lord North, who, without any vulgar censure of his choice, only laughingly argued—“If we see a woman coming frequently from a bagnio, we cannot swear she is not virtuous, yet we cannot help judging of her from her company.” Mr. Fox, nevertheless, was drawn closer into the connection, and early became a member of the literary club, established by Johnson and his friends.

In political affairs, Mr. Fox, at this time, stood, if not in an independent, at least in an isolated situation. With the opposition he bore all the obloquy of being a placeman

placeman and supporter of administration, while the government, in whose interest he remained, charged him with the strongest attachment to its enemies. Lord North, with the most amiable private character, possessed not vigour sufficient for the reins of government; in times when, perhaps, no vigour would have been effectual. His lordship was neither insensible to his situation, nor to the talents of his young colleague; but experience does not easily bend to genius, and power is seldom risked in experiment. In 1774, therefore, when the death of lord Holland had left Mr. Fox unrestrained, having made some remonstrances with considerable spirit, he received in the house of commons, on the next day, his dismissal in the following terms:—

“His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name.

“North.”

At this measure, Mr. Fox entertained a sort of contemptuous satisfaction; and he was now in the situation to which his talents and inclinations were forcibly attracted. Much has been said of this *conversion* to whiggism, as it has been called, and Mr. Fox has not escaped the charge of inconsistency; a political crime of no small magnitude. It is not intended here to confound these points by unqualified panegyric, but it must be remembered, that Mr. Fox never assumed the character of one of sir Robert Walpole's “old Romans.” He came from his father, like Pallas out of Jove's head, full armed and mature. From the first he knew and studied human nature, and the knowledge expanded, instead of contracting,

his heart and mind. Hence, as a minister, he was incapable of the artifices of petty policy, and, as an opposer of government, he was free from the vulgarity of contention. He never forgot the relations of either character. He never imbibed the venom of party.

The growing talents of Mr. Fox, while a minister, attracted the notice of Junius. With the great Johnson, Mr. Fox was in habits of familiarity, and of his abilities the English Socrates thought highly.

The dismissal of Mr. Fox took place early in 1774, a year the most pregnant in personal events, perhaps, of any in his whole life. In January his father's residence (Winterslow-house) in Wiltshire, was destroyed by fire. He next attended the Encænia at Oxford, and was so disgusted at the number of illiterate associates for *honorary* distinctions, that he refrained from taking a degree. In July his father died; in August, his mother; and in November, his elder brother. He was afterwards unsuccessful in the election for the borough of Poole. He made an apology for the colonists, which first distinguished the generous bias of his soul; and lost a considerable part of the fortune he had derived from his father and brother, at play, before the end of the year.

In his kindred he had suffered losses which could never be supplied, and of such losses none could be more sensible.

The commencement of his new career was, however, marked with spirit; and he soon shone by the side of Burke and Dunning, with increased reputation and success. The dispute with America was growing to a crisis, and Mr. Fox, who

who had before disapproved of the mingled measures of the ministry, now naturally attacked them with full vigour. He urged the policy of forbearing from war, and foreboded the event of it. He shewed what ought to have been done, what ministers had promised to do, and what had been done; and admitting, for argument, the coercion of America to be necessary, demanded to know the means! On the first hostilities he declared that lord Chatham, the king of Prussia, nay, Alexander the Great never gained so much in one campaign as lord North had lost.—“He has lost,” said he, “a whole continent!”

In 1776, he again visited his favourite Paris, at that time certainly the seat of the Graces. While ardently engaged in the diversions of the *Plaine de Sablons*, he was possessing himself with intelligence respecting the affairs of Europe, which could perhaps have been gained in no other way, and availing himself profitably of an intimacy with the French nobility, in which his address always obtained him a preference.

Open and easy in his manner, Mr. Fox had much of that *point* which distinguishes a ready wit and general intelligence. Of his repartees and *bon mots* volumes have been furnished, but it is to be feared that they who solemnly record these momentary effusions are those who do little else, and from such indiscriminate judges the best are not to be expected.

On his return to the house of commons in 1777, Mr. Fox had so well acquainted himself, by the means already described, with the intentions of the house of Bourbon, that while the minister declared his

confidence, that neither France nor Spain would interfere in the colonial conflict, he was enabled to state directly the reverse; and that both governments waited only for a favourable opportunity on some distinguished success of the Americans. This prediction was but too well confirmed.

The sessions of 1777 commenced under peculiar disadvantages, for in the preceding recess general Burgoyne had been surrounded by the American troops under Gates, and his whole army taken prisoners. Mr. Fox joined with Burke in the defence of Burgoyne and of Howe, who complained of the ministry, and formed an auxiliary to the purposes of opposition.

In the succeeding autumn, Mr. Fox made the tour of Ireland, and, so completely had he gained possession of the public mind, that, as a diplomatic commission had been before attributed to his journey to Paris, so this was said to be undertaken on account of Irish politics.

The affair of Burgoyne has been already mentioned, as a part of the minor politics which occupied the day. It was considered as a mark of promptness, that, on the minister denying his assertion, that twenty thousand men had fallen in the contest; he instantly moved for an account of all that had been sent, and those which remained, that the difference might produce the truth they wished to conceal. The next prominent object of minor politics, was the dispute respecting admiral Keppel and vice-admiral Palliser, which turned upon the first lord of the admiralty (Sandwich) not having sent him a sufficient force. Mr. Fox naturally exerted himself for his relation, for such was lord Keppel;

pel; but these are not the opportunities for displaying the talents of such a statesman. About this time also, he had an affair of honour with Mr. Adam, which is related in the Annual Register of the year.

The support of the trade of Ireland now occupied a good deal the mind of Mr. Fox, and he did not hesitate to make some strong allusions to the propriety of popular armament, when the constitutional rights of the people can be obtained by no other means.

The county of York also began, at the present period, to take the usual popular measures for evincing their discontent at the increase of taxes, in which it was followed by the city of Westminster. The parliament being about to be dissolved, a connection begun between Mr. Fox and the electors of Westminster, who proposed to him the representation of that city in parliament. Though by no means an old statesman, and without any popular measures, such was the effect of his manners, and of the exertions he had made, that he received, on this occasion, the flattering title of *The Man of the People*; and the name of Fox was ever after associated with constitutional freedom. The power with which he had to contend (the Newcastle interest,) and the éclat of the affair of honour in which Mr. Fox had been engaged, did not fail to have their wonted effect on the public mind.

Lord Lincoln was his opponent, and made what is called a powerful stand; but Mr. Fox was ultimately successful. A scrutiny was demanded, but lord Lincoln did not proceed very far. As a mark of the interest Mr. Fox had excited in the public mind, it is related, that

not having been seen for a few hours, it was reported he had fought lord Lincoln, and that he was killed; when immediately a vast concourse of people proceeded to his house, to ascertain the truth. A wag first set them right, by exclaiming, "Oh! you need not make yourselves uneasy, for if it were true the park and tower guns would have been fired!"

In the consideration of the riots of 1780, which yet so strongly impress every mind, and which shook the very empire to its centre, Mr. Fox is no way prominent. Perhaps it was not to be expected immediately after a popular election.

Mr. Fox, this year, obtained the co-operation of a parliamentary friend, and the public the accession of abilities scarcely inferior to that of his splendid contemporaries, in Richard Brinsley Sheridan. And, in the month of February following, Mr. Pitt, the predestined rival of Mr. Fox, made his first speech in the house of commons.

Mr. Pitt, who was in the twenty-second year of his age, (1781) had already maintained a literary dispute with the lord Mountstuart, concerning a supposed application of his father, the earl of Bute, to the earl of Chatham. Dr. Addington, father to the present lord Sidmouth, had published an account of some political transactions between the earl of Bute and the earl of Chatham; immediately previous to the death of the latter. Mr. Pitt published, in answer to it, a short well written pamphlet, which he entitled "Another account." The subject of debate was Mr. Burke's economical bill for regulating the civil list revenue, which Mr. Pitt supported. Although he rather appeared among
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the adherents of the earl of Shelburne, who headed the party acting in opposition, though not in junction with Fox, Burke, and Sheridan. He exhibited at once great talents, and followed his father in reprobating the idea of American independence, though he disapproved the war. He took his seat for Poole.

Mr. Sheridan was elected for Stafford, and first distinguished himself by a motion relative to the employment of the military in the riots.

The continued want of success in the war, combining with the views of opposition, as the Christmas recess approached, it was determined that Mr. Fox should attack the ministry immediately after, in the ordinary mode of accusation, and lord Sandwich was again assailed by them repeatedly. Such was the energy of this attack, that the leader, for such he had by this time unquestionably become, being for a few days indisposed, Mr. Burke declared, "of so much importance is this enquiry to the public, that no bad use would be made of the skin of my departed friend, (should death be his fate) if, like that of John Zisca, it be converted into a drum, and used for the purpose of sounding an alarm to the people of England."

On the 7th of February, however, Mr. Fox was able to make his promised attack, supported by his party, which tended to a resolution declaratory of mismanagement in naval affairs. It was negatived but by a small majority. On the 22d general Conway moved an address to his majesty, for peace, which was strongly supported, and lost by a majority only of one. On

the 27th the same gentleman repeated the motion in a different form, and carried it, the country gentlemen withdrawing their support from the minister. Lord John Cavendish next made a motion, declaratory, that the country could no longer repose confidence in ministry, and it was defeated by a small majority. On a similar motion, a few days after, lord North, with much dignity, arose, and declared himself no longer minister.

Of the new administration, the marquis of Rockingham was the nominal, and Mr. Fox the real leader, with the appointment of minister for foreign affairs. Mr. Sheridan was his under-secretary; Mr. Burke paymaster-general of the forces. Mr. Fox now came into power with a character of the most popular kind, and supported generally by the two parties who had unwillingly joined in opposition; these were the "king's friends, or Rockingham and Newcastle whigs;" and the "Pitt and Grenville whigs."

The new administration proceeded with vigour to the protection of their favourite measures, and the reversal of those of the ministry they had just conquered. Overtures of peace were made to America and Holland; a plan, recommended by the king, for retrenching the public expenditure, which led to passing Mr. Burke's bill; contractors were excluded from the house of commons; officers of customs and excise disqualified from voting at elections; the resolutions of 1769, against Wilkes, expunged from the journals; and even Pitt moved for a reform in parliament. But, alas! death interrupted their progress, by
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the sudden death of the marquis of Rockingham, their leader, and more than friend.

The members of the new administration thus suddenly deranged, looked to his grace the duke of Portland to supply the place of their deceased leader; but his majesty embraced the opportunity of placing at the head of government the earl of Shelburne, whose principles were known to differ in some great objects, particularly as to the mode of recognising the independence of America. On this being made known, Mr. Fox attended the king, and requested to name the new secretary, but found that was also done; upon which it is described that he immediately added, "then I trust your majesty can dispense with my services."—To which the reply was equally direct:—"Certainly, sir, if you feel them the least irksome." Mr. Fox, on the next day, delivered up the seals.

His observations to his friends, as they are recorded in the political circles of the time, are certainly characteristic of his open and ingenuous manner. "In resigning my situation (he is described to say) I am not insensible to the convenience, I might almost say to the necessity, of its emolument; but in a case where honour or profit must be sacrificed, I could not be long in resolving what to do. I dictate to no gentleman how he is to act; but as there are several in the same predicament with myself, if they feel as I do, they will act as I do."—Much is to be regretted the necessity for the first consideration in such a man—Lord John Cavendish, Burke, Sheridan, and others of his

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friends, followed his example. Mr. Pitt, who, it has already been observed, leaned towards the politics of lord Shelburne, became chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Fox was succeeded by lord Grantham. Mr. Pitt took an early opportunity to bear testimony to the merit of Mr. Fox, saying, he "could not think his retreat warrantable, and that his abilities marked him to be public property."

The statesman was now at greater leisure to resume the haunts of fashion, which, although never entirely neglected, had lately been superseded by more important concerns.

The administration of lord Shelburne entered into a negotiation for peace, agreeable to the principles on which they acted. But Mr. Eden having negotiated a coalition between lord North, and Mr. Fox, the preliminary articles of the peace which they concluded, were censured by a majority in parliament, in consequence of which the ministers were compelled to resign the employments so newly obtained.

But, though the leaders of the coalition succeeded in the immediate object of their coalition, that measure was a general subject of disapprobation, throughout the country. They, however, resumed the government, with the duke of Portland at their head, and lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Lord North and Mr. Fox were principal secretaries of state, Burke occupied his former appointment, Mr. Sheridan was secretary to the treasury, and all the friends of both parties joined.

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Peace

Peace with America was now, (1783,) concluded, and East-Indian affairs, which had been long in disorder, numerous wars with the native princes, and other circumstances, natural to the government of a distant province, demanded consideration.

To Mr. Fox was confided the formation of a bill which should settle that distracted country. This bill was introduced to the house of commons on the 18th of November, by a speech of Mr. Fox, equal to the production of any orator, of ancient or modern times. Burke supported the bill with all his fire, and in his arguments laid the groundwork of a charge against Mr Hastings; he concluded with pronouncing the eulogium of Mr. Fox.

The bill passed with a considerable majority in the house of commons, and was sent up to the house of peers. But, to the astonishment no less of the ministry than of a large portion of the public, it was rejected; and the king determined on an entire change of administration! The intimation was conveyed to lord North and Mr. Fox, very late in the evening, and they were desired to render up their seals of office, through the medium of their under secretaries, on the next day. Mr. Pitt again became minister, Mr. Dundas (afterwards lord Melville,) his only colleague capable of offering him any material assistance, was appointed treasurer of the navy; and Mr. (afterwards lord) Grenville succeeded Burke. Thus was soon formed a ministry, but the majority remained with the new opposition; on the part of whom a number of resolutions took place.

An attempt was made, by the country gentlemen in parliament, to bring together the leading members of ministry and opposition but in vain. Mr. Fox and the duke of Portland would admit of no steps till Mr. Pitt, by resignation, should create an equal basis, which he refused. Mr. Pitt stood his ground, and parliament being dissolved, a majority favourable to the new ministry was returned in the ensuing parliament.

The new election rendered it necessary for Mr. Fox to prepare for a meeting with his constituents, in the city of Westminster.

To attempt here to describe the Westminster election of 1784, the concerns of which have already filled a quarto volume, would be impossible. Lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray were the other candidates, and they formed a coalition against Mr. Fox.

At the close of the poll, on the 17th of May, after it had lasted forty-seven days, Mr. Fox had a majority of 235 above sir Cecil Wray, 18,925 votes were polled, out of which lord Hood had 6694, and sir Cecil Wray 5998, leaving to Mr. Fox 6233. Notwithstanding this majority, the unsuccessful candidate demanded a scrutiny, and the high bailiff, in consequence, refused to return Mr. Fox, for which he was prosecuted, and a verdict was obtained against him for 2000*l*. In the mean time, he was seated in the house of commons, for the Scottish boroughs of Dornoch, Tain, Dingwall, Wick, and Kirkwall, and after a long and tedious scrutiny, the expences of which were defrayed by his principal friends, he obtained his seat for Westminster.

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In the summer of 1785, Mr. Fox paid a visit to lord Derby, at his seat near Prescott in Lancashire. The shop-tax, among other obnoxious measures of Mr Pitt, had been powerfully opposed by his lordship and Mr. Fox, and they were, in consequence, received with the greatest popularity. Lord Derby had presented a petition from Manchester against it, signed by 12,000 persons. Receiving an invitation to Manchester, they visited that place with their friends, in a state of civic triumph, being met on the road by the different trades in procession, with bands of music, and vast numbers of the inhabitants on horseback. The horses were taken from the carriage, and they were drawn amidst the acclamations of the people to the town-hall, where an elegant entertainment was provided: at Liverpool also they were invited to a public dinner, and experienced all the marks of popular favour.

From these less important circumstances, however, Mr. Fox was now called to duties of importance.

During the discussion of the India bill, considerable blame had been attached to the governor-general of India, Mr. Hastings, and Burke had pledged himself that whenever that gentleman should arrive in England, he would bring forward several charges against him. On the 17th of February he brought forward the subject, on which Mr. Fox took an active part with him. Mr. Burke had postponed the consideration of the charges, which referred to Mr. Hastings, till that gentleman should be in London to prepare a refutation

of them, if it were possible. An impeachment was voted by the commons, and Messrs. Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, were appointed the principal managers.

In the summer of 1786, Mr. Fox retired to his seat at St. Ann's Hill, nor, except the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, on which he was by no means particularly active, was there any thing to call for the interruption of his tranquillity, in this or the next year.

The repeal of the test act, moved by Mr. Beaufoy in the ensuing session (1787), was opposed by Mr. Pitt and lord North, but ably supported by Mr. Fox, who said, in allusion to the late political part taken by the dissenters, that though they lost sight of the principles of the constitution, he should not, upon any occasion, lose sight of his principles of toleration. Early in 1788, he was elected recorder of Bridgwater, in the room of earl Poulet.

In summer, 1788, a vacancy for Westminster occurred, by lord Hood being made a lord of the admiralty, on which occasion lord John Townsend came forward as a candidate for the representation of that city, upon the whig interest, and after a long and expensive contest, finally prevailed. From the bustle of this election Mr. Fox departed for Switzerland, and proceeding along the delightful lake of Geneva, after visiting its simple, and, then, happy vales, visited the historian of "The decline and fall of the Roman empire," at Lausanne.

"The man of the people," says Gibbon, "escaped from the tumult—the bloody tumult of the Westminster election, to the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, and I

was informed that he was arrived at the *Lion d'Or* ; I sent a compliment : he answered it in person, and settled at my house for the remainder of the day. I have eat, drunk, and conversed, and sat up all night with Fox in England, but it never has happened, perhaps it never can happen again, that I should enjoy him as I did that day, alone from ten in the morning till ten at night. Our conversation never flagged a moment ; and he seemed thoroughly pleased with the place and with his company. We had little politics, though he gave me, in a few words, such a character of Pitt, as one great man should give of another, his rival ; much of books, from my own, on which he flattered me very pleasantly, to *Homer* and the *Arabian Nights* : much about the country, my garden, (which he understands far better than I do) and, upon the whole, I think he envies me, and would do so were he minister. The next morning I gave him a guide to walk him about the town and country, and invited some company to meet him at dinner. The following day he continued his journey to Bern and Zurich, and I have heard of him by various means. The people gaze on him as on a prodigy, but he shews little inclination to converse with them."

Again (September 1788), he says, " In his tour of Switzerland, Mr. Fox gave me two days of free and private conversation. He seemed to feel, and even to envy the happiness of my situation ; while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive character, with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no

human being was ever more perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity or falsehood."

From Switzerland he proceeded to Italy, and he had arrived at Bologna, on his way to Rome, when, in the middle of November, a messenger overtook him, with an account of the royal indisposition, which was likely to furnish him with much laborious discussion.

He immediately quitted Bologna, and returned with such rapidity, that, on his arrival in London, on the 24th of the same month, he became himself severely indisposed.

The parliament met on the 20th of November, and were informed officially of the inability of his majesty to attend to the affairs of government, and adjourned for the consideration of a regency. Fortunately for the country, in the midst of this unpleasing contention, his majesty recovered, and was able to attend to public business early in 1789.

The health of Mr. Fox was now so much impaired, as to alarm his friends exceedingly. He accordingly went to Bath, on the recommendation of his physicians, and was received in a manner the most complimentary to his character. In the course of a month he was happily recovered, and returned to his parliamentary duty with renovated vigour.

In the various probabilities of war, which happened this year, Mr. Pitt was defeated in his exertions, and that of his party. The contention with Spain concerning Nootka Sound (another Falkland Island) was speedily adjusted. And when Russia was menaced for her Turkish politics, Mr Fox not only
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these words : "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the particular measures which Mr. Fox may have supported or opposed in the long course of his parliamentary exertions, there is one point to which all mankind must agree, and which even his most inveterate enemies will not dare to call in question,—that if the wonderful talents of his mind, instead of being exerted in the service of his country, had been directed to objects of private interest and personal ambition, they would long ere this have placed their possessor in a situation of opulence and power equal to his fame and celebrity. That this has not been the case is equally notorious, and it must therefore be the natural wish of every man of liberal feelings, that he who has conducted himself in so distinguished a manner should be placed in a situation as independent as his mind."

After this declaration, resolutions were passed to the tenor of the proposition, and a committee was appointed to forward the plan, and to execute any trust which might be necessary, consisting of Lord John Russel, Lord G. H. Cavendish, Messrs. Francis, Crewe, Vyner, Wrightson, Skinner, Coombe, Adair, Coke, Pelham, and Byng. Never was there a nobler instance of recognition of public services by individuals ; never was any one better deserved.

Mr. Serjeant Adair now communicated this generous procedure to Mr. Fox, from whom he received the following letter :

"*St. Ann's Hill, June 6th, 1793.*

"Dear sir,

"You will easily believe that it is not a mere form of words, when I say, that I am wholly at a loss

how to express my feelings upon the event which you have in so kind a manner communicated to me.

"In difficult cases it is not unusual to enquire what others have said or done in like circumstances, but in my situation, this resource is denied me ; for where am I to look for an instance of such a proof of public esteem as that which is offered to me ? to receive at once from the public such a testimony to the disinterestedness of my conduct, and such a reward as the most interested would think their lives well spent in obtaining, is a rare instance of felicity which seems to have been reserved for me.

"It would be gross affectation, if, in my circumstances, I were to pretend that what is intended me is not in itself of the highest value. But it is with perfect sincerity that I declare, that no other manner in which a fortune could have come to me, would have been so gratifying to the feelings of my heart. I accept, therefore, with the most sincere gratitude, the kindness of the public, and consider it as an additional obligation upon me, if any were wanting, to continue steady to the principles which I have uniformly professed, and to persevere in the honest and independent line of conduct, to which alone I am conscious that I am indebted for this ; as well as for every other mark of public approbation.

"I hope I need not add, my dear sir, that I could not have received this honourable message through a more acceptable channel.

"I am with great truth,

"My dear sir,

"Your most obliged humble servant,

"C. J. Fox."

Mr. Serj. Adair."

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This candid and manly letter, so highly characteristic of Mr. Fox, was submitted to another meeting on the 11th, when the committee announced that the plan had been seconded with such spirit as to enable them to present Mr. Fox with an annuity neither unworthy of him nor themselves.

It is difficult whether most to regret the necessity for this transaction towards such a man, or to admire the manner in which, on both sides, it was conducted. Both parties, however, presented a useful example for the imitation of mankind.

On a resolution being proposed by lord William Russell, and supported by the friends of Mr. Fox, members of the whig club,—"that this club think it their duty, at this extraordinary-juncture, to assure the right hon. Charles James Fox, that all the arts of misrepresentation, which have been so industriously circulated of late, for the purpose of calumniating him, have had no other effect upon them than that of confirming, strengthening, and increasing their attachment to him," forty-five noblemen and gentlemen withdrew from that body. This was a great and irrecoverable, though not an unexpected blow.

In this year Mr. Hastings was pronounced by the high court of parliament, not guilty, and Mr. Burke who had declared his intention of resigning on this occasion, retired from parliament.

The subsequent career of Mr. Fox, is best learned from the history of his country, and the debates in parliament; where he continued to oppose the measures of Mr. Pitt, with an energy, that nothing but

conviction of rectitude could have produced, in a mind of such candour and urbanity as that of Mr. Fox. For the principle events of his political life, we must refer the reader to our preceding volumes: which have been so frequently illumined by the brilliancy of his eloquence, as it is recorded in our history of Europe. A few particular dates of leading events, will be all that it is necessary for us to set down; as marking the great points of his political history. In consequence of the state trials in 1794, and some disturbances, bills were brought into parliament by Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville for the prevention of seditious meetings; which, certainly went to consider the country in a state of insurrection, and were, in their nature, contrary to the constitution.

It is not likely that Mr. Fox should suffer these bills to pass without his notice, if not his serious reprehension. "Should these bills pass," said he, "by the mere influence of the minister, contrary to the sentiments of the great majority of the nation, and he was asked without doors what was to be done, he would say: This was not now a question of morality, or of duty, but of prudence. Acquiesce in the bills only as long as you are compelled to do so. They are bills to destroy the constitution, and parts of the system of an administration aiming at that end. He was interrupted with some provocation, when he rejoined,—that, He knew the misconstruction to which these sentiments were liable, and he braved it. No attempt of the Stuarts called for more opposition than the present bills, and extraordinary times

demanding extraordinary declarations.

Mr. Fox moved for a repeal of the bills, with a minority of 50 against 200. His little party was, however, more successful in a singular measure which became necessary about the same time.

Mr. John Reeves, who had been conspicuous as a founder of "an association against republicans and levellers," published, "Thoughts on the English government," tending to shew the propriety of its becoming—an absolute despotism. It was voted a daring libel on the constitution.

In 1796 parliament was dissolved, and the candidates for Westminster, with Mr. Fox, were sir Alan afterwards lord Gardner, and Mr. Horne Tooke.

Mr. Tooke, in his usual strain of popular argument and dry humour, told the electors, with respect to sir Alan Gardner, "that if Mr. Fox and sir Alan were returned by the electors of Westminster, they would be literally not represented at all; they would be like a man setting out in a carriage with one horse harnessed before and the other behind, both pulling different ways, which was a pretty method of arriving at the journey's end!" and as respected Mr. Fox, he said, that "the only distinction between them was, that Mr. Fox was right honourable; but as he himself was neither right honourable nor honourable, he must consider himself as a private in the ranks; and though he was afraid he could never command, yet he could fight as bitterly and as effectually as any of them."

Mr. Fox pursued his usual mode, without deviating either one way

or the other. Mr. Tooke had been eminent as a leader of the people, and was therefore a popular candidate. It was desired, probably both by minister and people, that Mr. Fox should join that gentleman. He, however, constantly denied the existence of any coalition.

The following were the final numbers.

For Mr. Fox	- - -	5160
For sir A. Gardner	- -	4814
For Mr. Horne Tooke	-	2810

Early in the new parliament, which commenced its sittings in October 1796, the minister opened a negotiation for peace with France, in which Mr. Fox most heartily concurred. But, in the following December, he censured with all his force the conduct of Mr. Pitt, in having granted money to the Emperor of Germany, and to the French princes, without the consent or even knowledge of parliament; a censure, the justice of which was proved by the acquiescence of many even of the minister's friends, forming a minority of 81, which was considered important. In the early part of 1797, Mr. Fox's exertions were indefatigable, and received every support of his party. In May, with three other gentlemen, he presented a petition from Bristol, for the dismissal of the ministers, signed by nearly four thousand persons; and soon after, by himself, another from Antrim. As a privy counsellor, he obtained an audience of the King in the closet, and represented to his majesty the alarming situation of the kingdom. On the 23d of the same month, he moved for a repeal of the treason and sedition bills, but found himself again in a minority of

30. A few days afterwards, Mr Grey renewed the motion for a reform in parliament. It afforded an opportunity for Mr. Fox to declare an intention he had formed, of forbearing to prosecute an useless attendance in parliament.

Mr. Fox now retired from parliament to his villa at St. Anne's Hill, declaring his intention to return on occasion of any important question; and at the same time representing to his constituents his readiness to vacate his seat, if by holding it on those terms he incurred their disapprobation. This secession from parliament was productive of much censure. Many conceived that, however unprofitable, his attendance was by no means to be dispensed with, after having undertaken the representation of a great city. Private letters were poured in upon him from all quarters, with the signature of "Elector," and some of them not in the politest or pleasantest style.

Agreeably to his declaration, when the important measure of the assessed tax bill came to be discussed, Mr. Fox attended the house of commons and strenuously opposed it.

While these circumstances happened, however Mr. Fox experienced a painful incident, that tended much to qualify the satisfaction he enjoyed in the attachment of his remaining friends,—this was the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Fifty-four articles of impeachment against the right honourable Charles James Fox," from the pen of Edmund Burke! It had hardly, indeed, been published, when its sale was stopped by the friends of Mr. Burke, and it was stated to have been the matter of a *private letter* from that

gentleman to the duke of Portland, in the year 1792, for the use of his grace and earl Fitzwilliam; that was not to be opened till they should have separated from Mr. Fox, which he considered as certain. An amanuensis was stated to have secreted a copy, to which he now gave this title, and published it against the intentions of Mr. Burke. It had however, been so assiduously circulated, that it was useless to withdraw it, and the title only was therefore softened to its real nature, "A Letter to the duke of Portland," &c. Those who understand the minor arts of literature and politics, may judge of this attack. It, however, contained all Mr. Burke's feelings with regard to Mr. Fox. Every measure of parliament hostile to the country, he charged on that gentleman, and every unsuccessful measure, whether foreign or domestic; every tumult of the people; the proceedings of all the popular societies were charged upon Mr. Fox; because he might have averted them! "With Mr. Fox," said he, "we might save the country; without him, we ought to attempt it." To his regret at not converting the great talents of Mr. Fox to his cause, may be ascribed the charges of this letter.

Mr. Fox had been equally desirous of a liberal re-union with Mr. Burke, and took every means, to effect it; but Mr. Burke's reply invariably was—"Will he sign the renunciation?" (a singular paper drawn up by himself, containing a solemn renunciation of the principles of the French revolution, and a promise that he would never again propose a reform in parliament or the abolition of the test.) Nor was this all, for he was to "make the sentiments

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of this paper a part of his speech in a full house," a call of which he proposed to procure, that, as he said, "nothing might be wanting to the impossibility of future apostacy."

The subject is beyond discussion; Mr. Burke, however, latterly, answered less passionately. "My separation," (said he) "from Mr. Fox is a principle, and not a passion; I hold it as a sacred duty to confirm what I have said and written by this sacrifice; and to what purpose would be the re-union of a moment? I can have no delight with him, nor he with me."

The "Letter," however, in no way altered Mr. Fox against him.

About the end of June it was announced to him by lord Fitzwilliam, that his illustrious friend was then confined by an illness which was ascertained to be fatal. He became agitated beyond the power of description, and was solicitous of obtaining an interview with one who had been so dear to him.

With this view he addressed a note to Mrs. Burke, and received, by express, an answer:

"That it had cost Mr. Burke the most heartfelt pain to obey the stern voice of his duty, in rending asunder a long friendship, but that he had effected this necessary sacrifice; and that, in whatever of life yet remained to him, he conceived that he must continue to live for others and not for himself."

The poignancy of Mr. Fox's disappointment may be more easily conceived than expressed; and when he heard that the friend whom for five and twenty years he had never seen without pleasure, nor heard with-

out instruction, was no more!—he wept bitterly.

If it is to be regretted that Burke was so inexorable, let his virtues and his talents be appreciated.

Every event of this painful period tended to widen the breach between Mr. Fox and the ministry.

The anniversary of his birth day in 1798 was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, and the duke of Norfolk was in the chair. His Grace gave for a toast: "The sovereign majesty of the people." This, in the first peer of the realm, could not be easily attributed, in the most remote manner, to a desire of exciting disaffection; it was, however, construed into the worst meaning, and, in consequence, the lord-lieutenancy of the West riding of Yorkshire, and the command of its militia, was taken from him.

It was not in the nature of Fox to suffer another to be a solitary victim in his behalf. It was not long, therefore, before, at a meeting of the Whig Club, he took the chair, and justified the act of his friend in the following manner. After the usual prelude, "I will give you," said he "a toast, than which I think there cannot be a better, according to the principles of this club—I mean the sovereignty of the people of Great Britain." For this speech Mr. Fox received the only mark of displeasure that could be shewn him, the erasure of his name from among those of the privy council.

The circumstances of Ireland had now arrived at a painful crisis. The consequence was first loud remonstrance and determined declarations against, next an appeal to arms, and lastly an invitation of the aid of the French government.

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From the embarrassment of public affairs at this period, the little villa of St. Ann's Hill would be expected to unfold its charms to Mr. Fox with fresh delight, and thither he retired. He rose early, and though nearly approaching his fiftieth year, did not fail frequently to bathe in the Thames: under an old beech (now for ever consecrated to the rights of mankind) on a small elevation at the western extremity of St. Ann's Hill, he was to be seen inhaling the breeze of the morning. And here, in 1799, he erected the seat which surrounds the old tree, and generally visited it before breakfast.

This retreat was also sacred to letters, the charm of sorrow. He now read over again the best authors, and added to that information, already so great, whatever of advantageous novelty was to be obtained. In languages also, the key of science, he made new acquisitions. His method may be imitated by those who can no otherwise imitate him; it is said that, "after labouring a week at his grammar, in getting by heart the declinable parts the substantives, adjectives, and verbs, he immediately began, with the assistance of his dictionary, to read some classic author, learning the syntax by reference as the examples occurred."

To describe the course of life prescribed to himself by Mr. Fox, may afford some gratification. The forenoon till two o'clock he employed in reading and study. He then visited some of the neighbouring villages; returning to a domestic dinner, always simple and unexpensive. Occasionally the duke of Bedford or lord Holland broke in upon his solitude. Sometimes, in-

deed, the great, the learned, and the gay might be seen to visit the rural graces of polished life, hid in shrubberies, or sporting on his parterre of roses; and there were not wanting the sister muses of poetry and music. There was nothing, however, to interrupt the infantine joy that arises out of health and innocence; and the hour of tea was generally exhilarated by a good novel, which all present read aloud alternately.

Thus happily passed his time, diverted by the pleasing care of Mr. Fox, whose only study was his ease, and whom he repaid by the tenderest attention. Here he planned a final retirement from public life, for which purpose he is said to have penned a farewell address to the electors of Westminster, and here he began the historical work which is now in the press.

He was, however, called with renovated vigour to the discussion of overtures for peace made by France on the appointment of her first consul. He also attended with particular zeal to the motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, made by Mr. Grey, in March, 1801.

In the year 1801, internal tumults had ceased, and an union with Ireland was suddenly brought about on expectations never yet realised; to which Mr. Fox opposed his efforts. Mr. Pitt and his party soon after retired: Mr. Addington was prevailed upon to accept the vacant helm, and concluded the peace of Amiens, which seemed to have been made for the purpose of being broken.

No sooner, however, had Mr. Fox again emerged from retirement, than new wounds were inflicted on his sensibility. His grace the duke

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of Bedford, his long and tried friend, in the prime of life, and pursuit of lasting fame, was suddenly cut off by an accident, sincerely regretted by the public. To Mr. Fox his loss was particularly painful; and in moving for a new writ for Tavistock, vacant by the elevation of his successor, he pronounced an oration upon his character with his usual force.

The general election of this year was expected to be less difficult than any for a considerable period. The sitting members were, nevertheless, opposed by a Mr. John Graham, an auctioneer, who assumed a popular interest, and continued the poll for nine days, in the course of which time, from the inactivity of the principal candidates, and his own popular activity, he had more than half the number of votes of either of the other candidates.

Mr. Fox then changed the scene, and having, during his lettered retirement, formed a desire to see the Stuart papers, which had formerly been deposited in the Scots college at Paris; being also anxious to visit the French nation under the new form of its government; he determined once more, with Mrs. Fox, to visit Paris.

On their arrival at Calais, Mr. and Mrs. Fox were immediately attended by the municipality in their civic robes, and received every mark of their respect, the mayor declaring "the high gratification which he and his fellow-citizens felt in seeing in their city the great and disinterested statesman, whose counsels, had they been seasonably adopted, would have prevented the calamities that have distracted the world."

Not to invite a similar compli-

ment as they proceeded, Mr. Fox determined to travel incognito: he was, however, recognised at Lisle, with the same compliments as at Calais, and an entertainment was given in honour of his presence at the Circus, while the band of the 61st brigade, serenaded him at his lodgings.

At Paris he was universally sought, and addressed as the "English patriot, and the benefactor of the human race." He was visited by all the public and learned bodies, and invitations flocked in to him from every quarter. An opportunity immediately offered which of all others he most ardently wished, that of studying the most eminent characters of the revolution.

Having announced his arrival at the consular court, he was received in the most obliging manner by the first consul. He was introduced by Mr. Merry to the first public audience, (Sept. 3) where the first consul twice addressed him with the most condescending affability. "There are," said he, "in the world, but two nations, the one inhabiting the east, the other the west. The English, French, Germans, Italians, &c. under the same civil code, having the same manners, the same habits, and almost the same religion, are all members of the same family; and the men who wish to light up again the flame of war among them, wish for civil war; these principles, sir, were developed in your speeches with an energy that does as much honour to your heart as your head."

The same day he dined with the first consul, and conversed with him long in the midst of a numerous company.

The chief subjects of conversation

on between these two extraordinary persons, are said to have been the *concordat*, for the provisions of which, with regard to the celibacy of the clergy, Bonaparte was at great pains to justify himself to Mr. Fox; and the *trial by jury*, which Mr. Fox vindicated against the attacks of Bonaparte, saying, in answer to the complaint of the first consul, that juries were often extremely inconvenient to the government; that he liked them for it so much the better.

On every occasion the first consul testified the high consideration in which he held him; and constantly declared "that, if the then English ministers had been such men as Mr. Fox, England and France might remain at eternal peace, and mutually concur in each other's happiness."

The following agreeable incident, is repeated here, as it accords with the character of Mr. Fox:—

On the 16th of September, he assisted at an extraordinary sitting of the tribunate. A few minutes before the opening of the sitting, M. Boyer, captain of the guard of the tribunate, advanced to Mr. Fox, and addressed him in these words: "I am one, sir, of two hundred French prisoners, who, in the year 3, (1795) were prisoners at Portchester. We applied to you, and you had the generosity to exert your eloquence in our favour. On a sudden our chains were broken, and we were almost free. This benefit will never be forgotten by my companions in misfortune: but I am at present happier than they are, because I am able to declare to you publicly my gratitude. I entreat you to add to it, if it be possible, by condescending to accept my

weak, but sincere, expression of it." He replied to this emanation of gratitude, with his wonted modesty: "Yes, sir, I believe I have the pleasure to recollect you."

The following account of the circumstances of his residence was also circulated with so much confidence in various ways, that it is inserted without other authority.—It is believed to have come originally from a writer to whom the public is at the same time indebted for much science.

"To ape Mr. Fox was now the fashion at Paris. His dress, his manner of speaking, nay, his very dinners, were imitated. The beaux of Paris exhibited a singular contrast between what they actually were and what they endeavoured to appear. It was the fashion to be a thinking man—to think like Fox; and the coxcombs endeavoured to model their features to that character! At the opera he attracted every eye, and was followed as a spectacle through the streets. His picture was exhibited in every window, and no medallions had such a ready sale as those which bore the head of Mr. Fox. The artists alone felt some dissatisfaction, as he refused to sit for his portrait. It is said that a celebrated statuary sent his respects to Mr. Fox, and informed him that, being desirous to partake of his immortality, he purposed to execute a statue of him, and would call the following day, when he flattered himself that Mr. Fox would have no objection to sit half an hour in his shirt, while he took the exact contour of his body!

"Among the fashionables of Paris, (continues this account) who were particularly attentive to Mr. Fox, was Madame Recamier. She called

called for him one day in her carriage, but Mr. Fox hesitated to accompany her. 'Come,' said the lady, 'I must keep my promise, and shew you on the promenade. The good people of Paris must always have a spectacle. Before you came, I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, sir.' A few days afterwards appeared an ode, in which Mr. Fox and Madame Recamier were transformed into Jupiter and Venus. The author, with all the modesty of a Frenchman, put a copy of this ode into the hand of Mr. Fox, and another into that of Madame Recamier, whom he was attending to the opera. On reading the subject, Mr. Fox appeared confused, but his fair companion smiled—'Let them say what they please,' said she, 'as long as Mons. Recamier preserves his senses, and laughs at them as I do.' Of this lady Mr. Fox entertained the highest opinion; and observed, that she was the only woman who united the attractions of pleasure to those of modesty.

Nor was this attention from the French people changed during the stay of Mr. and Mrs. Fox at Paris. Every pleasure that could be afforded them was studiously offered, and it is only necessary to recognise the disposition of the parties upon whom the distinction was conferred, to conceive the pleasing interchange they established. With the first consul Mr. Fox continued on the most liberal terms: he examined his character, his motives, and his powers; and the result was a declaration, that "he was a man as magnificent in his means as in his ends—that he possessed a most decided

character, that he would pursue his purpose with more constancy, and for a longer period, than was imagined; that his views were not directed against Great Britain, but that he looked only to the continent. His commercial enmity was only a temporary measure; and was never intended to be acted on as a permanent policy. That he had a proud candour, which, in the confidence of success in whatever he resolved, scorned to conceal his intentions."—"I never saw," said he, "so little indirectness in any statesman as in the first consul. He makes no secret of his designs." There are those who will not think, even in this instance, Mr. Fox belied his just knowledge of human nature.

Notwithstanding these various occupations, Mr. Fox found leisure to make great acquisitions for his history, from documents in the various offices which had yet survived the storm of the revolution. In those which were the principal objects of his enquiry, however, he was disappointed.

The documents alluded to, were the original Memoirs of King James II. written by that monarch himself, and deposited by him in the Scots college, in the rue Fossé St. Victor, at Paris; but which were afterwards lost in the tumult of the revolution.

In the middle of November, Mr. and Mrs. Fox returned to England. Mr. Fox immediately recommenced his parliamentary duty, with every advantage of information on the topic of French affairs.

Mr. Fox now again ceased to attend the house of commons; he did not approve of the war, and he did not wish to embarrass the measures

measures which must be taken after it was entered into. At this time, notwithstanding this favourable inclination shewn to Mr. Addington, an apparent cordiality seemed to exist in Mr. Pitt towards Mr. Fox, and lord Grenville evinced a growing approbation. Mr. Fox however, continued to indulge chiefly in his favourite retirement, and the domestic enjoyments it contained.

From these pleasing employments, Mr. Fox was called in the following month to vindicate, in parliament, the conduct of his brother (general Fox) as commander-in-chief in Ireland, and to instigate an enquiry into the government of that country, during the insurrection. Several other motions of minor importance followed, and on one for the revision of the bills respecting the defence of the country, he was seconded by Mr. Pitt! This first caused a minority of 234 against 256; which decided Mr. Addington's administration.

The world now looked with expectation for the succession of Mr. Fox to the ministry, but not so with that gentleman; a thousand opinions floated upon the public mind, but all in vain. Mr. Pitt resumed his office, though at the expence of lord Grenville, who insisted on Mr. Fox being joined in the government. Mr. Pitt turned the obstruction from himself.

War with Spain was immediately renewed; of the *duplicity* of which, Mr. Fox strongly complained. The opposition vengeance, however, soon fell upon lord Melville (formerly Mr. Dundas) who had committed himself under an economical arrangement of the late administration. The subject was discussed on

the 8th of April, 1805, when he again appeared with all his energy.

The next exertion of Mr. Fox was on the petition of the catholics of Ireland, which had before been presented by him. It was thrown out by a large majority, but a portion of the empire was conciliated by the protection it had received.

On the 23d of January, 1806, Mr. Pitt died, and a junction taking place between the friends of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, a new administration was formed, in which Mr. Fox and all his friends were comprised; and after *twenty-two years'* absence from the offices of government, he returned to power as secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Mr. Fox, having appropriated to himself the elegant mansion of the duke of Bedford, at St. James's, (who was now appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland,) returned to business with vigour, and, as may be expected, fully prepared in all its details, notwithstanding his long absence.

Immediately upon his entering into office, communications took place between him and the minister for foreign relations in France; which led to resolutions for peace, which was conducted with his usual openness of character.

The labour of the session in parliament was considerable; and the duties of his office were extraordinarily fatiguing, and overpowered his constitution; and, whatever his spirit, his health had been gradually weakening: the first acknowledgment he made of it, however, was in a letter to a friend who had desired his concurrence in an affair of some importance. "My life has been active
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beyond my strength," said he, "I had almost said, my duty. If I have not acted much, you will allow I have spoken much; and I have felt more than I have either acted or spoken. My constitution has sunk under it. I find myself unequal to the business on which you have written; it must be left to younger men."

Once he employed this remarkable expression.—"Pitt has died in January—perhaps I may go off before June." A gentleman who was in company with him, having made some observation in reply—"Nay," said Mr. Fox, "I begin to think my complaint not unlike Pitt's; my stomach has been long discomposed; I feel my constitution dissolving."

This state of health continued through the month of March, when his friends were convinced he was breaking fast. Still he insisted that his disease was only a temporary habit, and as he happened in May to recover an interval of strength, that circumstance tended to confirm him in his error. The symptoms, however, soon returned with redoubled violence, and he was pronounced, at the latter end of June, to have decided symptoms of dropsy.

It was the beginning of July before his disease was completely ascertained. The symptoms were no longer doubtful, and the swelling daily increased. All efforts to discharge the water by diuretic medicine failing, the operation of tapping was performed on the 7th of August; the quantity taken from him was about five gallons. The weakness which succeeded, was such as to excite a general alarm that he would not

survive it; he was long speechless, and that at the moment when the public prints represented him all gaiety and spirits. His state continued very doubtful, till the night of the 10th, when he again began to recover strength. He now dined with one or two of his most intimate friends, and conversed with them as long as his physicians permitted.

Mr. Fox had occasionally favourable symptoms after his first operation, and his medical attendants entertained hopes almost to the last, of his recovery. But, in the mean time, the accumulation of water returned, and as another operation was obviously soon to be necessary, he was removed, in the first instance, to Chiswick, that he might enjoy there the benefits of air and residence in the country. This change of residence took place on the 28th of August, and on the 1st of September following the operation of tapping was again performed. He suffered less than he had done the first time, from the immediate effects of the operation; and the symptoms of his case were, in the opinion of his physicians, more favourable than they had been at any time during his illness, when he suddenly fell into a state of great lowness and exhaustion, on Monday, the 8th of September, from which he never completely recovered. He continued to languish till the 13th instant, when he expired, having retained his senses and recollection to the last. His body being examined after death, it was found that the cause of his illness was a schirrus, or induration of the liver.

Thus died the right honourable Charles James Fox, on the 13th day of September, 1806, in the 58th year

year of his age, a period the most satisfactory of any in the whole course of his life—a period at which he, accustomed to adversity, had at length arrived at the attainment of every wish, and at that age of a life, when death is attended with fewer terrors than in one more advanced. If the peace of his country, for which he had always struggled, were not indeed attained, he had the happiness to see it in fair prospect; and he was spared the pain of seeing the intricate policy of modern times triumph over his favourite object. The partner of his heart was easy. His private friends, and the old associates of his public career, were in the employment of the state, and receiving the honours that reward persevering virtue. He had, through his short administrations, been an enlightened and benevolent minister, and nothing had detracted from his fame. Let those who wish he had lived longer, and attained higher honours, rejoice that he lived so long, and died regretted by the British people.

The day fixed for the funeral was the tenth of October, the anniversary of Mr. Fox's first election for Westminster.*

Thus far we have endeavoured to abridge, from the narratives at present published, the facts generally known concerning the political and private life of Mr. Fox, we shall add a summary of the character of that great man, chiefly from our own observation.

Mr. Fox was of the middle stature, and for many years had been much encumbered with corpulence and obesity. His complexion was very dark, his nose well formed, and

his mouth, according to Lavater's system, expressive of good nature and a love of pleasure. His eyebrows were not only remarkably thick and black, but were peculiarly shaped; not being arched but rising upward at a considerable angle from the temples towards the middle of the forehead. The whole expression of his face and person has been said, by one of his panegyrists, to have formed a perfect specimen of the English character; but his dark beard and sallow complexion were by others thought to give him much the appearance of a native of a more southern climate. His countenance was manly, bold, and open: and the bust of him by Nollekins is grand and impressive. His temper was kind, and in private equable; his manners were the most affable and engaging; no man had more personal friends, and there never was a man whose friendships were more lasting, or whose enmities were less rooted.

Having visited the courts of Europe early, he wanted nothing of the polished address which distinguishes the man of high breeding; and having been drawn into the vortex of pleasure which led to many embarrassments, in his youth; having approached the lowest classes of his fellow citizens with familiarity, in the tumult of many a popular election, he had, like our fifth Henry, “sounded the very base string of humility;” he had seen mankind in all the gradations of rank, and varieties of character, and knew human nature thoroughly. Of his scholastic acquirements we have spoken already, and have only to add, that they were chiefly confined to the

belles lettres, history, and the ancient and modern languages of Europe, and he is not supposed to have given his time to the acquisition of the mathematical sciences, which, indeed, have little connection with the chief objects of a statesman's attention. In history, particularly that of his own country,—in the political constitution and particular interests of the different nations of Europe, he was eminently skilled.

He had early shewn a taste for poetry, and was celebrated for a ready wit, which he displayed in occasional sallies of repartee, and that light species of composition, which the French call *vers de société*. With a warm heart, a generous spirit, a simple mind, a clear understanding, and a perspicuous, easy style of expression, Fox necessarily became the admiration of the British parliament, and one of the most animated and powerful amongst ancient or modern orators. His delivery was, however, not graceful, and his voice wanted power and harmony, but his manner was always pleasing, because it was always sensible and unaffected, and when he rose, as he always did, in the heat of debate, with the subject which he was discussing, he soared an eagle's flight, and fell upon his adversaries with a force and energy which was irresistible. The great art of his eloquence seemed to be the absolute disregard of every thing that had the appearance of art. He had no set style, no monotony of round and studied periods, like his adversary, Pitt, or the prototype of that adversary, Cicero. His words and phrases were all the simple English of the reign of queen Anne, such as Swift or Addison would have used,

but in a style more concentrated. His illustrations were drawn from history, or from common life, and not, like those of his friend Burke, scientific, poetical, or metaphysical. He always reasoned from facts and plain obvious principles, and made his hearers usually feel with him, because he appeared to speak and feel like a common man of uncommon energy. He possessed beyond all other men the grand secret of impressive eloquence, the power of making every one present believe that he was capable of thinking rightly, that he was incapable of deceit, and that his sole desire was to convince his hearers of the truth which he felt himself strongly, and which he was only anxious to impress upon others with equal force of feeling.

Yet in reality he was often a most skilful orator, and knew as well as any man how to draw the attention of his hearers from the strong parts of his opponents' arguments, by attacking their political characters rather than their measures. An instance of this may be found in his speeches on the celebrated East India bill, where we shall find, if we compare him with Burke, that although totally neglecting the local information which the latter displayed upon the subject*, he produced a greater sensation upon his audience, by withdrawing their attention from the objects of the bill, as they affected the people in India, to their consequence, in adding weight to the influence of the ministers in this country. In this he was wise, he knew that his hearers felt but a remote interest for the distant inhabitants of Hindostan, whom they considered only as filling up a space in the map of Asia. To speak,

* In the excellent speech alluded to, Burke was nearly coughed down.

like Burke, of their injuries, of their countries desolated by merchant conquerors, as unfeeling as the *ouran outang* and the tyger, would bid no accordant string to vibrate in their breasts; but, direct them to Leadenhall-street and St. Stephen's chapel, and they were at home; they could understand him, and they could feel with him. There needs no better example of his knowledge of man, and his skill as an orator. His real artifice lay in the skilful choice of his topics, and in discussing those which he selected with the most natural and energetic simplicity. To affect the feelings of his audience, he used every means which nature supplies to art, he argued himself into a fervour of passion; he declaimed with vehemence, he spoke in sententious apophthegms, in sudden exclamations, in broken sentences and in tears.

He has been compared to Demosthenes, and the comparison is just. He will be remembered as the Demosthenes of England. One point of similarity has, perhaps, not yet been noticed. Demosthenes acquired his style by frequent copying of the historian Thucydides. The English Demosthenes, it is true, had no Thucydides of his own nation to copy; but by historical studies he formed his eloquence upon the rigorous and chaste model of an historical style; and hence, perhaps, may be found one source of his great resemblance to the Grecian orator in the characteristics of simplicity, natural dignity, and sententious energy.

Of his political character as a minister, considering that he held the reins of government for a short time only, it is difficult to speak.

As a leader of opposition he was the most powerful; but those who watch the proceedings of the British parliament, will observe that a leader of opposition is often obliged to condemn, is rarely at liberty to praise, and has many opportunities of gaining popular favour, without much risk of reputation. Yet Fox often praised the financial skill of his opponent, and it is much to his credit for foresight, as a politician, that from the first he predicted the evils of a coalition against France, that he always sighed for peace, and that our warfare has failed of its desired object, and led to the subjugation of Europe, through the aggrandizement of France.

In private life, we have already said, he was most amiable.—He had follies, indeed, or if the love of pleasure and of gaming be vices in youth, he had vices too, which it would be weakness to conceal. But, with an ardent passion for these destructive habits, he quitted them entirely for a modest retirement, when he could no longer enjoy them without risking the independence which his friends had given him, from public spirit, in order to preserve him for the service of his country; and, though he had been profuse of his own fortune, he was neither greedy nor envious of another's; non *alieni appetens, sui profusus*. His virtues too were not less admirable because they shone through, and in the end purified and corrected the transient defects of his character. He had both a natural and acquired urbanity, a gentlemanly feeling, which thought and acted with the greatest kindness towards every fellow man, however humble. Even in the ar-

dour of debate he insulted no one, and scarcely ever used an expression which a gentleman would wish to disavow. He sneered at no man's weakness, but chose always for his competitor the strongest of his opponents. He scorned to fight with dwarfs, but always ventured alone into combat with the Goliath of his times; and his weapons, though strong and well-directed, were fair and simple, as the sling and the stone of the son of Jesse. In all things he was great, he lived and died with many friends, and amongst a nation of admirers, and he will ever be remembered amongst the great leaders of the British senate, and the glories of British eloquence.

Parallel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox.

Having thus attempted to describe the eloquence, and delineate the characters of these two great men, we may pronounce of them, that as rivals for power and for fame, their equals have not been known in this country, and perhaps in none were there two such statesmen, in so regular and equal a contention for pre-eminence. In the advantages of birth and fortune they were equal; in eloquence, dissimilar in their manner, but superior to all their contemporaries; in influence upon the minds of their hearers equal; in talents and reputation, dividing the nation into two parties of nearly equal strength; in probity above all suspicion; in patriotism rivals, as in all things else.

Whatever the spirit of party may have suggested in the ardour of contention, the writer of this cannot now be persuaded, that their opposition was more than a constitutional struggle for power, to which

each had pretensions that must have borne the palm from any other man of his time.

At the commencement of Mr. Pitt's long administration, to which he succeeded by one of those court manœuvres which have obtained in all countries, Mr. Fox could rarely object anything to his measures, except that the proposer of them first obtained his power against the majority of the house of commons. In the nice and difficult affair of the proposed regency, we see the Whig leader of opposition, the man of the people, endeavouring to check the limitations which the court minister, through the two popular branches of the legislature, would have fixed upon the hereditary successor to the executive government, on a temporary demise of the crown. In opposition, each declaimed against the corruption of the commons, and proposed plans of reform. This was the engine by which the one raised himself in early youth to a great degree of popular favour, and gained the citadel of ministerial power. This too was the engine which the other employed to besiege him in his state, when he found it necessary to lead, and not destroy parliamentary influence. How Fox, as minister and the avowed patron of reform, would have encountered the difficulties of a similar situation is doubtful; he died before the hour of trial arrived. On the subject of the catholic claims, each, at a late period, avowedly favoured them; but when in power, subsequently, neither was capable of carrying his views immediately into effect, and the attempt was fatal to the power of those to whom Mr. Fox bequeathed his plans and his influence.

Upon

Upon the French revolution, and the coalition of the European powers against France, it is but just to believe, that the difference between these great men, was one of real political opinion. As far as it was a measure of mere foreign policy, the one was tempted to it by the flattering hope of increasing the military power of Britain, and extending her influence upon the continent. At the same time it afforded the best counteraction of the turbulent spirit of reform, which then so much embarrassed him at home, and which, had he not suppressed it, by occupying the public attention with foreign war, and by strong and unusual measures of domestic coercion, would certainly have effected a reform in parliament, by means which must have endangered the due equipoise of the well adjusted powers which that constitution combines in a mixed government. The other was led to observe more thoroughly the consequence of an attack upon the infant republic of France, and knowing that the coalition was composed, as all coalitions are, of powers jealous of each other, and that England neither possessed a great military establishment, nor a Marlborough to give to a small one an ascendancy over its allies, and a superiority over its more numerous enemies, wisely predicted that the conflict must end in rendering France a nation of soldiers, who would become the masters of all the continent.

Whether the minister, having quenched the flames of popular contention at home, might have chosen a happy moment for the cessation of the war abroad, is a question which puts the political sagacity of Mr. Pitt to a test the

most difficult for his reputation. But, it must be considered, when perhaps he desired peace most it was unattainable; for he had exasperated and aggrandized the enemy, and had raised up a war party, and created an unusual military establishment at home. If this could have been avoided, it would have been well: since, in the end, great military establishments have generally led nations to external conquest at the expence of domestic liberty. On this ground and because even successful war must have this tendency, Mr. Fox opposed it with firmness, and, as we ought to believe, with sincerity; for in support of his opinions he employed his pen in the only composition which he ever avowed, and sacrificed even the friendship of Burke to his conviction of their truth.

To conclude our parallel, they were men of such transcendent talents and towering ambition, that had they lived in a republic, one or the other would probably have been dictator; in an absolute monarchy, either might have founded a new dynasty; while in a mixed government they were rival statesmen, alternately ministers, and during life the leaders of the house of commons, whose names may be fairly placed in competition with any of the ministers of modern empires, or the popular leaders of ancient republics. Let those who think less of them, consider how much more men are to be governed by their prejudices and their passions, than by their reason, and then endeavour to take the lead in opposing or in directing the affairs of a mixed government, like ours, in times of difficulty, with greater talents, more virtue, and less
faction

faction; for ourselves, we shall still continue to think, that under the guidance of such men, Britain must ever remain great, prosperous, and invincible.

Some Account of Lieut. Col. M'Leod, of the 78th Regiment, with a Narrative of the Battle of Maida.

Lieut. colonel Patrick M'Leod, was third son of Donald M'Leod, of Geanies, esquire; sheriff depute of the shires of Ross and Cromarty, in Scotland; and was born at Geanies in Rossshire on the 18th April, 1776. Being destined for the army, an ensign's commission in the 42nd regiment was procured for him immediately after his leaving college, and Great Britain being then at peace, he obtained leave of absence from his regiment, to repair to a military academy at Brunswick, to study there the principles of his profession. After two years' residence at Brunswick, he returned home on the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793, and soon after accompanied his regiment, with the rank of lieutenant, to the continent, where he served his first campaign. Having afterwards obtained a captain's commission in the 2d battalion of the 78th, he embarked with it in the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, assisted at the capture of that important settlement, and, though still a very young man, such was the opinion entertained of him by sir Alured Clarke and sir James Craig, that he was appointed by them fort major of Cape Town. This situation he retained, till the 2d battalion of the 78th was ordered to India, to be incorporated with the first.

Captain M'Leod accompanied the battalion to India, and remained there till 1802, when bad health compelled him to return to Europe. Soon after his arrival in England, he became major of the 78th by purchase, and was then appointed to the command of a battalion of recruits, for different regiments, in India, collected in the Isle of Wight, with whom he was dispatched soon afterwards to the isle of Guernsey, then threatened with invasion from the coast of France. While stationed in Guernsey, major M'Leod prepared a plan of defence for the island, in case it should be invaded, which was highly approved of by the general officer, commanding in the island, to whom it was submitted.

Major general Fraser having, in the mean time, obtained an order from government for raising again a 2nd battalion of the 78th, major M'Leod was recalled from Guernsey and sent to Scotland to assist in superintending the levy, and when the battalion was completed, he was appointed to the immediate command of it, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. The care and attention he bestowed in forming and disciplining this young corps were unremitting, and the steadiness they displayed at the battle of Maida, is a proof that his labour was not thrown away upon them. We have subjoined the orders which he issued to his battalion, before their disembarking, and the letter which he wrote to general Fraser, giving an account of the battle. No one can read without a mixed sensation of pleasure and regret, the natural and animated description of his feelings, as he looked along the line, and observed the coolness and steadiness of the young

young soldiers he had formed, while he led them on to make their first charge against an enemy. It is worth remarking, that when the battle of Maida was fought, hardly eighteen months had elapsed since the battalion which so distinguished itself under his command, had been first passed as a regiment.

After the evacuation of Calabria, colonel M'Leod remained in Sicily, till a detachment of the army, in which the 2d battalion of the 78th was included, received orders to proceed to Egypt, and take possession of Alexandria. In the second fatal attempt upon Rosetta, this battalion of the 78th was employed; and evinced, during that disastrous expedition, the same steady courage and discipline, which they had displayed on the plains of Maida. Col. M'Leod commanded the advanced guard of the army, in its march from Alexandria; and after dispossessing the enemy of the different posts which they occupied, drove them into Rosetta. While the rest of the army invested the town. He was dispatched, with a small reinforcement, to the post of El Hamed. The particulars of the melancholy catastrophe which followed, are not yet fully known to the public. But the detachment at El Hamed was overpowered and cut off; and col. M'Leod fell during the action, fighting bravely at the head of his grenadier company; and making every possible exertion to extricate his small corps from the furious attacks of his numerous and barbarous assailants.

Lieut. Col. M'Leod's Battalion Orders, on board the Transports, previous to disembarking in Calabria, 29th of June, 1806.

On Board the Valiant Transport, at Sea, June 29, 1806.

As the battalion will, in all probability, on disembarkation, have to act in the face of an enemy; lieut. col. M'Leod thinks it proper to state to all officers and non-commissioned officers, the most essential points of their attention while so situated. It must be obvious to all, that the steady compactness of any body of men, while either halted or in movement, is that which makes it appear most respectable and most formidable to an enemy, as being, in that state, more prepared, either to make, or repel an attack; while a body of men, in any degree separated or unconnected, gives advantages of an alarming nature to an active enemy.

The only manner in which this principle can be sustained, amidst the hurry and bustle likely to take place on such an occasion, is by the animated exertion of the officers at the heads of companies, aided by their junior officers and non-commissioned officers, to preserve the most perfect compactness in their own companies, in every situation; in the first instance; and in the next, that connection with their companies on right and left, which secures the compactness of the battalion.

Officers commanding companies, should therefore make their junior officers and non-commissioned officers perfectly familiar with the particular duty that will be required from them on this occasion; and they should be so divided in the rear as to furnish the most effectual aid in securing instantaneous and implicit obedience to the orders of their commanding officer: they should, for this purpose, be frequently spoken to by their commanding

manding officers, collectively and individually, previous to debarkation; and through their means, care should also be taken to instil into their men, that all our success will depend upon their exact attention, *at the moment*, to the orders they receive. Next to compactness, the attention of all officers and non-commissioned officers will be required in endeavouring to preserve coolness and steadiness while firing at, or under the fire of an enemy, and to prevent, by every means in their power, an unnecessary waste of ammunition; a fault, which young soldiers are too apt to fall into: sometimes a fire is opened upon an imaginary enemy, the consequence of an excessive anxiety and eagerness; it therefore evidently requires much collectedness and attention in an officer at the head of a company, to prevent such an error.

It must be well recollected by officers in command of companies, that whatever accident may separate the companies of a battalion from each other, no circumstance should arise to make a separation of a company, as it must always be kept compact, as already mentioned.

Lieut.-col. M'Leod most earnestly entreats all officers commanding companies, not to permit their attention or eyes to be taken for *one moment* from their companies, as upon their unremitting exertions in preserving compactness and composure, together with the effect of their own example, in an energetic and implicit obedience to all orders they receive from superior officers, will depend the rendering in any respect effectual, the natural spirit and ardour which now influences every rank and individual in the battalion.

While the battalion is in movement, major Stewart will direct his attention to, and guide the conduct of, the three rear companies of the battalion: while formed in line, the three left-hand companies will, in a similar way, be his charge. The serj. major will constantly attend him to circulate his orders.

Major Macdonell will, in a similar manner, take charge of the three central companies: assistant serj. major Cooper will constantly attend him for the same purpose; lieut.-col. M'Leod proposing to guide the four leading companies in column of march, or right hand companies, while formed in line.

The men are to land and march with their spats over their hose, to preserve the latter.

If the battalion should be ordered to disembark with cooked provisions, the necessaries must be somehow put up in the inside of the blanket. Such magazines as have not yet been fixed on, to be carefully put into the haversack: it is hoped that officers are now aware of the value of every round of ammunition, and that they have taken every precaution to instil the same principle into every individual man in their companies.

Lieut.-col. M'Leod is most proud to find, that the disposition of all the officers and non-commissioned officers is such, as to produce in his mind a well-grounded expectation that, when an opportunity offers, their zeal and gallantry will be publicly established and confirmed.

It must be recollected by all, that the 2nd battalion of the 78th regiment, has yet its fame in the field to establish, and by it to support, in its fullest extent, the well-earned reputation of its elder battalion. Let every individual

individual, therefore, belonging to it, feel proud of the prospect held out to him, and to endeavour to display in every part of his conduct, all the characteristics of the genuine Highland soldier.

Lieut.-Col. McLeod's Letter to Maj. Gen. M. Fraser, giving an Account of the Battle of Maida, dated July 7, 1806.

Camp near Maida, Calabria,
7th July, 1806.

My dear general,

It is now only that I have been able to obtain a leisure moment, to retrace in my memory the different particulars in the progress of an enterprise undertaken by maj. gen. sir John Stewart, to relieve this province of the Neapolitan kingdom from the tyranny and oppression of our boasting and insolent foe; and although extreme fatigue and consequent lassitude render me at this moment unequal to the task, I will, nevertheless, exert myself to convey to you such a view of the whole as is immediately present to my recollection. Your 2nd battalion may, probably, be frequently introduced in the recital, owing, in the first instance, to my naturally interesting feelings in respect to them; and next to a conviction, that a faithful representation of their proceedings in particular, cannot fail to excite in you an equal degree of interest. Dispatches being now preparing, I must not delay longer, although sensible that my narrative will bear upon it the appearance of hurry.

Soon after I wrote you of our review at Messina, stating my gratifying feelings, in the favourable impression it excited among the several general officers of the army; we were ordered, with two other

regiments, to march to a flying encampment at Milazzo, about 26 miles N. W. of Messina: the dissipation of Messina had augmented the number of our sick list to about 100 rank and file, whom I was obliged to leave there; so that our effective number at the camp did not exceed 700. Brigadier-general Acland commanded the brigade, and I must here state, how strong my feelings of obligation are to him for forwarding, at head-quarters, such objects as I proposed for the good of the battalion, and the distinguished manner in which he has uniformly treated us.

We were suddenly apprised of an embarkation of the brigade on the morning of the 27th June; and it took place accordingly in the bay of Milazzo, on the same evening; the regiments being ordered to put up their packs in store, and embark in light marching order: The extent and destination of the enterprise was, at this time, matter of the most anxious, nay irksome, speculation, in my mind, under the impressions and opinions I had formed, together with all the information I could obtain, on the circumstances of the enemy in the neighbouring continent; I therefore did not conceive it to have so formidable an object as an invasion of these provinces, without any apparent co-operation or support beyond our own very limited means. The expedition from Milazzo and Messina united in the course of the following evening, and came to an anchor close in shore, in a bay in the gulph of St. Euphemia, being the northern boundary of Lower Calabria. In the evening of the 30th of June, at half past one o'clock in the morning, the debarkation of the army commenced under

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the inauspicious circumstance of a most heavy and constant rain; the light infantry brigade were however got ashore, and met with but little opposition in their advance forward. Some companies of the 78th were next debarked, and thrown forward to support the light infantry; we dislodged the enemy's small posts as we went along, finally taking up a good position about two miles from the beach, until the debarkation of the remaining part of the army was completed. In this affair, about 100 prisoners were taken from the enemy, and 30 more killed and wounded. The officer who commanded the enemy's force in the bay, surrendered to captain McGregor of the 78th, whom I detached with his company to scour some underwood in our front. The object of our expedition was now sufficiently developed, and although I could then by no means reconcile or feel confident on what the prospective offered, I contemplated with admiration the boldness of the adventure, and thought that, on this account, we richly merited the favours of fortune, if every relative and more critical argument on the subject did not so immediately apply.

The army took up a strong position with its right flanked by the sea, and its left extending to the height of St. Euphemia. The front of the line being an extensive plain, and the rear being on the northward a chain of stupendous and impassable mountains. The British force consisted of the following corps: the light infantry battalion, with a part of the Corsican corps, formed the advanced guard; the 78th and 81st brigaded under general Acland; the grenadier battalion and 27th regi-

ment, under gen. Cole; the 58th and De Watteville's, under colonel Oswald of the 35th; 15 pieces of light ordnance, under major La Moine, and a company of artillery, constituted the sum total; and their effective numbers about 4,500. The 78th, at my urgent request, were at no time deprived of their flank companies. Our first information, received through the prisoners, stated the enemy's force, which had been much scattered, to be all retiring into Lower Calabria, to join their commander-in-chief, gen. Regnier; and that their number did not exceed 4,000. Had this information been confirmed by any insurrection of the inhabitants in our favour, we should, at that moment, have felt more confident of a proper result to our objects. But Regnier had played off a very good *ruse de guerre* in circulating a most contemptuous opinion of the British land forces, paying, at the same time, the highest compliment to its navy, the more to reconcile his impudent assertion: and we find that he was at first successful in restraining the inclinations, and retarding that armed insurrection which the deputies of the people had pledged themselves to produce, immediately upon our appearance; and upon which pledge, a vast quantity of arms and ammunition had been distributed amongst them. The 2nd of the month passed, apparently, without any event of consequence, unless I am to except the deliberation and supposed determination of our commander-in-chief, under the disappointment of not finding the inhabitants so forward in our favour as he had reason to suppose. It was *whispered* we were to re-embark, &c. &c. Thanks to the Supreme Disposer of all events! the honour

honour of this portion of the British army, and the reputation of the service at large, was saved and supported by the fortunate appearance of general Regnier with his army, on the forenoon of the 3rd: he took up his position on a ridge of heights parallel to our line, bounding the other extremity of the plain, but with *his left* opposite to *our left*, and consequently so menacing to that flank of our position as to render some change immediately necessary; I was ordered, with the 78th, to occupy the village of St. Euphemia, and to cover, by this position, the left flank of the army; the rest of the evening was taken up, on our side, in closely reconnoitring the enemy's force and position; and we discovered general Regnier similarly employed in the plain, with an escort of 50 dragoons. Our information with respect to the enemy's force was very unsatisfactory, and, as it afterwards proved, false: but that information had perhaps one good effect, in giving our army an impression, that we were going to attack inferior numbers. At eight o'clock at night, I moved by order, with the 78th regiment, to support the advanced corps, and took post in retired echelon, to their left, where we lay under our arms until 3 o'clock, when the whole army descended into the plain in columns of brigades. Right in front, the light infantry, being that nearest to the enemy; the 78th and 81st in the next parallel, for the immediate support of the light infantry; gen. Cole's brigade, followed by colonel Oswald's, at some greater distance, formed a third parallel; sir Sydney Smith at this time, took up a position with his ships and boats, to act

as circumstances might happen: but from the position of the two armies, no co-operation from the navy could take place, much to the annoyance of that gallant knight. A vast plain, extending from four to six miles in breadth, and flanked by chains of mountains, which run nearly parallel from sea to sea, and which form the interior boundaries of the Two Calabrias, seemed to favour the manœuvre of both armies, and certainly did offer an opportunity for the fairest play, in the expected conflicts. This singular feature of ground communicates across from sea to sea, narrowing as it approaches the Adriatic.

About six o'clock in the morning we had gained sufficient ground on the direction parallel to the supposed left flank of the enemy, to form our line for the attack; sir John's intention being obviously to draw him from his strong position, and oblige him, by threatening his left flank, to fight on equal terms on the plain. While we formed, Regnier (as might be expected) dextrously changed his front, and drew up in order of battle, opposite to us, on the plain, his flanks so extended, as to point out how greatly we were mis-informed as to his actual strength. The light brigade, which formed the right of our line, were now about a mile distant from the enemy; the 78th and 81st about 200 yards retired in *echelon* position to their left; in this order we advanced in line (as our general directed) to feel the enemy; we halted about 1000 yards from them, while the 78th and 81st were ordered up into line with the light infantry, and the action then commenced by the field pieces posted between the light infantry and 78th, commanding the enemy's

enemy's line: a column of cavalry was perceived attempting to separate the two corps, but our field-pieces kept them at bay; they then attempted to turn the left of the 81st, but general Cole's brigade shewing themselves at this critical moment, they inclined off further to their right, with the apparent view of turning our left, whenever an opportunity offered, but the 20th regiment, which had just been landed on the beach, threw themselves unperceived into a wood on the flank of this cavalry, opened their fire, and so dispersed them, that they never rallied again in that direction. While this attempt to turn our left flank so completely failed, his attempt to turn our right was rendered more completely abortive. The light infantry, 78th and 81st, were, as I formerly mentioned, about 1000 yards from the enemy, who were advancing at this time upon us in the most perfect order; the four-pounders, on the right of the 78th, fired about four rounds, one of which unhorsed an officer that appeared to command the regiment directly opposed to us, and whose superb saddle is now a regimental trophy, and to be sent to you by the quarter-master, who picked it up while we were otherwise employed. Having now ascertained that colonel Kemp meant to fire a volley and then charge, I judged that the 78th could be guided by no better principle, and I prepared it accordingly. No rapture of enthusiasm ever enjoyed by any mortal, could exceed my sensation at observing, not only the firmness and determination, but the universal disposition to order, and implicit obedience to the different directions that were necessary, by the officers

and men of the battalion. My mind, though much engaged, was thereby made calm and tranquil, and I confidently predicted the glory of the day. The obvious ardour of individuals, the enthusiasm of the whole, inspired a decided confidence, while it produced a proud contempt for the foe they were about to combat. Under these most happy circumstances, little exertion became necessary on my part to guide the machine, and accordingly, having permitted the enemy to advance about 200 yards nearer, with our arms at the shoulder, both corps threw in a heavy fire, and instantly afterwards advanced to the charge in double quick time. As soon as the smoke had completely dispersed, we could discern our enemy, with whom we expected to come in contact, distant about one hundred and fifty yards, to be retiring with the same speed that we advanced. With a shout of victory, and quickening our pace, we still endeavoured to close with them, but without success. About this time general Acland, who followed in rear to the 78th column, during the charge, observed to me that our flanks were exposed and unprotected, and desired a halt, when we found the 78th to be in advance of the whole army. The light infantry upon our right, having had the good fortune to close with the regiment immediately opposite them, were delayed by the slaughter, nay, almost annihilation, of Buonaparte's favourite corps. Our halt had occasioned that of the enemy's regiment opposed to us, at a respectable distance, who appeared inclined to make another stand; but, upon the light infantry, and 81st coming up again upon our flanks, we

pushed forwards, after giving them a close fire, with huzzas of victory, and forced the troops in our front to break and fly in every direction. The enemy's left being thus broke and routed, the right and central shewed a disposition to retire, which they soon after did in tolerable order, covered by their cavalry; the 78th and light infantry, being the only corps permitted to pursue them, which was done for upwards of three miles, taking numbers of prisoners.

The enemy are said to have lost, before they entirely left the field, about 2,500 in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among whom was included general Compere, who commanded their left, and led their attack, and by his acknowledgment the French force exceeded 6000. Our total loss is under 300 killed and wounded, of which number the 78th lost one-third. Our small loss must be attributed to the promptitude and energy of the charge by the light infantry, 78th, and 81st, which so early confounded general Regnier and his whole army. The corps on the left of our army were but partially engaged, but by all accounts shewed excellent discipline in the manœuvres that were necessary to check the enemy's advance on that flank.

The result of this signal victory places Lower Calabria not only in our immediate possession, but, as I understand, from the strength of the country, furnishes the apparent means, in strong posts and passes, of preserving it. Regnier is said to have collected the *debris* of his army about thirty miles distant, on the Adriatic. One thousand more prisoners and deserters have, however, joined us since the action, and his

present army are said to be so dispirited by the rough handling they have received, as to be not so manageable as they ought to be. It is singular, that it was the 42d regiment of the French line, that opposed and were put to flight by the 78th regiment; most of the corps have been killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

The commander in chief himself, who witnessed the whole, addressed the 78th in the field, in the most flattering manner, on their distinguished bravery and discipline, (as he termed it) and said that he would petition his majesty for a badge of commemoration. I trust that our countrymen at home will be gratified to find that your Highlanders have supported their general military character in this part of the world. Major Stewart, from whom I had received essential assistance in the commencement of the action, received a severe wound in the arm; captains M'Pherson and M'Gregor; lieutenant Mackay; ensigns Colin Mackenzie and M'Gregor, are also severely wounded, but none of them dangerously; and are now doing very well, and never quitted the field while the battle lasted. They, as well as all my officers, have my eternal thanks and gratitude for the valuable military qualities they exhibited, independent of personal bravery. Our colours bear very decided and honourable marks of the engagement, being torn and shot through with shell splinters, grape, and musketry.

I was wounded towards the conclusion of the action, by a rifle-ball, which grazed my left side, within a quarter of an inch of my heart; the shot nearly unhorsed me; a serjeant of the grenadiers supported

my fall. Coming to myself a few seconds after, and finding my breathing not affected, I remounted, and never have quitted the battalion since; my side is inflamed and bruised, but it is of no consequence whatever. The spur of my right heel was shot away a few minutes before, without doing me any mischief. The loss of the battalion, in killed and wounded, amounts to 92; I fear, by the doctor's report, that one half of the wounded are mortally. It is, however, astonishing how few we lost, considering the very heavy fire under which we were during the whole of the action.

I shall subjoin a list of all the officers that were in the engagement, and of the killed and wounded, with their descriptions. We have had, since the action, very fatiguing marches, and severe weather, without any covering but the canopy of heaven: neither this, nor the effects of my wound, have, however, affected my health in the least degree, nor prevented me from assuming the active command of the battalion.

The experience of this action will contribute, in an eminent degree, to confirm a sense of the necessity and value of strict discipline in officers and men; and I may safely assert, that if the battalion may be

said to have gained reputation on this occasion, they are now much better prepared to add to their laurels, than they were to obtain them in the first instance. The day after the action exhibited the effects of war in the most horrid colours: the number of killed and wounded on the enemy's side, who were found in the fields and in the woods, much exceeded what we had any conception of, whilst it made manifest the excellent direction of our fire.

The next opportunity I shall have the pleasure of communicating such other circumstances as have been here omitted; in the mean time, if you discover that the impression of our conduct, at head-quarters, is sufficiently favourable, I am anxious that you should put the question of our being made a light infantry corps, a distinction I have ever been anxious to obtain for the battalion.

(Signed)

P. M'Cleod, lieutenant-colonel.

P. S. I must not forget to mention, that the 78th fought in their *complete Highland garb*, which is supposed to have excited no small degree of terror in our immediate antagonist, the 42d regiment, which, by the bye, I now find were a corps of grenadiers.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY

On the Direction of the Radicle and Germen, during the Vegetation of Seeds. By Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. F. R. S. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. P. R. S.

(FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS FOR A. D. 1806.)

Read, Jan. 9, 1806.

My dear sir,

IT can scarcely have escaped the notice of the most inattentive observer of vegetation, that in whatever position a seed is placed to germinate, its radicle invariably makes an effort to descend towards the centre of the earth, whilst the elongated germen takes a precisely opposite direction; and it has been proved by Du Hamel, that if a seed, during its germination, be frequently inverted, the points, both of the radicle and germen, will return to the first direction. Some naturalists have supposed these opposite effects to be produced by gravitation; and it is not difficult to conceive that the same agent, by operating on bodies so differently organized as the radicle and germen of plants are, may occasion the one to descend and the other to ascend.

The hypothesis of these naturalists does not, however, appear to have been much strengthened by

any facts they were able to adduce in support of it, nor much weakened by the arguments of their opponents; and, therefore, as the phenomena observable during the conversion of a seed into a plant, are amongst the most interesting that occur in vegetation, I commenced the experiments, an account of which I have now the honour to request you to lay before the royal society.

I conceived that if gravitation were the cause of the descent of the radicle, and of the ascent of the germen, it must act either by its immediate influence on the vegetable fibres and vessels, during their formation, or on the motion and consequent distribution of the true sap afforded by the cotyledons: and as gravitation could produce these effects only whilst the seed remained at rest, and in the same position relative to the attraction of the earth, I imagined that its operation would become suspended by constant and rapid change of the position of the germinating seed, and that it might be counteracted by the agency of centrifugal force.

Having a strong rill of water passing through my garden, I constructed a small wheel, similar to those used for grinding corn, adapting another wheel of different construction, and

formed

formed of very slender pieces of wood, to the same axis. Round the circumference of the latter, which was eleven inches in diameter, numerous seeds of the garden bean, which had been soaked in water to produce their greatest degree of expansion, were bound at short distances from each other. The radicles of these seeds were made to point in every direction, some towards the centre of the wheel, and others in the opposite direction, others as tangents to its curve; some pointing backwards, and others forwards, relative to its motion, and others pointing in opposite directions, in lines parallel with the axis of the wheels. The whole was inclosed in a box, and secured by a lock, and a wire grate was placed to prevent the ingress of any body capable of impeding the motion of the wheels.

The water being then admitted, the wheels performed something more than 150 revolutions in a minute, and the position of the seed relative to the earth, was of course as often perfectly inverted, within the same period of time, by which I conceive that the influence of gravitation must have been wholly suspended.

In a few days the seeds began to germinate, and as the truth of some of the opinions I had communicated to you, and of many others which I had long entertained, depended on the result of the experiment, I watched its progress with some anxiety, though not with much apprehension; and I had soon the pleasure to see that the radicles, in whatever direction they were protruded from the position of the seed, turned their points outwards from the circum-

ference of the wheel, and in their subsequent growth receded nearly at right angles from its axis. The germens, on the contrary, took the opposite direction, and in a few days their points all met in the centre of the wheel. Three of these plants were suffered to remain on the wheel, and were secured to its spokes, to prevent their being shaken off by its motion. The stems of these plants soon extended beyond the centre of the wheel; but the same cause which first occasioned them to approach its axis, still operating, their points returned, and met again at its centre.

The motion of the wheel being, in this experiment, vertical, the radicle and germen of every seed occupied, during a minute portion of time in each revolution, precisely the same position they would have assumed had the seeds vegetated at rest; and as gravitation and centrifugal force also acted in lines parallel with the vertical motion, and surface of the wheel, I conceived that some slight objections might be urged against the conclusions I felt inclined to draw. I therefore added to the machinery I have described, another wheel, which moved horizontally over the vertical wheels; and to this, by means of multiplying wheels of different powers, I was enabled to give many different degrees of velocity. Round the circumference of the horizontal wheel, whose diameter was also eleven inches, seeds of the bean were bound as in the experiment which I have already described, and it was then made to perform 250 revolutions in a minute. By the rapid motion of the water-wheel much water was thrown upwards on the horizontal wheel, part of which supplied the seeds upon it with

with moisture, and the remainder was dispersed, in a light and constant shower, over the seeds in the vertical wheel, and on others placed to vegetate at rest in different parts of the box.

Every seed on the horizontal wheel, though moving with great rapidity, necessarily retained the same position, relative to the attraction of the earth; and, therefore the operation of gravitation could not be suspended, though it might be counteracted, in a very considerable degree, by centrifugal force; and the difference I had anticipated, between the effects of rapid, vertical, and horizontal motion, soon became sufficiently obvious. The radicles pointed downwards about ten degrees below, and the germens as many degrees above, the horizontal line of the wheels' motion; centrifugal force having made both to deviate 80 degrees from the perpendicular direction each would have taken, had it vegetated at rest. Gradually diminishing the rapidity of the motion of the horizontal wheel, the radicles descended more perpendicularly, and the germens grew more upright; and when it did not perform more than 80 revolutions in a minute, the radicle pointed about 45 degrees below, and the germen as much above, the horizontal line, the one always receding from, and the other approaching to, the axis of the wheel.]

I would not, however, be understood to assert that the velocity of 250, or of 80 horizontal revolutions in a minute, will always give accurately the degrees of depression and elevation of the radicle and germen, which I have mentioned; for the rapidity of the motion of my wheels

was sometimes diminished by the collection of fibres of conserva against the wire grate; which obstructed in some degree the passage of the water; and the machinery, having been the workmanship of myself and my gardener, cannot be supposed to have moved with all the regularity it might have done, had it been made by a professional mechanic. But I conceive myself to have fully proved that the radicles of germinating seeds are made to descend, and their germens to ascend, by some external cause, and not by any power inherent in vegetable life: and I see little reason to doubt that gravitation is the principal, if not the only agent employed, in this case, by nature. I shall, therefore, endeavour to point out the means by which I conceive the same agent may produce effects so diametrically opposite to each other.

The radicle of a germinating seed (as many naturalists have observed) is increased in length only by new parts successively added to its apex or point, and not at all by any general extension of parts already formed; and the new matter, which is thus successively added, unquestionably descends in a fluid state from the cotyledons. On this fluid, and on the vegetable fibres and vessels whilst soft and flexible, and whilst the matter which composes them is changing from a fluid to a solid state, gravitation, I conceive, would operate sufficiently to give an inclination downwards to the point of the radicle; and as the radicle has been proved to be obedient to centrifugal force, it can scarcely be contended that its direction would remain uninfluenced by gravitation.

I have stated that the radicle is increased in length only by parts
3 O successively

successively added to its point: the germen, on the contrary, elongates by a general extension of its parts previously organized; and its vessels and fibres appear to extend themselves in proportion to the quantity of nutriment they receive. If the motion and consequent distribution of the true sap be influenced by gravitation, it follows, that when the germen at its first emission, or subsequently, deviates from a perpendicular direction, the sap must accumulate on its under side; and I have found, in a great variety of experiments on the seeds of the horse chesnut, the bean, and other plants, when vegetating at rest, that the vessels and fibres on the under side of the germen, invariably elongate much more rapidly than those on its upper side; and thence it follows, that the point of the germen must always turn upwards; and it has been proved that a similar increase of growth takes place on the external side of the germen, when the sap is impelled there by centrifugal force, as it is attracted by gravitation to its under side, when the seed germinates at rest.

This increased elongation of the fibres and vessels of the under side, is not confined to the germens, nor even to the annual shoots of trees, but occurs and produces the most extensive effects in the subsequent growth of their trunks and branches. The immediate effect of gravitation is certainly to occasion the further depression of every branch which extends horizontally from the trunk of the tree, and, when a young tree inclines to either side, to increase that inclination; but at the same time attracts the sap to the under side, and thus occasions an increased longitudinal extension of the

substance of the new wood on that side. The depression of the lateral branch is thus prevented, and it is even enabled to raise itself above its natural level, when the branches above it are removed; and the young tree, by the same means, becomes more upright, in direct opposition to the immediate action of gravitation; nature, as usual, executing the most important operations by the most simple means.

I could adduce many more facts in support of the preceding deductions, but those I have stated, I conceive to be sufficiently conclusive. It has, however, been objected by Du Hamel (and the greatest deference is always due to his opinions) that gravitation could have little influence on the direction of the germen, were it in the first instance protruded, or were it subsequently inverted, and made to point perpendicularly downwards. To enable myself to answer this objection, I made many experiments on seeds of the horse chesnut, and of the bean, in the box I have already described, and as the seeds there were suspended out of the earth, I could regularly watch the progress of every effort made by the radicle and germen, to change their positions. The extremity of the radicle of the bean, when made to point perpendicularly upwards, generally formed a considerable curvature within three or four hours, when the weather was warm. The germen was more sluggish; but it rarely or never failed to change its direction in the course of twenty-four hours; and all my efforts to make it grow downwards, by slightly changing its direction, were invariably abortive.

Another, and apparently a more weighty, objection, to the preceding hypothesis,

hypothesis, (if applied to the subsequent growth and forms of trees) arises from the facts that few of their branches rise perpendicularly upwards, and that their roots always spread horizontally; but this objection I think may be readily answered.

The luxuriant shoots of trees, which abound in sap, in whatever direction they are first protruded, almost uniformly turn upwards, and endeavour to acquire a perpendicular direction; and to this their points will immediately return, if they are bent downwards during any period of their growth; their curvature upwards being occasioned by an increased extension of the fibres and vessels of their under sides, as in the elongated germens of seeds. The more feeble and slender shoots of the same trees will, on the contrary, grow in almost every direction, probably because their fibres, being more dry, and their vessels less amply supplied with sap, they are less affected by gravitation. Their points, however, generally shew an inclination to turn upwards; but the operation of light, in this case, had been proved by Bonnet, to be very considerable.

The radicle tapers rapidly, as it descends into the earth, and its lower part is much compressed by the greater solidity of the mould into which it penetrates. The true sap continues to descend from the cotyledons and leaves, and occasions a continued increase of the growth, and is subsequently augmented by the effects of the motion, when the germen lies above the ground. The true sap is, therefore, necessarily obstructed in its descent; numerous lateral roots are generated, into which a portion of the descending sap enters. The substance of these

roots, like that of the slender horizontal branches, is much less succulent than that of the radicle first emitted, and they are in consequence less obedient to gravitation; and, therefore, meeting less resistance from the superficial soil, than from that beneath it, they extend horizontally in every direction, growing with most rapidity, and producing the greatest number of ramifications, wherever they find most warmth; and a soil best adapted to nourish the tree. As these horizontal or lateral roots surround the base of the tree on every side, the true sap descending down its bark, enters almost exclusively into them, and the first perpendicular root, having executed its office of securing moisture to the plant, whilst young, is thus deprived of proper nutriment, and, ceasing almost wholly to grow, becomes of no importance to the tree. The tap root of the oak, about which so much has been written, will possibly be adduced as an exception; but having attentively examined at least 20,000 trees of this species, many of which had grown in some of the deepest and most favourable soils of England, and never having found a single tree possessing a tap root, I must be allowed to doubt that one ever existed.

As trees possess the power to turn the upper surfaces of their leaves, and the points of their shoots to the light, and their tendrils in any direction to attach themselves to contiguous objects, it may be suspected that their lateral roots are by some means directed to any soil in their vicinity, which is best calculated to nourish the plant to which they belong; and it is well known that much the greater part of the roots of an aquatic plant, which

grown in a dry soil, on the margin of a lake or river, has been found to point to the water; whilst those of another species of tree, which thrive best in a dry soil, have been ascertained to take an oppositedirection; but the result of some experiments I have made, is not favourable to this hypothesis, and I am rather inclined to believe that the roots disperse themselves in every direction, and only become most numerous where they find most employment, and a soil best adapted to the species of plant. My experiments have not, however, been sufficiently varied or numerous to decide this question, which I propose to make the subject of future investigation.

I am, &c.

T. A. Knight.

Elton, Nov. 22, 1805.

On the inverted Action of the Albuminous Vessels of Trees. By Thos. Andrew Knight, Esq. F. R. S. In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. P. R. S.
(IBID.)

Read May 15th, 1806.

My dear sir,

I have endeavoured to prove, in several Memoirs which you have done me the honour to lay before the royal society, that the fluid by which the various parts (that are annually added to trees and herbaceous plants, whose organization is similar to that of trees) are generated, has previously circulated through their leaves, either in the same, or preceding season, and subsequently descended through their bark; and after having repeated every experiment that occurred to me, from which I suspected an un-

favourable result, I am not in possession of a single fact which is not perfectly consistent with the theory I have advanced.

There is, however, one circumstance stated by Hales and Du Hamel, which appears strongly to militate against my hypothesis; and as that circumstance probably induced Hales to deny altogether the existence of circulation in plants, and Du Hamel to speak less decisively in favour of it, than he possibly might have done, I am anxious to reconcile the statements of these great naturalists (which I acknowledge to be perfectly correct) with the statements and opinions I have on former occasions communicated to you.

Both Hales and Du Hamel have proved, that when two circular incisions through the bark, round the stem of a tree, are made at a small distance from each other, and when the bark between these incisions is wholly taken away, that portion of the stem which is below the incisions through the bark, continues to live, and in some degree to increase in size, though much more slowly observed than the parts above the incisions. They have also observed that a small elevated ridge (*bourvelet*) is formed round the lower lip of the wound in the bark, with some slight advances to meet the bark and wood projected, in much larger quantity, from the opposite, or upper lip of the wound.

I have endeavoured, in a former Memoir, to explain the cause why some portion of growth takes place below incisions through the bark, by supposing that a small part of the true sap, descending from the leaves, escapes downwards through the porous substance of the albumum. Several facts stated by Hales, seem favourable

favourable to this supposition ; and the existence of a power in the alburnum, to carry the sap in different directions, is proved in the growth of inverted cuttings of different species of trees. But I have derived so many advantages, both as a gardener and farmer (particularly in the management of fruit and forest trees) from the experiments which have been the subject of my former Memoirs, that I am confident much public benefit might be derived from an intimate acquaintance with the use and office of the various organs of plants, and thence feel anxious to adduce facts, to prove that the conclusions I have drawn are not inconsistent with the facts stated by my great predecessors.

It has been acknowledged, I believe, by every naturalist who has written on the subject (and the fact is, indeed, too obvious to be controverted) that the matter which enters into the composition of the radicles of germinating seeds, existed previously in their cotyledons ; and as the radicles increase only in length by parts successively added to their apices, or points, most distant from their cotyledons, it follows of necessity, that the first motion of the true sap, at this period, is downwards ; and as no alburnous tubes exist in the radicles of germinating seeds, during the earlier periods of their growth, the sap in its descent must either pass through the bark or the medulla. But the medulla does not apparently contain any vessels calculated to carry the descending sap, whilst the cortical vessels are, during this period, much distended, and full of moisture ; and as the medulla certainly does not carry any fluid in stems or branches of more than one year old, it can scarcely be suspected that it, at any period,

conveys the whole current of the descending sap.

As the leaves grow, and enter on their office, cortical vessels, in every respect apparently similar to those which descended from the cotyledons, are found to descend from the bases of their leaves ; and there appears no reason, with which I am acquainted, to suspect that both do not carry a similar fluid, and that the course of this fluid is, in the first instance, always towards the roots.

The ascending sap, on the contrary, rises wholly through the alburnum and central vessels ; for the destruction of a portion of the bark, in a circle round the tree, does not immediately, in the slightest degree, check the growth of its leaves and branches ; but the alburnous vessels appear, from the experiments I have related in a former paper, and from those I shall now proceed to relate, to be also capable of an inverted action, when that becomes necessary to preserve the existence of the plant.

As soon as the leaves of the oak were nearly full grown in the last spring, I selected, in several instances, two poles of the same age, and springing from the same roots, in a coppice, which had been felled about six years preceding, and making two circular incisions, at the distance of three inches from each other, through the bark of one of the poles on each stool, I destroyed the bark between the incisions, and thus cut off the communication between the leaves and the lower parts of the stem and roots, through the bark ; much growth, as usual, took place above the space from which the bark had been taken off, and very little below it.

Examining the state of the experiment

riment in the succeeding winter, I found it had not succeeded according to my hopes, for a portion of the alburnum, in almost every instance was lifeless, and almost dry, to a considerable distance below the space from which the bark had been removed. In one instance the whole of it was, however, perfectly alive; and in this I found the specific gravity of the wood, above the decorticated space, to be 1114, and below it 1111; and the wood of the unmutilated pole, at the same distance from the ground, to be 1112, each being weighed as soon as it was detached from the root.

Had the true sap in this instance wholly stagnated above the decorticated space, the specific gravity of the wood there ought to have been, according to the result of former experiments, comparatively much greater; but I do not wish to draw any conclusion from a single experiment; and, indeed, I see very considerable difficulty in obtaining any very satisfactory, or decisive facts, from any experiments on plants, in this case, in which the same roots and stems collect and convey the sap during the spring and summer, and retain, within themselves, that which is, during the autumn and winter, reserved to form new organs of assimilation in the succeeding spring. In the tuberous-rooted plants, the roots and stems which collect and convey the sap in one season, and those in which it is deposited, and reserved for the succeeding season, are perfectly distinct organs; and from one of these, the potatoe, I obtained more interesting and decisive results.

My principal object was to prove that a fluid descends from the leaves and stem to form the tuberous roots

of this plant; and that this fluid will in part escape down the alburnous substance of the stem, when the continuity of the cortical vessels is interrupted: but I had also another object in view.

Every gardener knows, that early varieties of the potatoe never afford either blossoms or seeds, and I attributed this peculiarity to privation of nutriment, owing to the tubers being formed preternaturally early, and thence drawing off that portion of the true sap, which, in the ordinary course of nature, is employed in the formation and nutrition of blossoms and seeds.

I therefore planted, in the last spring, some cuttings of a very early variety of the potatoe, which had never been known to blossom, in garden pots, having heaped the mould as high as I could above the level of the pot, and planted the portion of the root nearly at the top of it. When the plants had grown a few inches high, they were secured to strong sticks, which had been fixed erect in the pots for that purpose, and the mould was then washed away from the base of their stems by a strong current of water. Each plant was now suspended in air, and had no communication with the soil in the pots, except by its fibrous roots, and as these are perfectly distinct organs from the runners which generate and feed the tuberous roots, I could readily prevent the formation of them. Efforts were soon made by every plant, to generate runners and tuberous roots; but these were destroyed as soon as they became perceptible. An increased luxuriance of growth now became visible in every plant, numerous blossoms were emitted, and every blossom afforded fruit.

Conceiving

Conceiving, however, that a small part only of the true sap would be expended in the production of blossoms and seeds, I was anxious to discover what use nature would make of that which remained; and I therefore took effectual means to prevent the formation of tubers on any part of the plants, except the extremities of the lateral branches, those being the points most distant from the earth, in which the tubers are naturally deposited. After an effective struggle of a few weeks, the plants became perfectly obedient to my wishes, and formed their tubers precisely in the places I had assigned them. Many of the joints of the plants, during the experiment, became enlarged and turgid, and I am much inclined to believe, that if I had totally prevented the formation of regular tubers, these joints would have acquired an organization capable of retaining life; and of affording plants in the succeeding spring.

I had another variety of the potatoe which grew with great luxuriance, and afforded many lateral branches; and just at that period, when I had ascertained the first commencing formation of the tubers, beneath the soil, I nearly detached many of these lateral branches from the principal stems, letting them remain suspended by such a portion only of alburnous and cortical fibres and vessels, as were sufficient to preserve life. In this position I conceived that if their leaves and stems contained any unemployed true sap, it could not readily find its way to the tuberous roots, its passage being obstructed by the rupture of the vessels, and by gravitation; and I had soon the pleasure to see, that, instead of returning down the principal stem into the ground, it re-

mained, and formed small tubers at the base of the leaves of the dependent branches.

The preceding facts are, I think, sufficient to prove that the fluid, from which the tuberous root of the potatoe, when growing beneath the soil, derives its component matter, exists previously either in the stems or leaves; and that it subsequently descends into the earth; and as the cortical vessels during every period of the growth of the tuber are filled with the true sap of the plant, and as these vessels extend into the runners, which carry nutriment to the tuber, and in other instances evidently convey the true sap downwards, there appears little reason to doubt that through these vessels the tuber is naturally fed.

To ascertain, therefore, whether the tubers would continue to be fed when the passage of the true sap down the cortical vessels was interrupted, I removed a portion of bark of the width of five lines, and extending round the stems of several plants of the potatoe, close to the surface of the ground, soon after that period when the tubers were first formed. The plants continued some time in health, and, during that period the tubers continued to grow, deriving their nutriment, as I conclude, from the leaves by an inverted action of the alburnous vessels. The tubers, however, by no means attained their natural size, partly owing to the declining health of the plant, and partly to the stagnation of a portion of the true sap above the decorticated space.

The fluid contained in the leaf has not, however, been proved, in any of the preceding experiments, to pass downwards through the decorticated space, and to be subsequently discharged

charged into the bark below it : but I have proved with amputated branches of different species of trees, that the water which their leaves absorb, when immersed in that fluid, will be carried downwards by the alburnum, and conveyed into a portion of bark below the decorticated space ; and that the insulated bark will be preserved alive and moist during several days ; and, if the moisture absorbed by a leaf can be thus transferred, it appears extremely probable that the true sap will pass through the same channel. This power in the alburnum to carry fluids in different directions probably answers very important purposes in hot climates, where the dews are abundant and the soil very dry ; for the moisture the dews afford may thus be conveyed to the extremities of the roots ; and Hales has proved that the leaves absorb most when placed in humid air ; and that the sap descends, either through the bark or alburnum, during the night.

If the inverted action of the alburnous vessels in the decorticated space be admitted, it is not difficult to explain the cause why some degree of growth takes place below such decorticated spaces on the stems of trees ; and why a small portion of bark and wood is generated on the lower lip of the wound. A considerable portion of the descending true sap certainly stagnates above the wound, and of that which escapes into the bark below it, the greater part is probably carried towards, and into, the roots ; where it preserves life, and occasions some degree of growth to take place. But a small portion of that fluid will be carried upwards by capillary attraction, between the bark and the alburnum, exclusive of the immediate action of the latter substance,

and the whole of this will stagnate on the lower lip of the wound, where I conceive it generates the small portion of wood and bark, which Hales and Du Hamel have described.

I should scarcely have thought an account of the preceding experiments worth sending to you, but that many of the conclusions I have drawn in former memoirs appear, at first view, almost incompatible with the facts stated by Hales and Du Hamel, and that I had one fact to communicate relative to the effects, produced by the stagnation of the descending sap of resinous trees, which appeared to lead to important consequences. I have in my possession a piece of a fir-tree, from which a portion of bark, extending round its whole stem, had been taken off several years before the tree was felled ; and of this portion of wood one part grew above, and the other below the decorticated space. Conceiving that, according to the theory I am endeavouring to support, the wood above the decorticated space ought to be much heavier than that below it, owing to the stagnation of the descending sap, I ascertained the specific gravity of both kinds, taking a wedge of each as nearly of the same form, as I could obtain, and I found the difference greatly more than I had anticipated ; the specific gravity of the wood above the decorticated space being 0,590, and of that below only 0,491 ; and having steeped pieces of each, which weighed 100 grains, during twelve hours in water, I found the latter had absorbed 69 grains, and the former only 51.

The increased solidity of the wood above the decorticated space, in this instance, must, I conceive, have arisen

arisen from the stagnation of the true sap in its descent from the leaves; and therefore in felling firs, or other resinous trees, considerable advantages may be expected from stripping off a portion of bark all round their trunks, close to the surface of the ground, about the end of May, or beginning of June, in the summer preceding the autumn in which they are to be felled. For much of the resinous matter contained in the roots of these is probably carried up by the ascending sap in the spring, and the return of a large portion of this matter to the roots, would, probably, be prevented: the timber I have, however, very little doubt, would be much improved by standing a second year, and being then felled in the autumn; but some loss would be sustained owing to the slow growth of the trees in the second summer. The alburnum of other trees might probably be rendered more solid and durable by the same process; but the descending sap of these, being of a more fluid consistence than that of the resinous tribe, would escape through the decorticated space into the roots in much larger quantity.

It may be suspected that the increased solidity of the wood in the fir-tree I have described, was confined to the part adjacent to the decorticated space; but it has been long known to gardeners, that taking off a portion of bark round the branch of a fruit-tree occasions the production of much blossom on every part of that branch in the succeeding season. The blossom in this case probably owes its existence to a stagnation of the true sap, extending to the extremities of the branch above the decorticated space; and it may therefore be expected, that the alburnous matter of the

trunk and branches of a resinous tree will be rendered more solid by a similar operation.

I send you two specimens of the fir-wood I have described, the one having been taken off above, and the other below, the decorticated space. The bark of the latter kind scarcely exceeded one-tenth of a line in thickness; the cause of which, I propose to endeavour to explain in a future communication relative to the reproduction of bark. I am, &c.

T. A. Knight.

*An Account of the Genus Termes.
From Shaw's General Zoology. Vol. 6.*

Generic Character:—Legs six, formed for running. Eyes two. Antennæ setaceous. Mouth furnished with two jaws.—From the observations of Degeer, and the more recent ones of Mr. Smeathman, recorded in the philosophical transactions, it appears that the male and females, of the genus *termes*, are, in their complete state, furnished with wings, though the labourers or neuters are destitute of those organs. The genus might, therefore, in strict propriety, rather claim a place in the order Neuroptera, than that of Aptera, in which it is stationed by Linnæus.

The European species of *termes* are very small, compared with those of the warmer regions of Africa and America; and, instead of assembling in multitudes, as in those climates, are usually observed single. The most common of these is the *termes pulsatorius* of Linnæus, a diminutive insect, of a whitish colour, and which, from its general resemblance to the insects of that genus, has, by Derham and some other naturalists been distinguished by the title of *Pediculus*

culus pulsatorius. It is very frequent, during the summer months, in houses, particularly where the wainscot is in any degree decayed, and is remarkable for causing a long-continued sound, exactly resembling the ticking of a watch. It is a very common insect in collections of dried plants, &c. which it often injures greatly. It is of so tender a frame, as to be easily destroyed by the slightest pressure, and is an animal of very quick motion. When magnified, the head appears large; the eyes remarkably conspicuous, of a most beautiful gold-colour, and divided, like those of most other insects, into innumerable hexagonal convexities; the antennæ long and setaceous; the palpi or feelers, two in number, of moderate length, and terminating in a large club-shaped tip; the thorax rather narrow, and the abdomen obtusely oval; the thighs or first joints of the legs thick, the remaining ones slender, and the feet furnished with very small claws; the whole animal is beset with small, scattered hairs. According to the observations of the celebrated Derham; this insect, at its first hatching from the egg, which is white, oval, and extremely small, bears a complete resemblance to a common mite, being furnished with eight legs, and beset with long hairs. After a certain time it casts its skin, and appears in the very different form above-described. Degeer observes, that in some specimens he has remarked appearances similar to the rudiments of wings on each side the thorax, and resembling a pair of oblong scales. From my own observations, I can affirm, with certainty, that some individuals of this species, become winged when arrived at their full growth: the

wings, which are four in number, being very large, of a slightly iridescent appearance, and variegated with blackish and brown clouds, or spots. It is in the beginning of July, that this change takes place, and at this time several may be seen with the wings half grown; in a few days, they seem to obtain their full size.

Mr. Derham imagines the ticking sound which these animals produce, to be analogous to the call of birds to their mates, during the breeding season; there seems to be no reason for calling in question the truth of this observation. I may add, that this sound, as well as that produced by the *ptinus fatidicus*, or death-watch, seems to afford a convincing proof of the faculty of hearing in insects, which some naturalists have been inclined to deny.

On the bark of trees, during the decline of summer, may be sometimes observed a species of winged *termes*, extremely resembling the preceding, but larger, and of a greenish brown colour, with darker variegations; and I am inclined to believe that several small species of this genus exist, which, from their general resemblance to each other, have been hitherto confounded.

Of the exotic *termites* the most remarkable seems to be the *termes bellicosus*, whose history is so amply described by Mr. Smeathman, in the Philosophical Transactions.

Of a great many curious parts of the creation I met with on my travels, in that almost unknown district of Africa, called Guinea, the *termites*, which, by most travellers have been called white ants, seemed to me, on many accounts, most worthy of that exact and minute attention which I have bestowed upon them.

The

The amazingly great and sudden mischief they frequently do to the property of people in tropical climates, makes them well known and greatly feared by the inhabitants.

The size and figure of their buildings have attracted the notice of many travellers, and yet the world has not hitherto been furnished with a tolerable description of them, though their contrivance and execution scarce fall short of human ingenuity and prudence; but when we come to consider the wonderful economy of these insects, with the good order of their subterraneous cities, they will appear foremost on the list of the wonders of the creation, as most closely imitating mankind in provident industry and regular government.

The *termites* are represented by Linnæus as the greatest plagues of both Indies, and are indeed every way, between the tropics so deemed, from the vast damages they cause, and the losses which are experienced in consequence of their eating and perforating wooden buildings, utensils, and furniture, with all kinds of household-stuff, and merchandize, which are totally destroyed by them, if not timely prevented; for nothing less hard than metal or stone can escape their most destructive jaws.

They have been taken notice of by various travellers, in different parts of the torrid zone; and, indeed, where numerous, as is the case in all equinoctial countries, and islands that are not fully cultivated, if a person has not been incited by curiosity to observe them, he must have been very fortunate who, after a short residence, has not been compelled to it, for the safety of his property.

These insects have generally obtained the name of ants, it may be presumed, from the similarity in their manner of living, which is, in large communities that erect very extraordinary nests, for the most part, on the surface of the ground, from whence their excursions are made through subterraneous passages or covered galleries, which they build whenever necessity obliges, or plunder induces, them to march above ground, and, at a great distance from their habitations carry on a business of depredation and destruction, scarce credible but to those who have seen it. But, notwithstanding they live in communities, and are, like the ants, omnivorous; though, like them at a certain period, they are furnished with four wings, and emigrate or colonize at the same season: they are by no means the same kind of insect, nor does their form correspond with that of ants in any one state of their existence; which, like most other insects, is changed several times.

The *termites* resemble the ants also in their provident and diligent labour, but surpass them as well as the bees, wasps, beavers, and all other animals which I have ever heard of, in the art of building, as much as the Europeans excel the least cultivated savages. It is more than probable they excel them as much in sagacity and the arts of government; it is certain they shew more substantial instances of their ingenuity and industry than any other animals; and do in fact lay up vast magazines of provisions and other stores; a degree of prudence which has of late years been denied, perhaps without reason, to the ants.

Their

Their communities consist of one male and one female (who are generally the common parents of the whole, or greater part, of the rest,) and of three orders of insects, apparently of very different species, but really the same, which together compose great commonwealths, or rather monarchies, if I may be allowed the term.

The great Linnæus, having seen or heard of but two of these orders, has classed the genus erroneously; for he has placed it among the Aptera, or insects without wings; whereas, the chief order, that is to say, the insect in its perfect state, having four wings without any sting, it belongs to the Neuroptera; in which class it will constitute a new genus of many species.

The different species of this genus resemble each other in form, in their manner of living, and in their good and bad qualities; but differ as much as birds in the manner of building their habitations or nests, and in the choice of the materials of which they compose them.

There are some species which build upon the surface of the ground, or part above and part beneath, and one or two species, perhaps more, that build on the stems or branches of trees, sometimes aloft at a vast height.

Of every species there are three orders: first, the working insects, which, for brevity, I shall generally call labourers; next, the fighting ones, or soldiers, which do no kind of labour; and last of all, the winged ones, or perfect insects, which are male and female, and capable of propagation. These might very appositely be called the nobility or gentry, for they neither labour, or toil, or fight, being quite incapable

of either, and almost of self-defence. These only are capable of being elected kings or queens; and nature has so ordered it, that they emigrate within a few weeks after they are elevated to this state, and either establish new kingdoms, or perish within a day or two.

The *termes bellicosus* being the largest species, is most remarkable and best known on the coast of Africa. It erects immense buildings of well-tempered clay or earth, which are contrived and finished with such art and ingenuity, that we are at a loss to say, whether they are most to be admired on that account, or for their enormous magnitude and solidity. It is from the two lower orders of this, or a similar species, that Linnæus seems to have taken his description of the *termes fatalis*; and most of the accounts brought home from Africa or Asia, of the white ants, are also taken from a species that are so much alike in external habit and size, and build so much in their manner, that one may almost venture to pronounce them mere variations of the same species. My general account of the *termites* is taken from observations made on the *termes bellicosus*, to which I was induced by the greater facility and certainty with which they could be made.

The nests of this species are so numerous, all over the island of Bananas, and the adjacent continent of Africa, that it is scarce possible to stand upon any open place, such as a rice plantation, or other clear spot, where one of these buildings is not to be seen within fifty paces, and frequently two or three are to be seen almost close to each other. In some parts near Senegal, as mentioned by Mons. Adanson, their
number,

number, magnitude, and closeness of situation, make them appear like the villages of the natives.

These buildings are usually termed hills, by natives as well as strangers, from their outward appearance, which is that of little hills, more or less conical, generally pretty much in the form of sugar loaves, and about ten or twelve feet in perpendicular height above the common surface of the ground.

These hills continue quite bare until they are six or eight feet high ; but in time the dead barren clay, of which they are composed, becomes fertilized by the genial power of the elements in these prolific climates, and the addition of vegetable salts and other matters, brought by the wind ; and in the second or third year, the hillock, if not overshadowed by trees, becomes, like the rest of the earth, almost covered with grass and other plants ; and, in the dry season, when the herbage is burnt up by the rays of the sun, it is not much unlike a very large hay-cock.

Every one of these buildings consists of two distinct parts, the exterior and the interior.

The exterior is one large shell, in the manner of a dome, large and strong enough to inclose and shelter the interior from the vicissitudes of the weather, and the inhabitants from the attacks of natural or accidental enemies. It is always, therefore, much stronger than the interior building, which is the habitable part, divided with a wonderful kind of regularity and contrivance, into an amazing number of apartments for the residence of the king and queen, and the nursing of their numerous progeny ; or for magazines, which are always found well filled with stores and provisions.

These hills make their first appearance above ground by a little turret or two in the shape of sugar loaves, which are run a foot high or more. Soon after, at some little distance, while the former are increasing in height and size, they raise others, and so go on increasing the number and widening them at the base, till their works below are covered with these turrets, which they always raise the highest and largest in the middle, and by filling up the intervals between each turret, collect them as it were into one dome.

They are not very curious or exact about these turrets, except in making them very solid and strong, and when, by the junction of them the dome is completed, for which purpose the turrets answer as scaffolds, they take away the middle ones entirely, except the tops (which joined together make the crown of the cupola) and apply the clay to the building of the works within, or to erecting fresh turrets, for the purpose of raising the hillock still higher ; so that no doubt some part of the clay is used several times, like the boards and posts of a mason's scaffold.

The outward shell or dome, is not only of use to protect and support the interior buildings from external violence, and the heavy rains ; but to collect and preserve a regular degree of genial warmth and moisture, which seems very necessary, for hatching the eggs and cherishing the young ones.

The royal chamber, which I call so on account of its being adapted for, and occupied by, the king and queen, appears to be, in the opinion of this little people, of the most consequence, being always situated as

near

near the centre of the interior building as possible, and generally about the height of the common surface of the ground, at a pace or two from the hillock. It is always nearly in the shape of half an egg, or an obtuse oval within, and may be supposed to represent a long oven.

In the infant state of the colony, it is not above an inch, or thereabout, in length, but in time will be increased to six or eight inches, or more, in the clear, being always in proportion to the size of the queen, who, increasing in bulk as in age, at length requires a chamber of such dimensions.

Its floor is perfectly horizontal, and in large hillocks, sometimes an inch thick and upwards, of solid clay. The roof also, which is one solid, well turned, oval arch, is generally of about the same solidity, but in some places it is not a quarter of an inch thick, this is on the side where it joins the floor, and where the doors or entrances are made level therewith, at pretty equal distances from each other.

These entrances will not admit any animal larger than the soldiers or labourers, so that the king and the queen (who is, at full size, a thousand times the weight of a king) can never possibly go out.

The royal chamber, if in a large hillock, is surrounded by an innumerable quantity of others of different sizes, shapes, and dimensions, but all of them arched in one way or another, sometimes circular, and sometimes elliptical or oval.

These either open into each other, or communicate by passages as wide, and being always empty, are evidently made for the soldiers and attendants, of whom it will soon ap-

pear, great numbers are necessary, and of course always in waiting.

These apartments are joined by the magazines and nurseries. The former are chambers of clay, and are always filled with provisions, which, to the naked eye, seem to consist of the raspings of wood and plants, which the termites destroy, but are found in the microscope to be principally the gums or inspissated juices of plants. These are thrown together in little masses, some of which are finer than others, and resemble the sugar about preserved fruits, others are like tears of gum, one quite transparent, another like amber, a third brown, and a fourth quite opaque, as we see often in parcels of ordinary gums.

These magazines are intermixed with the nurseries, which are buildings totally different from the rest of the apartments; for these are composed entirely of wooden materials, seemingly joined together with gums. I call them the nurseries, because they are invariably occupied by the eggs and young ones; which appear at first in the shape of labourers, but white as snow. These buildings are exceeding compact, and divided into many very small irregular shaped chambers, not one of which is to be found of half an inch in width; they are placed all round the royal apartments, and as near as possible to them.

When the nest is in the infant state, the nurseries are close to the royal chamber; but, as in process of time the queen enlarges, it is necessary to enlarge the chamber for her accommodation, and as she then lays a greater number of eggs, and requires a greater number of attendants, so it is necessary to enlarge and in-

crease

crease the number of the adjacent apartments; for which purpose the small nurseries which are first built, are taken to pieces, rebuilt a little farther off a size bigger, and the number of them increased at the same time.

Thus they continually enlarge their apartments, pull down, repair, or rebuild, according to their wants, with a degree of sagacity, regularity, and foresight, not even imitated by any other kind of animals or insects that I have yet heard of.

There is one remarkable circumstance attending the nurseries, which I must not at this time omit. They are always found slightly overgrown with, and plentifully sprinkled with small white globules, about the size of a small pin's head. These at first I took to be the eggs, but on bringing them to the microscope, they evidently appeared to be a species of mushroom, in shape like our eatable mushroom, in the young state in which it is pickled. They appear, when whole, white like snow a little thawed and then frozen again, and when bruized seem composed of an infinite number of pellucid particles, approaching the oval forms, and difficult to separate; the mouldiness seems to be the same kind of substance.

The nurseries are inclosed in chambers of clay, like those which contain the provisions, but much larger. In the early state of the nest they are not bigger than an hazel nut, but in great hills are often as large as a child's head of a year old.

The disposition of the interior parts of these hills, is pretty much alike, except when some insurmountable obstacle prevents; for instance, when the king and queen

have been first lodged, near the foot of a rock or of a tree, they are certainly built out of the usual form, otherwise pretty nearly according to the following plan.

The royal chamber is situated at about a level with the surface of the ground, at an equal distance from all the sides of the building, and directly under the apex of the hill.

It is on all sides, both above and below, surrounded by what I should call the royal apartments, which have only labourers and soldiers in them, and can be intended for no other purpose than for those to wait in, either to guard or serve their common father and mother, on whose safety depends the happiness, and, according to the negroes, even the existence, of the whole community.

These apartments compose an intricate labyrinth, which extends a foot or more in diameter from the royal chambers, on every side. Here the nurseries and magazines of provisions begin; and, being separated by small empty chambers and galleries, which go round them, or communicate from one to the other, are continued on all sides to the outward shell, and reach up within it two-thirds, or three-fourths of its height, leaving an open area in the middle, under the dome, which very much resembles the nave of an old cathedral; this is surrounded by three or four very large gothic shaped arches, which are sometimes two or three feet high next the front of the area, but diminish very rapidly as they recede from thence, like the arches of aisles in perspectives, and are soon lost among the innumerable chambers and nurseries behind them.

All these chambers, and the passages leading to and from them, being
arched

arched, they help to support one another; and, while the interior large arches prevent them falling into the center, and keep the area open, the exterior building supports them on the outside.

There are, comparatively speaking, few openings into the great area, and they, for the most part, seem intended only to admit that genial warmth into the nurseries which the dome collects.

The interior building, or assemblage of nurseries, chambers, &c. has a flattish top or roof, without any perforation, which would keep the apartments below dry, in case through accident, the dome should receive any injury, and let in water; and it is never exactly flat and uniform, because they are always adding to it by building more chambers and nurseries; so that the divisions or columns, between the future arched apartments, resemble the pinnacles upon the fronts of some old buildings, and demand particular notice, as affording one proof, that for the most part the insects project their arches, and do not make them, as I imagined for a long time, by excavation.

The area has also a flattish floor, which lies over the royal chamber, but sometimes a good height above it, having nurseries and magazines between. It is likewise water-proof, and contrived, as far as I could guess, to let the water off, if it should get in, and run over, by some short way, into the subterraneous passages which run under the lowest apartments in the hill, in various directions, and are of an astonishing size, being wider than the bore of a great cannon. I have a memorandum of one I measured, perfectly cylindrical, and thirteen inches in diameter.

These subterraneous passages or galleries, are lined very thick with the same kind of clay of which the hill is composed, and ascend the inside of the outward shell, in a spiral manner, and winding round the whole building up to the top intersect each other at different heights, opening either immediately into the dome in various places, and into the interior building, the new turrets, &c. on communicating thereto by other galleries of different bores or diameters, either circular or oval.

From every part of these large galleries, are various small pipes or galleries, leading to different parts of the building. Under ground there are a great many which lead downward by sloping descents, three and four feet perpendicular, among the gravel, from whence the labouring termites cull the finer parts, which, being worked up in their mouths, to the consistence of mortar, becomes that solid clay or stone, of which their hills and all their buildings, except their nurseries, are composed.

Other galleries again ascend and lead out horizontally on every side, and are carried under ground, near to the surface, a vast distance; for, if you destroy all the nests within one hundred yards of your house, the inhabitants of those which are left unmolested farther off, will nevertheless carry on their subterraneous galleries, and invade the goods and merchandizes contained in it by sap and mine, and do great mischief, if you are not very circumspect.

But to return to the cities from whence these extraordinary expeditions and operations originate, it seems there is a degree of necessity for the galleries under the hills being thus large, being the great thoroughfares

fares for all the labourers and soldiers going forth or returning upon any business whatever, whether fetching clay, wood, water, or provisions; and they are certainly well calculated for the purpose to which they are applied, by the spiral slope which is given them; for, if they were perpendicular, the labourers would not be able to carry on their building with so much facility, as they ascend a perpendicular with great difficulty, and the soldiers can scarce do it at all. It is on this account that sometimes a road like a ledge is made on the perpendicular side of any part of the building within their hill, which is flat on the upper surface, and half an inch wide, and ascends gradually like a stair-case, or like those roads which are cut on the sides of hills or mountains, that would otherwise be inaccessible; by which and similar contrivances, they travel with great facility to every interior part.

This too is probably the cause of their building a kind of bridge of one vast arch, which answers the purpose of a flight of stairs from the floor of the area, to some opening on the side of one of the columns which support the great arches, which must shorten the distance exceedingly, to those labourers who have the eggs to carry from the royal chamber to some of the upper nurseries, which, in some hills, would be four or five feet in the straightest line, and much more if carried through all the winding passages which lead through the inner chambers and apartments.

I have a memorandum of one of the bridges, half an inch broad, a quarter of an inch thick, and ten inches long, making the side of an elliptic arch, of proportionable size,

so that it is wonderful it did not fall over or break by its own weight, before they got it joined to the side of the column above. It was strengthened by a small arch at the bottom, and had a hollow, or grove, all the length of the upper surface, either made purposely for the inhabitants to travel over with more safety, or else, which is not improbable, worn so by frequent treading.

I have observed before, that there are of every species of termites three orders; of these orders the working insects, or labourers, are always the most numerous; in the *termes bellicosus* there seems to be at the least one hundred labourers to one of the fighting insects, or soldiers. They are, in this state, about one fourth of an inch long, and twenty-five of them weigh about a grain; so that they are not so large as some of our ants. From their external habit and fondness for wood, they have been very expressively called wood-lice by some people, and the whole genus have been known by that name, particularly among the French. They resemble them, it is true, very much, at a distance, but they run as fast or faster, than any other insects of their size, and are incessantly bustling about their affairs.

The second order, or soldiers, have a very different form from the labourers, and have been by some authors supposed to be the males, and the former neuters; but they are, in fact, the same insects as the foregoing, only they have undergone a change of form, and approached one degree nearer to the perfect state. They are now much larger, being half an inch long, and equal in bulk to fifteen of the labourers.

There is now, likewise, a most remarkable circumstance in the form of the head and mouth; for, in the former state, the mouth is evidently calculated for gnawing and holding bodies, but in this state, the jaws being shaped just like two very sharp awls, a little jagged, they are incapable of any thing but piercing or wounding, for which purposes they are very effectual, being as hard as a crab's claw, and placed in a strong horny head, which is of a nut brown colour, and larger than all the rest of the body together, which seems to labour under great difficulty in carrying it; on which account, perhaps, the animal is incapable of climbing up perpendicular surfaces.

The third order, or the insect in its perfect state, varies its form still more than ever. The head, thorax, and abdomen, differ almost entirely from the same parts in the labourers and soldiers; and, besides this, the animal is now furnished with four fine large, brownish, transparent wings, with which it is at the same time of emanation to wing its way in search of a new settlement. In short, it differs so much from its form and appearance in the other two states, that it has never been supposed to be the same animal, but by those who have seen it in the same nest; and some of these have distrusted the evidence of their senses. It was so long before I met with them in the nests myself, that I doubted the information which was given me by the natives, that they belonged to the same family. Indeed, we may open twenty nests without finding one winged one, for those are to be found only just before the commencement of the rainy season, when they undergo the last

change, which is preparative to their colonization. Add to this, they sometimes abandon an outward part of their building, the community being diminished by some accident, to me unknown. Sometimes too, different species of the real ant (*formica*) possess themselves by force of a lodgment, and so are frequently dislodged from the same nest, and taken for the same kind of insects. This, I know, is often the case with the nests of the smaller species, which are frequently totally abandoned by the termites, and completely inhabited by different species of ants, cock-roaches, scolopendræ, scorpions, and other vermin, fond of obscure retreats, that occupy different parts of their roomy buildings.

In the winged state they have also much altered their size as well as form. Their bodies now measure between six and seven tenths of an inch in length, and their wings above two inches and a half from tip to tip, and they are equal in bulk to about thirty labourers, or two soldiers. They are now also furnished with two large eyes, placed on each side of the head, and very conspicuous; if they have any before, they are not easily to be distinguished. Probably in the two first states their eyes, if they have any, may be small like those of moles; for as they live like those animals, always under ground, they have as little occasion for these organs, and it is not to be wondered at that we do not discover them; but the case is much altered when they arrive at the winged state in which they are to roam, though but for a few hours, through the wide air, and explore new and distant regions. In this form the animal comes abroad, during, or soon after

after the first tornado, which, at the latter end of the dry season, proclaims the approach of the ensuing rains, and seldom waits for a second or third shower, if the first, as is generally the case, happens in the night, and brings much wet after it.

The quantities that are to be found the next morning, all over the surface of the earth, but particularly on the waters, is astonishing; for their wings are only calculated to carry them a few hours, and after the rising of the sun, not one in a thousand is to be found with four wings, unless the morning continues rainy, when here and there a solitary being is seen winging its way from one place to another, as if solicitous only to avoid its numerous enemies, particularly various species of ants, which are hunting on every spray, on every leaf, and in every possible place, for this unhappy race, of which, probably, not a pair in many millions get into a place of safety, fulfil the first law of nature, and lay the foundation of a new community.

Not only all kinds of ants, birds, and carnivorous reptiles, as well as insects, are upon the hunt for them, but the inhabitants of many countries, and particularly of that part Africa where I was, eat them.

On the following morning, however, as I have observed, they are to be seen running upon the ground in chace of each other; sometimes with one or two wings still hanging to their bodies, which are not only useless, but seem rather cumbersome.

The greater part have no wings, but they run exceeding fast, the males after the females; I have sometimes remarked two males after one female, contending with great eagerness who should win the prize,

regardless of the innumerable dangers that surrounded them.

They are now become, from one of the most active, industrious, and rapacious, one of the most fierce and implacable little animals in the world, the most innocent, helpless, and cowardly; never making the least resistance to the smallest ant. The ants are to be seen on every side in infinite numbers, of various species and sizes, dragging these annual victims of the laws of nature to their different nests. It is wonderful that a pair should ever escape so many dangers, and get into a place of security. Some, however, are so fortunate; and being found by some of the labouring insects, that are continually running about the surface of the ground, under their covered galleries, which I shall shortly describe, are elected kings and queens of new states; all those who are not so elected and preserved, certainly perish, and most probably in the course of the following day. The manner in which these labourers protect the happy pair from their innumerable enemies, not only on the day of the massacre of almost all their race, but for a long time after, will, I hope, justify me in the use of the term election. The little industrious creatures immediately enclose them in a small chamber of clay, suitable to their size, into which at first they leave but one small entrance, large enough for themselves and the soldiers to go in and out, but much too little for either of the royal pair to make use of; and when necessity obliges them to make more entrances, they are never larger; so that of course the voluntary subjects charge themselves with the task of providing for the offspring of their sovereigns, as well as to work

work and to fight for them, until they shall have raised a progeny capable at least of dividing the task with them.

About this time a most extraordinary change begins to take place in the queen, to which I know nothing similar, except in the *pulex penetrans* of Linnæus, the *jigger* of the West Indies, and in the different species of *coccus*, *cochineal*. The abdomen of this female begins gradually to extend and enlarge to such an enormous size, that an old queen will have it increased so as to be fifteen hundred or two thousand times the bulk of the rest of her body, and twenty or thirty thousand times the bulk of a labourer, as I have found by carefully weighing and computing the different states. The skin, between the segments of the abdomen extends in every direction; and at last the segments are removed to half an inch distance from each other, though at first the length of the whole abdomen is not half an inch. They preserve their dark brown colour, and the upper part of the abdomen is marked with a regular series of brown bars, from the thorax to the posterior part of the abdomen, while the intervals between them are covered with a thin, delicate, transparent skin, and appear of a fine cream colour, a little shaded by the dark colour of the intestines and watery fluid seen here and there beneath. I conjecture the animal is upwards of two years old when the abdomen is increased to three inches in length: I have sometimes found them of near twice that size. The abdomen is now of an irregular oblong shape, being contracted by the muscles of every segment, and is become one vast matrix full of eggs, which make long

circumvolutions, through an innumerable quantity of very minute vessels, that circulate round the inside, in a serpentine manner, which would exercise the ingenuity of a skilful anatomist to dissect and develop. This singular matrix is not more remarkable for its amazing extension and size, than for its peristaltic motion, which resembles the undulating of waves, and continues incessantly, without apparent effort of the animal; so that one part or other alternately is rising and sinking in perpetual succession, and the matrix seems never at rest, but is always protruding eggs to the amount (as I have frequently counted in old queens) of sixty in a minute, or eighty thousand and upward in one day of twenty-four hours.

These eggs are instantly taken from her body by her attendants, of whom there always are in the royal chamber and galleries adjacent, a sufficient number in waiting, and carried to the nurseries, which, in a great nest, may some of them be four or five feet distant, in a straight line, and consequently much farther by their winding galleries. Here, after they are hatched, the young are attended and provided with every thing necessary, until they are able to shift for themselves, and take their share of the labours of the community. The foregoing, I flatter myself, is an accurate description and account of the *termes bellicosus*, or species that builds the large nests in its different states.

The termites except their heads, are exceeding soft, and covered with a very thin and delicate skin; being blind, they are no match on open ground for the ants, who can see, and are all of them covered with a strong horny shell, not easily pierced, and

and are of dispositions bold, active, and rapacious. Whenever the termites are dislodged from their covered ways, the various species of the former, who probably are as numerous above ground, as the latter are in their subterraneous passages, instantly seize and drag them away to their nests, to feed the young brood. The termites are, therefore, exceeding solicitous about the preserving their covered ways in good repair; and if you demolish one of them, for a few inches in length, it is wonderful how soon they rebuild it. At first, in their hurry, they get into the open part an inch or two, but stop so suddenly, that it is very apparent they are surprised; for, though some run straight on, and get under the arch as speedily as possible in the former part, most of them run as fast back, and very few will venture through that part of the track which is left uncovered. In a few minutes you will perceive them re-building the arch, and by the next morning they will have restored their gallery, for three or four yards in length, if so much has been ruined; and upon opening it again will be found as numerous as ever, under it, passing both ways. If you continue to destroy it several times, they will at length seem to give up the point, and build another in a different direction; but, if the old one led to some favourite plunder, in a few days will rebuild it again; and, unless you destroy their nest, never totally abandon their gallery.

The *termites arborum*, those which build in trees, frequently establish their nests within the roofs of houses, to which they do considerable damage, if not timely extirpated.

The large species are, however,

not only much more destructive, but more difficult to be guarded against, since they make their approaches chiefly under ground, descending below the foundations of houses and stores, at several feet from the surface, and rising again either in the floors, or entering at the bottoms of the posts, of which the sides of these buildings are composed, bore quite through them, following the course of the fibres to the top, or making lateral perforations and cavities here and there as they proceed.

While some are employed in gutting the posts, others ascend from them, entering a rafter, or some other part of the roof. If they once find the thatch, which seems to be a favourite food, they soon bring up wet clay, and build their pipes or galleries through the roof, in various directions, as long as it will support them; sometimes eating the palm tree leaves and branches, of which it is composed; and, perhaps, (for variety seems very pleasing to them), the rattan, or other running plant, which is used as a cord to tie the various parts of the roof together, and that to the posts which support it; thus, with the assistance of the rats, who, during the rainy season, are apt to shelter themselves there, and to burrow through it, they very soon ruin the house, by weakening the fastenings, and exposing it to the wet. In the mean time the posts will be perforated in every direction, as full of holes as that timber in the bottom of ships, which has been bored by the worms; the fibres and knotty parts, which are the hardest, being left to the last.

They sometimes, in carrying on this business, find, I will not pretend to say how, that the post has some weight to support, and then, if it is

a convenient track to the roof, or is itself a kind of wood agreeable to them, they bring their mortar, and fill all, or most of the cavities, leaving the necessary roads through it, and as fast as they take away the wood replace the vacancy with that material; which, being worked together by them, more close and more compactly than human strength or art could ram it, when the house is pulled to pieces, in order to examine if any of the posts are fit to be used again, those of the softer kinds are often found reduced almost to a shell, and all, or a greater part, transformed from wood to clay, as solid and as hard as many kinds of free-stone used for building in England. It is much the same when the *termites bellicosus* get into a chest or trunk, containing clothes and other things, if the weight above is great, or they are afraid of ants or other enemies, and have time, they carry their pipes through, and replace a great part with clay, running their galleries in various directions.

The *tree termites*, indeed, when they get within a box, often make a nest there, and being once in possession, destroy it at their leisure. They did so to the pyramidal box which contained my compound microscope. It was of mahogany, and I had left it in the store of governor Campbell, of Tobago, for a few months, while I made the tour of the Leeward Islands. On my return I found these insects had done much mischief in the store, and among other things, had taken possession of the microscope, and eaten every thing about it except the glass or metal, and the board on which the pedestal is fixed, with the drawers under it, and the things inclosed. The cells were built all round the

pedestal and the tube, and attached to it on every side. All the glasses which were covered with the wooden substance of their nests, retained a cloud of a gummy nature upon them, that was not easily got off, and the lacquer or burnish with which the brass-work was covered, was totally spoiled. Another party had taken a liking to the staves of a Madeira cask, and had let out almost a pipe of old wine. If the large species of Africa (the *termites bellicosus*) had been so long in the uninterrupted possession of such a store, they would not have left twenty pounds weight of wood remaining of the whole building, and all that it contained.

These insects are not less expeditious in destroying the shelves, wainscoting, and other fixtures of a house, than the house itself. They are for ever piercing and boring in all directions, and sometimes go out of the broad side of one post into that of another joining to it; but they prefer, and always destroy the softer substances first, and are particularly fond of pine and fir boards, which they excavate, and carry away with wonderful dispatch, and astonishing cunning: for, except a shelf has something standing upon it, as a book, or any thing else which may tempt them, they will not perforate the surface, but artfully preserve it quite whole, and eat away all the inside, except a few fibres, which barely keep the two sides connected together, so that a piece of an inch board, which appears solid to the eye, will not weigh much more than two sheets of pasteboard of equal dimensions, after these animals have been a little while in possession of it. In short, the termites are so insidious in their attacks, that we

cannot be too much on our guard against them: they will sometimes begin and raise their works, especially in new houses, through the floor. If you destroy the work so begun, and make a fire upon the spot, the next night they will attempt to rise through another part; and, if they happen to emerge under a chest or trunk early in the night, will pierce the bottom, and destroy or spoil every thing in it before the morning. On these accounts we are careful to set all our chests and boxes upon stones or bricks, so as to leave the bottoms of such furniture some inches above the ground, which not only prevents these insects finding them out so readily, but preserves the bottoms from a corrosive damp which would strike from the earth through, and rot every thing therein: a vast deal of vermin also would harbour under, such as cock-roaches, centipedes, millepedes, scorpions, ants, and various other noisome insects.

When the termites attack trees and branches in the open air, they sometimes vary their manner of doing it. If a stake in a hedge has not taken root and vegetated, it becomes their business to destroy it. If it has a good sound bark round it, they will enter at the bottom, and eat all but the bark, which will remain, and exhibit the appearance of a solid stick (which some vagrant colony of ants, or other insects, often shelter in till the winds disperse it); but, if they cannot trust the bark, they cover the whole stick with their mortar, and it then looks as if it had been dipped into thick mud that had been dried on. Under this covering they work, leaving no more of the stick and bark than is barely sufficient to support it, and frequently not the smallest particle, so that,

upon a very small tap with your walking-stick, the whole stake, though apparently as thick as your arm, and five or six feet long, loses its form, and disappearing like a shadow, falls in small fragments at your feet. They generally enter the body of a large tree, which has fallen through age, or been thrown down by violence, on the side next the ground, and eat away at their leisure within the bark, without giving themselves the trouble either to cover it on the outside, or to replace the wood which they have removed from within, being somehow sensible that there is no necessity for it. These excavated trees have deceived me two or three times in running; for, attempting to step two or three feet high, I might as well have attempted to step upon a cloud, and have come down with such unexpected violence, that, besides shaking my teeth and bones almost to dislocation, I have been precipitated, head foremost, among the neighbouring trees and bushes. Sometimes, though seldom, the animals are known to attack living trees; but not, I apprehend, before symptoms of mortification have appeared at the roots, since it is evident, as is before observed, that these insects are intended, in the order of nature, to hasten the dissolution of such trees and vegetables as have arrived at their greatest maturity and perfection, and which would, by a tedious decay, serve only to encumber the face of the earth. This purpose they answer so effectually, that nothing perishable escapes them, and it is almost impossible to leave any thing penetrable upon the ground a long time in safety; for the odds are, that put it where you will abroad, they will

will find it out before the following morning, and its destruction follows very soon of course. In consequence of this disposition, the woods never remain long encumbered with the fallen trunks of trees or their branches; and thus it is, as I have before observed, the total destruction of deserted towns is so effectually completed, that in two or three years a thick wood fills the space; and, unless iron-wood posts have been made use of, not the least vestige of an house is to be discovered.

The first object of admiration which strikes one upon opening their hills, is the behaviour of the soldiers. If you make a breach in a slight part of the building, and do it quickly with a strong hoe or pick-axe, in the space of a few seconds a soldier will run out, and walk about the breach, as if to see whether the enemy is gone, or to examine what is the cause of the attack. He will sometimes go again, as if to give the alarm; but most frequently in a short time is followed by two or three others, who run as fast as they can, straggling after one another, and are soon followed by a large body, who rush out as fast as the breach will permit them, and so they proceed, the number increasing, as long as any one continues battering their building. It is not easy to describe the rage and fury they shew. In their hurry they frequently miss their hold; and tumble down the sides of the hill; but recover themselves as quickly as possible; and, being blind, bite every thing they run against, and thus make a crackling noise, while some of them beat repeatedly with their forceps upon the building, and make a small vibrating noise, something

shriller and quicker than the ticking of a watch; I could distinguish this noise at three or four feet distant, and it continued for a minute at a time, with short intervals. While the attack proceeds they are in the most violent bustle and agitation. If they get hold of any one, they will in an instant let out blood, enough to weigh against their whole body; and if it is the leg they wound, you will see the stain upon the stocking extend an inch in width.

They make their hooked jaws meet at the first stroke, and never quit their hold, but suffer themselves to be pulled away leg by leg, and piece after piece, without the least attempt to escape. On the other hand, keep out of their way, and give them no interruption, and they will in less than half an hour retire into the nest, as if they supposed the wonderful monster that damaged their castle to be gone beyond their reach. Before they are all got in, you will see the labourers in motion, and hastening in various directions towards the breach; every one with a burden of mortar in his mouth, ready tempered. This they stick upon the breach as fast as they come up, and do it with so much dispatch and facility, that although there are thousands, and I may say millions of them, they never stop or embarrass one another, and you are most agreeably deceived when, after an apparent scene of hurry and confusion, a regular wall arises, gradually filling up the chasm.

While they are thus employed, almost all the soldiers are retired quite out of sight, except here and there one, who saunters about among six hundred or a thousand of the labourers, but never touches the mortar,

mortar, either to lift or carry it; one in particular places himself close to the wall they are building. This soldier will turn himself leisurely on all sides, and every now and then, at intervals of a minute or two, lift up his head, and with his forceps beat upon the building, and make the vibrating noise before mentioned, on which immediately a loud hiss, which appears to come from all the labourers, issues from withinside the dome, and all the subterraneous caverns and passages; that it does come from the labourers is very evident, for you will see them all hasten at every such signal, redouble their pace, and work as fast again.

As the most interesting experiments become dull by repetition or continuance, so the uniformity with which this business is carried on, though so very wonderful, at last satiates the mind. A renewal of the attack, however, instantly changes the scene, and gratifies our curiosity still more. At every stroke we hear a loud hiss; and on the first the labourers run into the many pipes and galleries with which the building is perforated, which they do so quickly that they seem to vanish, for in a few seconds all are gone, and the soldiers rush out, as numerous and as vindictive as before. On finding no enemy, they return again leisurely into the hill, and very soon after the labourers appear, loaded as at first, as active and as sedulous, with soldiers here and there among them, who act just in the same manner; one or other of them giving the signal to hasten the business. Thus the pleasure of seeing them come out to fight or to work alternately, may be obtained as often as curiosity excites or time permits: and it will certainly be found, that

the one order never attempts to fight, or the other to work, let the emergency be ever so great.

We meet vast obstacles in examining the interior parts of these tumuli. In the first place the work, for instance, the apartments which surround the royal chamber and the nurseries, and indeed the whole internal fabric, are moist, and consequently the clay is very brittle: they have also so close a connection that they can only be seen as it were by piece-meal; for, having a kind of geometrical dependance or abutment against each other, the breaking of one arch pulls down two or three.

To these obstacles must be added the obstinacy of the soldiers, who fight to the very last, disputing every inch of ground so well, as often to drive away the negroes who are without shoes, and make white people bleed plentifully through their stockings. Neither can we let a building stand so as to get a view of the interior parts without interruption, for while the soldiers are defending the outworks, the labourers keep barricadoing all the way against us, stopping up the different galleries and passages which lead to the various apartments, particularly the royal chamber, all the entrances to which they fill up so artfully, as not to let it be distinguishable while it remains moist; and externally it has no other appearance than that of a shapeless lump of clay. It is, however, easily found, from its situation with respect to the other parts of the building, and by the crowds of labourers and soldiers which surround it, who shew their loyalty and fidelity by dying under its walls. The royal chamber, in a large nest, is capacious enough to hold many
hundreds

hundreds of the attendants, besides the royal pair, and you always find it as full of them as it can hold. These faithful subjects never abandon their charge, even in the last distress; for, whenever I took out the royal chamber, and, as I often did, preserved it for some time in a large glass bowl, all the attendants continued running in one direction round the king and queen, with the utmost solicitude, some of them stopping on every circuit at the head of the latter, as if to give her something. When they came to the extremity of the abdomen, they took the eggs from her, and carried them away, and piled them carefully together in some part of the chamber, or in the bowl under, or behind any pieces of broken clay which lay most convenient for the purpose.

Some of these little unhappy creatures would ramble from the chamber, as if to explore the cause of such a horrid ruin and catastrophe to their immense building, as it must appear to them; and, after fruitless endeavours to get over the side of the bowl, return and mix with the crowd that continue running round their common parents to the last. Others, placing themselves along her side, get hold of the queen's vast matrix with their jaws, and pull with all their strength, so as visibly to lift up the part which they fix at; but, as I never saw any effect from these attempts, I never could determine whether this pulling was with an intention to remove her body, or to stimulate her to move herself, or for any other purpose; but, after

many ineffectual tugs, they would desist, and join in the crowd running round, or assist some of those who are cutting off clay from the external parts of the chamber, or some of the fragments, and moistening it with the juices of their bodies, to begin to work a thin arched shell over the body of the queen, as if to exclude the air, or to hide her from the observation of some enemy. These, if not interrupted, before the next morning, completely cover her, leaving room enough within for great numbers to run about her.

I do not mention the king in this case, because he is very small in proportion to the queen, not being bigger than thirty of the labourers, so that he generally conceals himself under one side of the abdomen, except when he goes up to the queen's head, which he does now and then, but not so frequently as the rest.

If in your attack on the hill you stop short of the royal chamber, and cut down about half of the building, and leave open some thousands of galleries and chambers, they will all be shut up with thin sheets of clay before the next morning. If even the whole is pulled down, and the different buildings are thrown into a confused heap of ruins, provided the king and queen are not destroyed or taken away, every interstice between the ruins, at which either cold or wet can possibly enter, will be so covered as to exclude both, and, if the animals are left undisturbed, in about a year they will raise the building to near its pristine size and grandeur.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Lists of Patents for Inventions, &c. granted in the Year 1806. From the Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture, Vol. 8, Second Series, 1808.

JOHN Syeds, of Fountain Stairs, Rotherhithe-wall, in the county of Surrey, mathematical-instrument-maker, for a steering amplitude, or azimuth-compass and scale, for finding and working courses of ships. Dated Oct. 7, 1805.

Daniel Desormeaux, of Barking, in the county of Essex, surgeon and apothecary, and **Samuel Hutchings**, of Ilford, in the said parish of Barking, weaver; for certain improvements in the making and manufacturing of wax, spermaceti, and tallow candles. Dated Oct. 22, 1805.

Richard Kentish, late captain in the Cambridgeshire militia, but now of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, esquire; for an armour-waistcoat, which is a sure defence against the bayonet, sword, pike, or any pointed instrument, and in many instances, may prevent the wound from a musket-ball. Dated October 30, 1805.

Joseph Huddart, of Highbury-terrace, in the parish of Islington, in the county of Middlesex; for sundry new improvements in the manufacture of large cables, and

cordage in general. Dated October 30, 1805.

Samuel Miller, of Gresse-street, in the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for certain improvements on steam-engines. Dated October 30, 1805.

John Hartop, of Brightside, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, iron-master; for certain improvements in the method of preparing malleable iron for the purpose of making the same into bars, sheets, and slit rods, and manufacturing the same also into hoop iron; and for certain improvements in the method of preparing all other malleable metals. Dated November 7, 1805.

John Trotter, of Soho-square, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; for a rotary-engine, for applying the powers of fluids as first movers. Dated November 14, 1805.

William Milton, vicar of Heckfield, in the county of Southampton, M. A.; for a mode of rendering carriages in general, but particularly stage-coaches, more safe than at present, and various other improvements upon such carriages. Dated November 16, 1805.

John Curr, of Sheffield Park, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, gentleman; for a method different from any that has hitherto been invented or known, of laying a

rope, or, in other words, of twisting and forming the strands together that compose the round rope. Dated November 16, 1805.

Andrew Flint, of Gee-street Goswell-street, in the county of Middlesex, mill-wright; for a machine upon an improved construction, which may be used as a steam-engine. Dated November 16, 1805.

John Delafons, of Threadneedle-street, in the city of London, watch-maker; for a marine alarum chronometer, for ascertaining the time of ship's log-line running out, the time of the watches on ship-board, and many other useful purposes. Dated November 19, 1805.

George Wyke, of Winsley, in the county of Wilts, esquire; for a method of working pumps of various descriptions, by machinery, whereby much manual labour will be spared. Dated November 19, 1805.

William Pocock, of the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker and upholsterer; for improvements on tables for dining, and other use. Dated November 19, 1805.

Archibald, earl of Dundonald; for certain improvements in machinery on mill-spinning, for the spinning of cotton, wool, silk, hemp, and flax, and substitutes for hemp and flax; communicated to him by Thomas Nelson, late of Lambeth, engineer, deceased. Dated Nov. 19, 1805.

Richard Lambert, of Wick Risington, in the county of Gloucester, gentleman; for an improved thrashing-machine; and also an improved portable windlass, to be worked by one or more horses, particularly useful for drawing or hauling. Dated November 23, 1805.

Richard Brown, of the parish of

St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the city of London, cabinet-maker; for certain improvements in the construction of several parts of tables, and of various other articles of household furniture, which stand upon, or are supported by, legs or feet. Dated November 26, 1805.

James Ingram, of Castle-street, in the city of Bristol, grocer; for a method of manufacturing powder-sugar from raw sugar alone, and from syrup of sugar alone, and from the mixtures of raw sugar and syrup of sugar. Dated Nov. 26, 1805.

Samuel Amoss, of Red lion-place, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, in the city of London, china enameller; for certain improved methods of preparing various enamel colours, and of applying the same so prepared, to the ornamenting useful vessels of glass. Dated Nov. 26, 1805.

Joseph Steel, of Stockport, in the county of Chester; for a species of cloths, fustians, calicos, cambricks, lawns, striped cottons, and other articles, manufactured with cotton, wool, and flax, mixed and spun together. Dated Dec. 17, 1805.

Joseph Fletcher, of Horsley, in the county of Derby, needle-maker; for a machine for raising water. Dated January 23, 1806.

George Barton Alcock, of the city of Kilkenny, in the part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland; for certain improvements in lamps. Dated January 23, 1806.

John Dobbs Davies, of New Compton-street, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a saddle-bar on an improved construction; which he denominates the motion saddle-bar. Dated January 23, 1806.

Robert

Robert Berriman, of Speen, in the county of Berks, wheelwright; for a machine for preparing land for the reception of seed, which he is confident will prove of the utmost advantage to agriculturists in saving corn, in producing a regular and more abundant crop, and in enabling the farmer, at an easier rate, to keep his land free from all kinds of weeds. Dated January 23, 1806.

William Sampson, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, wheelwright; for certain improvements in the application of power, employed mechanically, especially as adapted to the use of cranks and fly-wheels, or other contrivances, producing equivalent or similar effects. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Phillips, of East Stonehouse, in the county of Devon, stone-mason and sculptor; for certain improvements in the construction of tinder boxes. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Phillips, of East Stonehouse, in the county of Devon, stone-mason and sculptor; for a chain and apparatus for straight, square, and parallel stone and marble sawing; which chain may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated February 12, 1806.

John Marshall, of Northwick, in the county of Chester, salt proprietor, and John Naylor, of the same county, salt proprietor: for a new and improved method or manner of manufacturing and making salt. Dated February 14, 1806.

Thomas Kentish, of Baker-street, north, in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; for certain improvements in the construction of machines or engines, applicable to the moving, raising, or lowering of heavy bodies

and weights of all kinds, either upon land, or on board of ships and vessels. Dated February 20, 1805.

John Jones, the younger, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, tool-maker and die-sinker; for improvements in the mode of manufacturing barrels for fire-arms. Dated February 20, 1806.

John Woodhouse, of the parish of Heyford, in the county of Northampton, engineer; for certain improvements relative to canals. Dated February 20, 1806.

Patrick Whytock, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, merchant; for an improvement in the manufacture of piece goods, composed of cotton, of flax, or of hemp, or of any mixture or mixtures of two or more of these articles, by which such goods will resist the rotting action of wet or moisture much better than similar fabrics manufactured by the methods in common use. Dated March 8, 1806.

John Curr, of Sheffield park, in the parish of Sheffield, in the county of York, gentleman; for a method, different from any that has hitherto been invented or known, of spinning hemp for making of ropes or cordage. Dated March 8, 1806.

Richard Willcox, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, merchant; for certain machinery for glazing and graining leather, now usually performed by hand. Dated March 8, 1806.

Edward Dampier, Edward Jackson, and James Shackleton, of Primrose-street, in the city of London, manufacturers; for certain machinery for rasping, grating, or reducing into small parts or powder, such woods, drugs, and other substances,

tances, for the use of dyers and others, as are not easily to be pulverized by mere percussion. Dated March 12, 1806.

Michael Logan, of Paradise-street, in the parish of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, engineer; for an entire new system of marine, fort, and field artillery. Dated March 13, 1806.

Charles Robert West, of Plough-court, Fetter-lane, in the city of London, optician, and William Bruce, of King's-head-court, Shoe-lane, in the city of London, optical-turner; for improvements in day or night telescopes, whereby the same will be rendered more portable than they now are. Dated March 18, 1806.

Henry Gove Clough, of Norton-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, surgeon; for improvements in the instruments or apparatus commonly called trusses, which are used for compressing and supporting such parts of the human frame as are or may be ruptured or disposed to protrude. Dated March 21, 1806.

Francis Place, of Charing-cross, in the parish of St. Martin in the fields, in the county of Middlesex, taylor and mercer; for improvements in locks for muskets, pistols, fowling-pieces, carriage guns, and every species of fire arms. Dated March 21, 1806.

Richard Otley, of Myrtle-hill, near Caermarthen, in Caermarthen-shire, esquire; and James Jeans, of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, ship builder; for improvements in chain-pumps; in the mode of working the same, and in the wells for receiving such pumps; whereby much manual labour may be saved. Dated March 21, 1806.

Joseph Hinchcliffe, of Dumfries,

in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, cutler and surgeon's instrument maker; for a method of manufacturing elastic spring trusses, for ruptures or rupture bandages. Dated March 26, 1806.

Bracey Clark, of Giltspur-street, in the city of London, Veterinary-surgeon, for improvements upon horse-shoes. Dated March 26, 1806.

Quintin M^r Adam, of Anderston, near the city of Glasgow, in the county of Lanark, in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, manufacturer; for an improved method of dressing yarns for weaving, by means of a new and useful machine. Dated March 26, 1806.

William Parr, of Bermondsey new road, in the county of Surrey, gentleman, Richard Bevington, of Gracechurch-street, in the city of London, merchant, and Samuel Bevington, of Grange road, Bermondsey, in the said county of Surrey, leather-dresser; for a machine for splitting hides, skins, pelts, or leather, in an improved manner. Dated March 26, 1806.

Samuel Miller, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for various improvements in the working of coal, tin, lead and other mines, by which there will be a great saving of fuel and labour, and many accidents prevented. Dated April 1, 1806.

James Keir, of West Bromwich, in the county of Stafford, esquire; for an improved method of manufacturing white lead. Dated April 3, 1806.

William Henry Lassalle, of the city of Bristol, apothecary; for certain improvements in soap. Dated April 5, 1806.

James Key, of Preston, in the county of Lancaster, machine-maker;

maker; for improvements upon Thomas Johnson's patent machine or dressing cotton, silk, and other goods, by power. Dated April 17, 1806.

Thomas James Plucknett, of the parish of Christ church, in the county of Surrey, agricultural machine-maker; for a machine for dibbling and drilling all kinds of grain and pulse. Dated April 17, 1806.

Anthony Francis Berte, of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, in the city of London, merchant; for a machine for casting or founding types, letters, and ornaments, usually made use of in printing. Dated April 29, 1806.

William Bundy, of Pratt-place, Camden town, in the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, mathematical instrument maker; for machines or instruments for the purpose of making leaden bullets, and other shot. Dated May 1, 1806.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, in the county of Surrey, gentleman; for an aqueduct, tunnel or machine, for cleaning docks and other basins of penned water; and certain improvements on machines or machinery, (for which he hath already obtained letters patent) for cleaning dry and other harbours, rivers, creeks, bars of harbours, and other purposes. Dated May 3, 1806.

William Robert Wale King, of Kirby-street, in the parish of Saint Andrew, Holborn, in the county of Middlesex, tin-plate worker; for a method of manufacturing tin, or iron plates covered with tin, commonly called tin-plates, into covers for dishes and plates. Dated May 8, 1806.

Martin Cowood, of Leeds, in the county of York; for an improvement in the manufacturing metallic

cocks, for conveying and stopping liquids, Dated May 15, 1806.

Richard Wilcox, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, mechanist; for improvements in steam-engines. Dated May 21, 1806.

Richard Tomkinson, of the town of Liverpool, in the county of Lancashire, salt merchant; for a machine, engine, or instrument, for making white salt, and preparing brine to make white salt. Dated August 1, 1806.

James Rawlinson, of the town of Derby, gent.; for certain improvements on apparatus commonly made use of as trusses or bandages for ruptures. Dated August 1, 1806.

Peter Marsland, of Heaton Norris, in the county of Lancaster, cotton spinner; for an improved method of weaving cotton, linen, woollen, worsted, and mohair, and each or any of them by machinery. Dated August 1, 1806.

Thomas Fricker, of New Bond-street, in the county of Middlesex, paper-hanger, and Richard Clarke, of Manor-street, Chelsea, in the said county, paper-hanging manufacturer; for a new mode of decorating the walls of apartments in imitation of fine cloth, without joint, seam, or shade, by means of cementing of flock on walls of plaister, wood, linen, or paper. Dated Aug. 1, 1806.

Ralph Walker, of Blackwall, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for an improved mode of making ropes and cordage, of every dimension or size, by not only making all the yarns bear equally in the strand, and laying the strands uniformly in the rope, but also by making the rope or cordage from the yarns in the same operation. Dated August 9, 1806.

Josias

Josias Robbins, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, millwright, and James Curtis, of the city of Bristol, coppersmith; for certain improvements in boilers, for manufacturing sugar, and in the mode of fixing the same, whereby much labour and fuel will be saved. Dated August 20, 1806.

John Bywater, of the town and county of Nottingham; for an improvement in certain sails of ships, and other navigable vessels, and the mode of working the same. Dated August 22, 1806.

John Curr, of Belle Vue House, in the county of York, gent; for a method of laying and twisting the yarns that compose a rope; by which method the yarns of a rope have a better and more equal bearing than they have in a rope made in the common way. Dated August 23, 1806.

Richard Ford, of the city of Bristol, rope-maker; for a new kind of cordage, made by a process entirely new, from old rope or junk, or such short ends of new rope as are now commonly converted only into oakum or coarse paper; by means of which process the objection to cordage, usually termed twice-laid cordage, are totally obviated, and the newly invented cordage is made nearly equal to cordage made from new materials. Dated August 30, 1806.

Thomas Pearson, of Haberdasher's Place, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, wholesale upholsterer; for a machine or machinery, for the purpose of cleansing, seasoning, and dressing feathers, and other articles. Dated August 30, 1806.

John Carey, D. L. of Camden-

street, Islington, in the county of Middlesex; for various contrivances for preventing or checking fires, and preserving persons and property therefrom, by means of divers improvements in alarms, chimnies, cisterns, fire-skreens, and other articles. Dated August 30, 1806.

Christopher Wilson, of Windmill-street, Tottenham court road, Middlesex, master mariner; for a new system of naval architecture. Dated August 30, 1806.

Robert Newman, of Dartmouth, in the county of Devon, ship-builder; for improvements in the form, formation, and construction of ships and other vessels of war, and ships and other vessels of commerce, and of sloops, barges, and other vessels, any otherwise employed. Dated September 6, 1806.

Joseph Manton, of Davies-street, Berkeley square, London, gun-maker; for improvements in double-barrelled guns. Dated September 15, 1806.

Isaiah Birt, of Plymouth dock, in the county of Devon, gent.; for a black paint, composed chiefly of earthy and mineral substances, which will be beneficial to our navy, and the shipping interest at large; being particularly calculated to preserve wood, and prevent rust in iron, and may be applied to all purposes for which paint in general is used. Dated September 18, 1806.

Marc Isambard Brunel, of Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, gent.; for a new mode of cutting veneers, or thin boards. Dated September 23, 1806.

Henry Pratt, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, steel toy-maker; for a new toast-stand, or an improvement on the article called

toasts

cats or dogs, upon which things are placed before the fire. Dated Oct. 2, 1806.

Robert Salmon, of Woburn, in the county of Bedford, surveyor; for newly invented mathematic principles, safe and easy trusses, for the relief and cure of ruptures. Dated October 2, 1806.

William Cooke, of Chute-house, in the county of Wilts, gentleman; for certain improvements in the construction of waggons and other carriages with more than two wheels. Dated October 2, 1806.

Ralph Wedgwood, of Charles-street, Hampstead-road, in the county of Middlesex, gent.; for an apparatus for producing duplicates of writings. Dated October 7, 1806.

Ralph Sutton, of Macclesfield, in the county of Chester, brazier and tin-plate-worker; for certain improvements in an apparatus for cooking, either by steam or water. Dated October 7, 1806.

William Sampson, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, millwright; for a new discovery or invention to be acted on by the impulse of wind, in order to work mills, pumps, and other machinery suitable to its application. Dated October 7, 1806.

Archibald Jones and James Jones, of Mile-end, in the county of Middlesex, printers; for a method of discharging colours from shawls and other dyed silks, and silk and worsted of every description, on such part or parts thereof as may be required, for the purpose of introducing, by printing or staining, various patterns on such discharges or otherwise. Dated October 7, 1806.

William Clegg Gover, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, carpenter;

for an improved wheel or purchase for the steering of ships, by means of which wheel or purchase a considerable degree of labour is saved, and a ship may be steered with more ease, and greater steadiness and certainty, and with more safety to the steersman. Dated October 15, 1806.

Joseph Bramah, of Pinlicko, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for a machine whereby valuable improvements in the art of printing will be obtained. Dated October 15, 1806.

John Fletcher, of Cecil-street, in the Strand, in the county of Middlesex, esquire; for a composition for agricultural purposes, which is not only of the greatest value as a manure, but is also extremely efficacious in the destruction of the fly in turnips, snails, slugs, ants, and the majority of those other insects which are detrimental to vegetables; which composition he usually denominates prepared gypsum. Dated October 21, 1806.

Elihu White, of Threadneedle-street, in the city of London, gent. for a method of making a machine for casting or founding types, letters, spaces, and quadrats, usually made use of in printing. Communicated to him by a certain foreigner residing abroad. Dated Oct. 23, 1806.

John Prosser, of Back hill, Hatton-garden, in the county of Middlesex, smith; for various improvements upon smoke or air jacks, which may be applied to those now in use. Dated October 30, 1806.

James Caparn, of Leicester, in the county of Leicester, brazier; for a machine for discharging smoke from smoking chimnies. Dated October 30, 1806.

Isaac Sanford, of the city of Gloucester, civil-engineer; and Stephen Price, of the Strand, in the county of Gloucester, civil engineer; for a method to raise a nap or pile on woollen, cotton, and all other cloth, which may require a nap or pile, as a substitute for teasels or cards. Dated October 30, 1806.

Robert Bowman, of Leith, manufacturer; for a method of making hats, caps, and bonnets, for men and women, of whalebone; harps, for harping or cleaning corn or grain, and also the bottoms of sieves and riddles, and girths for horses; and also cloth for webbing, fit for making into hats, caps, &c. and for the backs and seats of chairs, sofas, gigs, and other similar carriages and things; and for the bottoms of beds; as also reeds for weavers, &c. Dated October 30, 1806.

Remarks on sundry important Uses of the Potatoe. Abridged from Letters and Papers of the Bath and West of England Society.

The potatoe has, though deservedly, occupied so much of the attention of different writers, that it may seem almost necessary, to bring forward some new and important discoveries concerning it, if we attempt to say more on its qualities. It is not, however, a singular opinion, that so important is this vegetable, and so applicable to economical uses, as human food, that it will remain for posterity fully to appreciate its positive and comparative value. But as no new and promising experiment, however imperfectly conducted, should be suffered to

escape general notice, it will be acceptable to our readers to receive a general statement of certain trials made by a very respectable British merchant, with a view to ascertain the value of the potatoe for sea provision and other stores. His diffidence about having done justice to the subject, which he doubts of finding leisure to prosecute, prevents his allowing his name to appear as to a finished essay of his own; but certain statements are deemed too important to be lost, as they may lead to farther discoveries and facts. The statements, then, are in substance as follow.

The ease with which this root is prepared by boiling and for immediate consumption, either in its separate form, or mixed in bread; the little trouble there is in preserving it through the winter months; and the short period between the time of planting and the return of the crop; have most probably been the causes why less pains have been taken to find out cheap methods of preserving potatoes, as a store for future sustenance, than would otherwise have been the case.

The large quantity of potatoes produced in the last season, and the reputed scarcity of bread-corn, induced me a few weeks since to make some small experiments on the means of drying potatoes, either in substance or in flour; either for future consumption at home, or for the supply of our seamen on long voyages.

The ease with which I found this might be done, and the probable benefit which I think may be derived to the public from a farther pursuit of the subject, induces me to submit to the

the inspection of the society a small quantity of the flour of potatoe sent herewith.

The potatoes were boiled with their skin on, dried on a kiln, and the whole ground in a steel corn-mill: none of the skin has been separated by dressing.

By experiments that have been before made on fine dried flour of potatoes, it is known, that it will keep longer than the flour of wheat without spoiling; that it is used as a substitute for sago, and makes good biscuits without admixture. And I have every reason to believe it will mix and make good bread, in a much larger proportion with wheat-flour, than has hitherto been employed of the boiled root, in the common mode of using it. Of the expence of preparing the flour from the root in large quantities I am not prepared to speak. The chief labour is washing the potatoes from the mould, which adheres to the eyes, particularly in those sorts, the eyes of which are much depressed. Drying them will be considerably expensive; but I think may be reduced much below what at first it will be estimated at. Grinding will not cost more than corn.

From what I believe were accurate experiments, I find that 100 lbs of washed potatoes will produce full 25 lbs of flour (such as the sample.) The difference in weight will be very little, whether the potatoes are boiled, or only ground in an apple-mill, and the juice suffered slowly to drain from them before they are dried. It might seem, therefore, at first view, that the boiling might be omitted; my trials however have shewn me, that the colour of the flower is much fairer when boiled, and the taste more pleasant; and,

that the expence of boiling in steam is very little. With the greatest care even some of the starch (the most nutritive part of the root) will separate with the juice; above 3 lbs of the fine starch, (weighed after it was dried) passed off with the water from 100 lbs of potatoe. Other persons will, I trust, ascertain such facts with more accuracy; I, myself, hope soon to ascertain more satisfactory particulars. In the mean time, permit me to make an estimate of the probable produce of an acre of potatoes in quantity, when reduced to the state of flour.

The average produce of an acre, managed with care, is estimated at about 80 sacks of 240 lbs each.

According to my experiments (as before,) 100 lbs of washed potatoes will produce 25 lbs. of dry flour; or each sack 60 lbs.; or one acre, two tons and upwards.

I am not qualified at present to carry these calculations farther—if quantity alone be the question, I need not.

Note. The potatoes used in the foregoing trials were the red apple potatoe.

The steel-mill has not ground this flour so fine as I believe a stone-mill would have done. Some of these had their skins stripped off after boiling. Should an expeditious method be found of stripping off the skins, it will, perhaps, be less troublesome than washing so carefully as must be otherwise practised.

After giving a numerical account of the samples of flour of potatoe prepared for exhibition, this gentleman gives also samples of bread and biscuit made from different sorts of potatoe flour, mixed with different proportions of wheat flour of different degrees of fineness; but these

would be unintelligible in this place, in the absence of such samples.

The potatoe-flour used in the bread and biscuit is made of the whole of the potatoe, washed, steamed, bruised slightly after steaming, dried on a malt-kiln, and ground in a common corn-mill, no alteration whatever having been made in the set of the stones, from what they were as used for grinding wheat; it may reasonably be supposed, however, that a miller, accustomed to grind this article, would make better work and finer flour.

Nothing was taken from the flour except some large pieces that were not ground, and a little large bran in the proportion of the samples sent herewith.

The potatoes of which this flour was made, were certainly overdried; and having lain in an heap after steaming upwards of two days before they were put upon the kiln, some degree of fermentation had begun to take place, but which was thought so little as to have been perfectly connected by the drying. In the bread, however, it is certainly distinguishable. The baker considers that it is from this cause that the bread is not so light as it otherwise would have been. It rose well in the oven, but fell when the door was opened. He thinks, that when mixed with the flour of dry wheat, the potatoe meal will have exactly the same effect as the mixture of a certain portion of cone-wheat flour, and that it will answer as well in about the same proportion. He has no doubt but that even with this flour he shall succeed better in the second attempt. With potatoe-meal, well made, he believes that bread of the best quality may be produced.

The chief precautions necessary in making potatoe flour seem to be to prevent any fermentation taking place in the boiled potatoes previously to their being dried, and to avoid giving them too great a heat in drying. With this view it seems advisable to construct the apparatus for preparing it, so as that the steaming-tubs and kiln should be heated by the same fire, without loss of time or labour; the potatoes may then be immediately removed from the steam to the kiln; and means should be used to regulate the heat of the kiln, so that it should not much exceed 90°.

For the common purpose of bread, it seems evident, from the samples, that taking off the rind or skin is by no means necessary; to wash the potatoes carefully before boiling seems, therefore, the only precaution required.

From experiments as before stated, the produce of dry meal is to the raw potatoe, as 26 or 27 to 100, but let it be estimated at 25, or one quarter of the whole. The greatest quantity of raw potatoes said to be used as a mixture with wheat flour in bread, is one-third; not much above the same quantity of boiled potatoes has usually been employed. The proportion of flour in boiled potatoe exceeds that in raw potatoe by about one quarter. As a rough ground for calculation, we may, therefore, call 33 per cent. as the proportion of flour in any given quantity of boiled potatoe.

The proportion, therefore, which the potatoe meal makes of the whole mixture in this bread, above that in which one-third raw potatoe has been used, is four times; that is, the actual quantity of potatoe flour

flour in this bread is as great as if 24lb. of raw potatoe had been mixed with 12lbs of wheaten flour; and, compared with boiled potatoes, it is as great as if 18lb. of potatoes had been mixed with 12lb. of wheat flour.

From the foregoing statements, it is notpresumed that much farther information is imparted, than may have been gathered from some former accounts of bread-making from a mixture of such flours, except as to the mode of preparing the potatoe flour. Neither is it at present supposed that for common use, when corn is not dear, the potatoe will supersede the use of neat wheat flour for family bread.

But in very dear times, when it may be used in some places to great advantage, the most economical mode of doing it is important; and the process of steaming, kiln-drying, grinding, and dressing, seems excellent. If equal quantities of wheat and potatoe flour are found to make very good bread, and the potatoe to have the effect of cone-flour in the mixture; this may be set down as a sufficient regulation, and a valuable fact.

But what is of great consequence to be known, and fully noticed is, that the flour of the potatoes so prepared, if barrelled up, and kept in any common dry place, will retain its virtue longer, either on land or at sea, than the other sorts of flour made from grain; in short, from frequent appearances, and well-attested facts, the flour of this vegetable, prepared as aforesaid, seems to possess the singular quality of being almost imperishable. In addition to that quality, the power of preserving potatoes in barrels, after being kiln-dried, either

when whole or cut into parts, for the use of the table in long voyages, is very important; and it is found that, after being so preserved, they are capable of being again boiled soft, and served up as a vegetable at table, retaining much of their original flavour, consistence, and other qualities.

An Essay on Manures. By Arthur Young, Esq. Abridged from the Bath Papers, Vol. 10.

This essay obtained the reward of the first Bedfordean medal, which was voted by the Bath Agricultural Society to the author who produced "the best essay, founded on practical experience, on the nature and properties of manures, and the mode of preparing and applying them to various soils: in which essay shall be pointed out the cheapest manner of collecting and preparing the different kinds of manures, and the state, season, and quantity in which they should be applied." In this essay the author considers the subject of manures under the several heads of their *nature*, their *properties*, the mode of *collecting* them, the *state in which they are applied*, the manner of *application*, the *season* when applied, the *quantity* required, and *on what soils* the respective kinds are most beneficial. In classing the various bodies which may be applied as manures, he divides them into,

1. Such as are dry or made on a farm; and,

2. Such as are usually purchased. MARLE, of the manures of the first class, is the most common in England, in some one of the denominations of clay, stone, or shell

marle; it may be distinguished by various colours, but these are no otherwise material, than as indicative of iron. It is by *nature* a fossil substance, usually composed of sand, clay, and calcareous earth; it falls in pure water, as well as by exposition to the atmosphere. The *property* that renders this manure particularly valuable, is the calcareous earth it contains; and there is great reason to believe that the calcareous earth is the part taken up by vegetables. The common way of *collecting* marle is by digging: it may, however, be sometimes dredged up from the bottoms of rivers, particularly the Shannon. In searching for marle, therefore, these places ought not to be overlooked, but should be bored as well as other parts of a farm. This manure requires no *preparation*, and, as to the *state in which it is applied*, whatever benefit may result from exposition to the atmosphere, it must be attained after spreading; if, however, it be obtained from the bottom of lakes or rivers, the heaps should be left for six or twelve months. The *application* requires more extensive notice: the bulk of this manure renders the carriage so expensive, that every means should be used for lessening it. As marle should be very long exposed for the atmosphere to melt it down, and as the roots of the grass combine it with the surface of sward land, whether applied to this or to arable, it should be applied in such a manner as to remain as long as possible undisturbed. The most experienced farmers are apprehensive of turning marle in too deep with the plough. This manure is usually applied on so large a scale as to preclude choice in the *season*; it

must be done when the teams have most leisure; it should, however, be suspended whenever the ground is much cut by the carting. The most advantageous *quantity*, though an object of extreme importance, has not been satisfactorily ascertained: it is better, however, to lay on too little than too much, as the application may be repeated in the former case; and the latter is sometimes productive of deterioration of the soil, and must be regulated in some manner according to *what soil* it be applied. On loose and sandy soils, the Norfolk farmers frequently apply from one hundred to one hundred and fifty cubical yards to an acre, and on soils of more firmness eighty, and even sixty yards have been found sufficient. If turnips produce deformed strings of root, or if the rush-rooted grasses prevail, the experienced farmer will pronounce the land to want marling; and upon wet, loose loams, which are found when manured with dung to be more productive of straw than corn, marle has generally been found an effectual remedy.

CHALK differs so very little from marle, as to make it necessary to point out only the variations: it *naturally* possesses more calcareous earth, and is comparatively harder, and consequently its *properties* are not very different; it is usually *collected* by digging from pits, which, for the convenience of *application* should be opened at small distances; and it may be *applied in all states*, and at *all seasons*. The *quantity* required is smaller than that of marle, and the soils abounding with wild sorrel, have been found to be highly improved by it; and, indeed, it is used successfully on all soils, on which marle has been found to

answer;

answer; on moors, peat bogs, and peat-fens, chalk is more beneficial than marle, as containing a larger proportion of calcareous earth.

LIME has furnished matter for volumes; but the best chance of obtaining the plain truth will be, to reject opinions and examine experiment alone. Of the exact *nature* of lime, there is some difference among chemists: it may be obtained from the burning of all hard calcareous substances whatever, as marble, limestone, chalk, spar, &c. The operation of fire expels from these substances certain portions of water and carbonic acids, leaving nearly pure calcareous earth. From this circumstance its *properties* are sufficiently apparent, and are the same as those of chalk and marle, as far as calcareous earth is concerned; it neutralizes acid salts, and consequently will act powerfully on all peat soils, but will not give the tenacity to sands, or the friability to clay, which chalk will effect: it is, when slacked, of such extraordinary divisibility, that it is capable of much more intimate combination with other substances, than either marle or chalk. It may be collected almost in every situation; for limestone exists in many districts unknown to the farmer: the common test of the stone is by pouring upon it a strong acid; yet this is not always practically correct. Calcination, or burning, is the *preparation* of lime, a process too common to need description. The *state in which* lime is applied is either fresh from the kiln while hot, or else after it is slacked; each method has its advocates: where putrefaction is the object of the application, it should be made as soon after it is burned as possible.

Summer is undoubtedly the best *season* for the application of lime; but it may be laid on at other periods. The *quantity* of this manure varies more, perhaps, than in any other: it has been used up to seven hundred bushels to an acre, but the improvement has not been always in proportion to the quantity; for much depends on *the soil*. Upon peat-bogs, and moors, and mountains, experience speaks an uniform language: on these the benefit of applying lime is great and decided; its caustic powers destroy the spontaneous productions of the soil, and convert them into a mucus, which the atmosphere turns into vegetable mould. All wastes are best reclaimed by lime. When Meriden Heath, in Warwickshire, was inclosed, part was trebly folded, part well dressed with rotten dung, and part limed: oats were sown over the whole: the part folded produced scarcely any corn, and the seed not worth saving: the part dunged succeeded very little better, but that which was limed produced an excellent crop. It does worst of all on a cold hungry soil, and on strong deep clay extremely retentive of moisture, no perceptible good is produced by it.

LIMESTONE has been tried, and found excellent in ameliorating such soils as other calcareous manures operate upon successfully. The suffrages of Dr. Anderson and lord Kaim, are decidedly in its favour. When pulverized and reduced by breaking, it is not very dissimilar from lime which has been slacked: it is the best of all manures for improving a bog, its great weight giving the pressure so much wanted on peat-moss.

CLAY, LOAM, and SAND, are substances

stances which have been all used as manures, upon the largest scale. Their effect depends on the deficiency of the soil. Clay is beneficial on sand, but sand not equally so on clay: what is called clay, is sometimes found on examination to be loam, and always improves a sandy soil. Sea-sand, from the quantity of shells it contains, partakes of the nature of marl.

BURNT CLAY, MARLE, and EARTH, are frequently applied as manure in every part of the United Kingdom. Their nature and properties will vary with the proportion of calcareous earth they contain, as that is converted by burning into lime.

PARING and BURNING are mechanical operations; and though nothing is directly added to the soil by them, yet the effects are frequently very beneficial. The nature of the ashes resulting from this operation, must necessarily vary according to the nature of the earth burned; but in all cases the operation reduces the roots of vegetables to coals and ashes, and thus prepares a stimulant and nutriment for plants. The effect of heat in this operation is visible wherever burning has been practised, by the spots where the fires were made assuming a deeper green than the rest of the field. The properties of the ashes may also vary with the soil, but they all operate as a very powerful manure: the practice of paring and burning has never been adopted without success. The common practice of collecting the turf, is to pare on some soils from two inches thick to half an inch on others; but an inch may be considered the average depth; and the chief attention required in burning, is to guard

against too great a calcination. A considerable variation of the *state in which the ashes are applied* exists in common practice; some farmers spread and plough them in immediately; others leave them for a considerable time in heaps exposed to the atmosphere. In the *application* they should be kept as near the surface as possible, and care should be taken not to bury them very deep in the furrow; and as this work can only be done in dry weather, the *season* is necessarily limited to the summer months. The *quantity* of this manure must depend on the depth of paring, and on *moist soils* it may be applied with success: experiments have confirmed the beneficial effects of paring and burning on clay, loam, sand, chalk, and peat.

YARD and STABLE DUNG is the principal manure employed by ninety-nine farmers out of a hundred; but whether it should be accumulated in heaps till fermentation and putrefaction have brought it to a certain state, in which it is most ready and proper for applying to the land, or whether it should be carried to the land before that fermentation and putrefaction take place, has excited much dissertation and inquiry. The late Mr. Duckett conceived, that the more dunghills were stirred, the more their virtue was lost. Mr. Patterson, of Wimbledon, and Mr. Bocket, of Hertfordshire, are of the same opinion. Mr. Johnson, of Kingsthorpe, near Northampton, has for many years been in the practice of laying long dung, merely wetted by his cattle, on the land, and has found that the fresher it is used the better the effect. Mr. Robinson, near Salisbury, has been confirmed in this practice

practice, by a succession of superior crops, and the example of his more intelligent neighbours. Mr. Rogers, of Ardley, in Essex, has found long dung preferable to short, not only for corn but for turnips and potatoes, and a considerable number of the best agriculturalists in Norfolk, have adduced their experience in favour of the practice. Mr. England, Mr. Reeve, Mr. Dursgate, and several others, however, have relinquished the practice of using long dung, from a conviction that rotten is preferable in almost every respect. With regard to the *nature* of dung, all organized bodies are resolvable into hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, carbon, phosphorus, and sulphur, and the mixture of animal and vegetable matter, which is called dung, contains all these. The grand *property* of dung is to yield immediate food to plants; it opens the soil, if strong; it attracts moisture, and by the fermentation which it excites in the soil produces the decomposition of whatever vegetable particles may be already in the land; its effects have powerful progressive influences to produce a great crop of leaf, root, and stalk, and by its shade and fermentation, leaves the land in better order for succeeding crops. The circumstances to be attended to in the *collecting* yard and stable dung in receptacles are few, but very important; the most material is the spreading over the yard a layer of earth or peat, to receive the moisture from the dung, and prevent its being wasted. This manure requires no *preparation*; no stirring, mixing, or turning, but if the weather should occasion too much fermentation, it may be advantageous to scatter a quantity of

the same earth over the surface, as was made use of for the under-layer. *As to the state in which it is to be applied*, upon the principles detailed above, it is to be carried to the land as soon as circumstances of crops and convenience will permit. The *application* deserves attention, for all dung should be applied to hoeing crops, to layers, or to grass lands, and never to white corn; but this is more essential with fresh long dung than with that which is short, for there will be many more seeds of weeds remaining in it, which have not been destroyed by fermentation, and would consequently grow, and render the land foul. If the dung is turned in for any crop so early, that more tillage is to be given before sowing or planting, it should be ploughed in deep enough for the successive operations, not to bring it nearer the surface; for all animal and vegetable manures have a constant tendency to rise, as fossil ones have to sink. The right *quantity* of dung must be found by experiment; but if it has been found to answer on any soil in a particular proportion, that proportion may be retained. And as it is generally allowed that dung divides and loosens the constituent parts of the *soil*, by fermentation, it is applicable to *all*; but it must necessarily have a more desirable effect on soils too compact, than on others already too light.

The SHEEP FOLD is a method of manuring which is universally known. The immediate application of dung and urine to all soils, and of treading to loose ones, is too generally practised to need recommendation. This circumstance may, perhaps, tend to elucidate the propriety

priety of using yard dung, while it retains the greatest quantity of these valuable materials.

PIGEON'S DUNG is esteemed a very hot and powerful manure, and usually applied by measure; the common quantity is from forty to fifty bushels to the acre. No other kind of dung would produce the same effect, for no other kind contains an equal abundance of volatile salts.

POND and RIVER MUD are extremely uncertain in their effects. In several experiments the benefit has been extremely great, in others but little good has resulted from it. These different effects are easily reconciled; for, in proportion as the water is resorted to by cattle, wild-fowl, &c. or receives the drainings of yards or towns, in that degree will the mud be good, and display its virtues.

SEA WEEDS are used with uniform success whenever they can be obtained. In different parts of the coast, however, they have been found to produce fertility for very different periods.

POND and RIVER WEEDS may be used with success before the last ploughing for turnips, and spreading them as a manure for that crop. Mr. Coke clears the lake at Holcomb every year for this purpose. Mr. Wagstaff values them load for load as dung.

HEMP and FLAX WATER makes the grass grow doubly, where it is used as a manure in Yorkshire, which shews that all the putrid water of the pits should be used as manure. Mr. Billingsley carted flax water on his grass lands, and found the effect superior to that of urine.

BURNT VEGETABLES have a near resemblance to the ashes produced

by paring and burning, in their *nature, property, and effects*. A practice prevails in part of Lincolnshire, of burning straw upon turnip land, just before sowing: from three to five tons to an acre are laid on, and evenly spread, and then set fire to; and it has been found superior to common dung.

PLOUGHING in GREEN CROPS is a mode of husbandry which has been long practised with satisfaction in this kingdom, and is common in many others. The practice keeps its ground, though the success be not uniform. If growing vegetables turned down prove good manure, it can only be from their fermentation converting them into the food of plants. Care should be taken that they be completely buried, as the effect depends much on the execution. Ploughing in green crops answers better for a summer crop, as turnips or tares, than for autumnal or spring crops.

The second class of manures, or those which are usually purchased, the author divides into animal, vegetable, and fossil; and as this subdivision is not merely imaginary, the several substances are noticed in their respective orders, with observations common to each kind.

NIGHT SOIL is to be had in quantities only in the neighbourhood of cities. In such situations it is largely used, and much experience has arisen from the application. The common quantity for an acre is two hundred bushels. It is the best of all manures, and, if dry, the cheapest: it does well on all soils and for all crops. It has been drilled along with rape-cake dust with much benefit, by Mr. Coke at Molkham.

BONES are used to a considerable extent

extent about London; about five or six loads to the acre, which contain on an average 250 bushels. They are most beneficial on strong soils, and their duration exceeds that of any other manure. The effects have been visible for more than thirty years. The dust and refuse of bone manufactories is also a valuable manure, particularly for drilling.

SHEEP'S TROTTERS are a powerful manure, and usually sold by the quarter, with felt-mongers' cuttings; they are commonly applied in the proportion of four or five quarters to the acre, but eight are sometimes used. They should be ploughed in not less than six or eight inches deep, to prevent the attraction of vermin and dogs.

HAIR of hogs is sometimes sold in great cities, and from sixteen to twenty bushels is the quantity usually applied to an acre.

FEATHERS are found to be a powerful manure, and twenty-five bushels an acre have been spread with much success; ten bushels to an acre yielded a produce of forty-eight bushels of white wheat, while the same quantity unmanured produced only twenty-eight bushels.

FISH of all kinds is one of the most effective manures that can be carried into our fields. The whale-blubber offal never fails of producing great crops wherever it is applied; pilchards and herrings produce the same effect. In Dorsetshire Mr. Davis spread them fresh at one shilling per load, and ploughed them in for wheat with much benefit, but they are usually applied mixed with salt. In the fens the small fish called sticklebacks are obtained out of the rivers, and applied to this purpose.

GRAVES, or tallow-chandlers' refuse, is purchased for manure, and from ten to fifteen hundred weight are commonly spread upon an acre. The effects from them on poor sandy soils, are very great in turnip crops.

WOOLLEN RAGS, chopped in small pieces, are frequently applied as manure, from ten to fifteen hundred weight to the acre. It has been noticed in Hertfordshire, that they are most beneficial on dry and sandy soils. They become the food of plants in common with all other animal substances, and also attract and retain much moisture from the atmosphere.

CURRIERS' SHAVINGS, and furriers' clippings, are bought in London and other populous places. When corn sells high they are eagerly sought for; for, though they are an expensive, yet they are a beneficial manure, but do best on dry soils.

HORN SHAVINGS are also bought, and applied at about thirty bushels to the acre; they are applicable to all soils, but succeed best on all in wet seasons.

These manures are all animal substances, and their *nature* and *properties* are in all resolvable into the same parts as yard and stable dung; they contain the principles which by every consistent theory of vegetation are necessary to the food of plants, and the practice of the farmer is in perfect unison with the theory of the chemist; for every husbandman knows, or ought to know, that every animal matter whatever, will fertilize his fields. The only question of *preparation* which can arise, is whether these substances should be immediately applied to the soil, or prepared by
ferment.

fermentation in a dunghill ; and the common practice is to make the application of them to the soil in the state in which they are purchased. The season must be determined by the opportunity of purchase, and the quantity has been remarked under each article ; and as to soil, all animal substances act as manures powerfully on all.

WOOD ASHES were found to be a manure, in consequence of some experiments undertaken to disprove a suggestion of Mr. Hazentratz, who thought that all alkalis were not manures. The nature of them is well known, and wherever they have been tried they have proved a valuable manure. Their property is to attract carbonic acid from the air ; they are applied without preparation, and the spring is the proper season ; and forty bushels to the acre is the common quantity on all soils.

PEAT ASHES are a common manure in all countries where peat-bogs are found ; their value usually depends on the blackness and density of the peat, and the neighbourhood of Newbury, in Berkshire, supplies the best : the usual quantity of these is ten or twelve bushels to the acre, but of other kinds from twenty to forty bushels have been used ; their effect is greatest on dry friable soils.

COAL ASHES are used all over the kingdom, from fifty to two hundred bushels to an acre ; they are most effective when spread on clover, sainfoin, or other seeds, in the spring, and are beneficial on grass lands and green wheat. The effect on them is considerable on the dry chalk lands of Hertfordshire. The knowledge of their properties is very imperfect.

SOOT is composed of oil, volatile alkali, carbon, and earth ; no wonder, therefore, that it should be found a very powerful manure. Its component parts are so minute, that they may be washed into the ground by a single shower, and become the immediate food of plants. Twenty bushels to the acre is the most common quantity, and the season of application is the spring. Green wheat and clover are much benefited by this manure, the effect of which is great on most soils, but least upon strong or wet clay.

PEAT DUST, if the peat be black and solid, is resolvable into a greater proportion of hydrogen gas than most other manures ; it is also strongly attractive of humidity, which renders it very advantageous on dry sandy soils. The use of it as a manure is not general, but it is well-known, and much esteemed, in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire.

POTASH WASTE is a powerful manure ; and ten loads, or 350 bushels, are commonly applied to an acre. Much good is produced by it on low meadows, and in general on all grass lands.

SUGAR-BAKERS' WASTE is supposed to be a powerful manure, but its effects are not known from experiment ; it can be procured only at five or six places in the kingdom.

TANNERS' BARK, if useful anywhere, ought to be so on calcareous soils ; mixed with lime it has been beneficial. But as the tanning principle is in all cases hostile to vegetation, whatever benefit is derived from tanners' bark, must arise either from the lime or the animal impregnation. Experiments do not recommend it.

MALT DUST has been used with success wherever it has been applied.

plied. Particular experiments have proved its value, if laid on from fifty to sixty bushels to the acre. It gives great improvement to cold grass lands, and is consistent with all kinds of soil.

RAPE CAKE has been in common use in Norfolk for more than half a century, and the quantity was usually half a ton to the acre; an advance of price has, however, now compelled the agriculturalist to lessen the quantity, and Mr. Coke makes a ton do for five or six acres by drilling it with turnip seed. When ploughed in with wheat, it has been found more forcing to the crop than either dung or fold; but the turnips after the wheat have not been so good as after those manures. Malt dust and soot were found equal for wheat, but rape dust better than either. The operation of this manure is assignable to a very obvious theory; for all oleaginous bodies abound greatly with hydrogen and carbon, and their utility consequently must be great.

These manures are all vegetable substances, and their *nature* and *properties* do not differ from the vegetable substances in the first class; the most beneficial *quantity* has been mentioned under each.

Among fossil manures coal ashes might have been classed, but for obvious reasons they are mentioned with other ashes; lime has also been treated of in the first part of the essay; there only then remain to be noticed, salt and gypsum.

SALT, by various experiments, and by observations made apparently with care, has been decided to act as a manure in some cases, to a degree which proves its excellence, when properly applied, but other

persons have reported unfavourably of it. The knowledge of this manure is yet in its infancy, but experiments have generally shewn it to be beneficial, but more especially when added to any dung or dung-hills; and it probably acts as an assistant to putrefaction.

GYP-SUM is scarcely known at all as a manure: the reports of those who have made experiments with it, are very contradictory. In this state of our knowledge both of this and the preceding article, it is wise to accept the favourable reports, and attribute the failures to soil, season, or some unrelated circumstance. The *quantity* of gypsum usually applied has been about six bushels to the acre.

Experiments on mixtures, or composts, are extremely difficult, and must be ever unsatisfactory. If composts be resorted to to promote putrefaction, that is inconsistent with the idea that putrefaction should be retarded till the manure be applied to the land; they may be useful to get rid of an evil, as to mix pot-ash, or lime, or chalk, with pond mud to destroy its sterility; but here seems to end the benefit of composts.

THE FOOD OF PLANTS deserves much consideration in the application of manures. From experiments extremely numerous, and observations made by eminent chemists, it appears that the two substances which play the greatest part in vegetation, are hydrogen and carbon (the presence of light and heat is always to be supposed): those manures then, which supply the greatest proportion of these, must be most beneficial in promoting vegetation. Theory has furnished

furnished many conjectures on this subject, but experience has confirmed few facts, and the enquiry belongs rather to chemistry than to agriculture.

Account of Mr. Curwen's Method of Feeding Cows, during the Winter Season, with a View to provide poor Persons and Children with Milk at that Time, from Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. Vol. XXIX. 1806.

Every attempt to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes of the community, is an object not unworthy of public attention; and has, on all occasions, been zealously patronized by the society of arts. Under this impression I hope for the indulgence of the society, in calling their attention to an experiment, which I flatter myself will, in its consequence, prove not only highly beneficial to the lower orders of society, but tend likewise to the advancement of agriculture.

There is not any thing, I humbly conceive, which would conduce more essentially to the comfort and health of the labouring community and their families, than being able to procure, especially in winter, a constant and plentiful supply of good and nutritious milk. Under this conviction, much pains have been taken to induce the landed proprietors to assign ground to their cottagers, to enable them to keep a milch cow. The plan is humane, and highly meritorious, but unfortunately its beneficial influence can reach but a few. Could farmers in general be induced from humanity, or bound by their landlords to fur-

nish milk to those, at least, whom they employ, it would be more generally serviceable. Even those who have the comfort of a milch cow would find this a better and a cheaper supply, as they can seldom furnish themselves with milk through the winter. The farmer can keep his milch cows cheaper and better; for, besides having green food, his refuse corn and chaff of little value, are highly serviceable in feeding milch cows.

My object is to combat the prevailing opinion, that dairies in summer are more profitable than in winter. I confidently hope to establish a contrary fact. The experiment I am about to submit to the society, is to prove, that by adopting a different method of feeding milch cows in winter, to what is in general practice, a very ample profit is to be made, equal if not superior to that made in any other season.

I believe the principle will hold good equally in all situations: my experience is confined to the neighbourhood of a large and populous town.

The price of milk is one-fifth higher in winter than in summer. By wine measure the price is 2d. per quart new milk, 1d. skimmed.

My local situation afforded me ample means of knowing how greatly the lower orders suffered from being unable to procure a supply of milk; and I am fully persuaded of the correctness of the statement, that the labouring poor lose a number of their children from the want of a food so pre-eminently adapted to their support.

Stimulated by the desire of making my farming pursuits contribute to the comfort of the public, and of those

those by whose means my farm has been made productive, I determined to try the experiment of feeding milch cows after a method very different to what was in general practice. I hope to be enabled thereby to furnish a plentiful supply of good and palatable milk, with a prospect of its affording a fair return of profit, so as to induce others to follow my example.

The supply of milk during the greatest part of the year, in all the places in which I have any local knowledge, is scanty and precarious, and rather a matter of favour than of open traffic.

Consonant with the views I entertained of feeding milch cows, I made a provision of cabbages, common and Swedish turnips, Kholrabi, and cole-seed. I made use also of chaff, boiled, and mixed, with refuse grain and oil cake. I used straw instead of hay for their fodder at night.

The greatest difficulty which I have had to contend with, has been to prevent any decayed leaves being given. The ball only of the turnip was used. When these precautions were attended to, the milk and butter have been excellent.

Having had no previous knowledge of the management of a dairy, my first experiment was not conducted with that frugality requisite to produce much profit.

I sold the first season, between October 1804, and the 10th of May, 1805, upwards of 20,000 quarts of new milk. Though my return was not great, I felt a thorough conviction that it proceeded from errors in the conduct of the undertaking, and that under more judicious management, it would not fail of making an ample return, which the subsequent experiment

will prove. In the mean time I had the satisfaction of knowing, that it had contributed essentially to the comfort of numbers.

In October, 1805, my dairy commenced with a stock of 30 milch cows; a large proportion of these were heifers; and in general the stock was not well selected for giving milk, for they were purchased with a view of their being again sold as soon as the green crop should be exhausted. If the plan be found to answer under such unfavourable circumstances, what may not more experienced farmers expect?

By the end of this present month I shall have sold upwards of 40,000 quarts of milk.

The quantity of food, and its cost, are as follow. The produce of milk from each cow upon 200 days, the period of the experiment, is calculated at no more than six wine quarts in the twenty-four hours: this is to allow for the risk and failure in milk of some of the heifers. A good stock, I have no doubt, would exceed eight quarts in the two meals, which would add 100l. to the profit.

Daily cost of feeding one milch cow:—

Two stone of green food (supposing 30 tons of green crop on an acre, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per stone would pay 5l. per acre) at $\frac{1}{4}$ per stone of 14lb.	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Two stone of chaff boiled, at 1d. per stone	0	0	2
Two lbs. of oil-cake, at 1d. per lb. costing from 8l. to 9l. per ton.	0	0	2
Eight lbs. of straw, at 2d. per stone	0	0	1
	<hr/>		
	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	The		

The chaff, beyond the expence of boiling, may be considered as entirely profit to the farmer; 2d. per stone for straw likewise leaves a great profit. Turnips also pay the farmer very well at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per stone.

Expence of feeding one milch cow for 200 days, the period upon which the experiment is made:—

200 days keep of one milch cow, at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$			
per day	4	11	8
Attendance	2	0	0
Supposed loss on re-sale	2	0	0
	<hr/>		
	8	11	8

Return made of one milch cow in 200 days milking:—

6 quarts per day, at 2d.			
per quart for 200 days	10	0	0
Calf	2	0	0
Profit on 20 carts of manure, 1s. 6d. each . .	1	10	0
	<hr/>		
	13	10	0

Clear gain upon each } milch cow	4	18	4
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This gives a profit upon the whole stock of 147l. 10s. The profit of another month may be added, before a supply of milk can be had from grass, which will make the balance of profit 167l. 18s. 4d. This profit, though not as large as it ought to have been, had the stock been favourable for the experiment, far exceeds what could be made of the same quantity of food by fattening cattle. Were the two quarts to be added, which on a moderate computation might be expected, the gain would then be 267l. 16s. 4d. The trifling quantity of land from which the cattle were supported, is a most important consideration. One half of their food is applicable to no other purpose, and is equally

employed in carrying on the system of a corn farm. I have found oil cake of the utmost advantage to my dairy, promoting milk, and contributing greatly to keep the milch cows in condition. The best method of using it is to grind it to a powder, and to mix it in layers, and boil it with the chaff: half the quantity in this way answers better than as much more given in the cake, besides the saving of 2d. a day on each beast. This I was not aware of on my first trial. The oil cake adds considerably to the quantity and richness of the milk without affecting its flavour. The refuse corn was likewise ground and boiled: it is charged also at 1d. per pound. I make use of inferior barley to great advantage. A change of food is much to the advantage of the dairy. Potatoes steamed would answer admirably, but near towns they are too expensive.

By repeated trials it was found that seven quarts of strippings, wine measure, gave a pound of butter, while eight quarts of a mixture of the whole milk was required to produce the same weight. Contrast this with milk produced from the feeding of grains, twenty quarts of which will scarce afford a pound of butter.

The agricultural report of Lancashire, treating on the milk in the neighbourhood of Liverpool and Manchester, states eighteen quarts with a hand-churn, and fourteen or fifteen with a horse churn. In a paper published by the Bath society, twelve quarts are said to give a pound of butter; but whether ale or wine measure is not specified. A friend of mine, who feeds his milch cows principally on hay, finds sixteen wine quarts will not yield

yield more than seventeen ounces of butter, and this upon repeated trials.

The milch cows, treated according to my new plan, have been in excellent order both seasons, and are allowed to be superior to any in the neighbourhood.

Cole seed I have found to be the most profitable of all green crops for milk; and it possesses the further advantage of standing till other green food is ready to supply its place.

To ascertain the benefit and utility of a supply of milk both to the consumer and the public, will be best done by comparison.

To prove this let us contrast the price of milk with other articles of prime necessity, and consider how far it affords a greater produce from a less consumption of food.

I cannot here omit observing, at a moment when Great Britain can hope for no further supply of grain from the continent, and must look for and depend on her own resources for feeding her population, every mean by which the quantity of victuals can be augmented, is an object of great public concern.

Each milch cow yielding six quarts of milk per day, furnishes in the period of 200 days, 2,400 pounds of milk, or 171 stone of 14 pounds, equal to twice her weight, supposing her in a state fit for killing, with a third less food, and at one half less expence. The milk costs 10l. whilst the same weight of butcher's meat, at 6d. per pound, would amount to 60l.

Taking the scale of comparison with bread, we shall find a Winchester bushel of wheat, of the usual weight of 4 stone and 4½lb.

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when manufactured into flour of three sorts, yields

Of first flour . . .	2st. 9lb.
Of second . . .	0 7lb.
Of third . . .	0 7lb.
	<hr/>
	3 9lb.
	<hr/>

Lost by bran, &c. . . 0 9½lb.

The present cost is 10s. 3d. 2,400lb. of the three sorts of flour, will cost 23l. 3s. 9d. To make it into bread allow 1s. per bushel, which makes the cost of bread 26l. 10s. 9d. or something more than 2½d. per lb. exceeding twice the price of the same weight of milk. To furnish 2,400lbs. of bread requires 47 bushels, or the average produce of two acres of wheat.

Three acres of green food supplied 30 milch cows, with two stone each of green food, for 200 days. Two stone of hay each for the same period, would have required 75 acres of hay. Chaff can scarcely be considered as of any value beyond the manure it would make, which shews the profit of keeping milch cows in all corn farms.

Certificates of the quantities of milk sold and money received, accompany this.

If the society of arts, &c. think the experiment worthy their notice and approbation, I shall be highly flattered. At all events I trust they will accept it as a small tribute of respect and gratitude for the many favours conferred upon their

Obedient and very humble servant,
J. C. CURWEN.

Workington Hall, April 18, 1806.

To Dr. C. TAYLOR, Secretary.

Schoose Farm, April 18, 1806.

I Isaac Kendal, bailiff to J. C.
3 R Curwen,

Curwen, esq. do certify that the following quantities of milk have been sold from the 1st of October last, to the 18th of April, 1806.

To Jan. 1, 1806 . . . 16,685

From that date to } 22,027
April 18, 1806

38,712

Cash received for new and

skimmed milk . . . 320 7 5½

Calves sold . . . 44 0 0

364 7 5½

I conceive the estimate of 5½d. per day to be correct.

200 days keep of 30

cows . . . 137 10 0

Cost of attendance . . 60 0 0

Loss upon re-sale . . 60 0 0

257 10 0

Cash received as before } 364 7 5½

600 carts of manure, at 1s. 6d. } 45 0 0

409 7 5½

Profit 151 17 5½

I believe the above statement to be correct. The condition and health of the milch cows is equal, if not superior, to any in the neighbourhood.

The average of the milk is yet 200 quarts per day, varying with the weather and other accidental circumstances.

Mr. S. Grandi's Method of preparing Pannels for Painters. From

Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c. A. D. 1806. Vol. XXIV.

Take the bones of sheep's trotters, break them grossly, and boil them in water until cleared from their grease, then put them into a crucible, calcine them, and afterwards grind them to powder. Take some wheaten flour, put it in a pan over a slow fire until it is dry, then make it into a thin paste, add an equal quantity of the powdered bone-ash, and grind the whole mass well together: this mixture forms the ground for the pannel.

The pannel having been previously pumiced, some of the mixture above-mentioned is rubbed well thereon with a pumice-stone, to incorporate it with the pannel. Another coat of the composition is then applied with a brush upon the pannel, and suffered to dry, and the surface afterwards rubbed over with sand-paper.

A thin coat of the composition is then applied with a brush, and if a coloured ground is wanted, one or two coats of the colour is added, so as to complete the absorbent ground.

When it is necessary to paint upon a pannel thus prepared, it must be rubbed over with a coat of raw linseed, or poppy-oil, as drying oil would destroy the absorbent quality of the ground; and the painter's colours should be mixed up with the purified oil hereafter mentioned.

Canvas grounds are prepared, by giving them a thin coat of the composition, afterwards drying and pumicing them, then giving them a second coat, and lastly a coat of colouring matter along with the composition.

The

The grounds thus prepared do not crack; they may be painted upon a very short time after being laid, and from their absorbent quality, allow the business to be proceeded upon with greater facility and better effect, than with those prepared in the usual mode.

Method of purifying Oil for Painting.

Make some of the bone-ashes into a paste with a little water, so as to form a mass or ball; put this ball into the fire, and make it red-hot; then immerse it for an hour, in a quantity of raw linseed oil, sufficient to cover it: when cold, pour the oil into bottles, add to it a little bone-ash, let it stand to settle, and in a day it will be clear and fit for use.

White Colour

Is made by calcining the bone of sheep's trotters in a clear open fire, till they become a perfect white, which will never change.

Brown Colour

Is made from bones in a similar manner, only calcining them in a crucible instead of an open fire.

Yellow Colour; or, Masticot.

Take a piece of soft brick, of a yellowish colour, and burn it in the fire; then take for every pound of brick, a quarter of a pound of flake-white, grind them together, and calcine them; afterwards wash the mixture, to separate the sand, and let the finer parts gradually dry for use.

Red Colour, equal to Indian Red.

Take some of the pyrites, usually found in coal-pits, calcine them, and they will produce a beautiful red.

Grey Colour

Is made by calcining together blue-slate and bone-ashes powdered, grinding them together, afterwards washing them, and drying the mixture gradually.

Blue Black

Is made by burning vine-stalks in a close crucible in a slow fire, till a perfect charcoal is made of them, which must be well ground for use.

Crayons

Are made of bone-ash powder mixed with spermaceti, adding thereto the colouring matters. The proper proportion is, three ounces of spermaceti to one pound of the powder. The spermaceti to be first dissolved in a pint of boiling water, then the white bone-ash added, and the whole to be well ground together, with as much of the colouring-matter as may be necessary for the shade of colour wanted. They are then to be rolled up in the proper form, and gradually dried upon a board.

White Chalk,

If required to work soft, is made by adding a quarter of a pound of whitening to one pound of the bone-ash powder; otherwise the bone-ash powder will answer alone. The coloured chalks are made by grinding the colouring-matter with bone-ashes.

On Means of assisting Persons in Danger of Drowning. By Mr. H. Lawson.—(Phil. Mag.)

The absolute necessity that assistance to persons in danger of drowning should be speedy to be effectual, induced Mr. Lawson to consider what articles were most readily and

universally to be found at hand in all cases, which could be converted into a floating apparatus, either for the use of the person in danger, or those who might venture to his assistance. What seemed to Mr. Lawson in a great measure to answer all those conditions, is the buoyancy afforded by a common hat reversed on the water, which will thus admit of being loaded nearly with ten pounds weight before it will sink, and will bear seven pounds with safety; and as the body of a man is about the same weight as the water, a buoyancy equal to seven pounds will effectually prevent his sinking. To render the hat more manageable for this purpose, and less liable to fill with water from accidents, Mr. Lawson recommends that it should be covered with a pocket-handkerchief laid over its aperture, and tied firmly on the crown: Mr. Lawson asserts that with a single hat prepared in this manner, held by the tied part, a man, who even does not know how to swim, might venture safely to assist one in danger.

When two hats can be had, Mr. Lawson recommends that a stick be run through the tied parts of the handkerchiefs which cover them: and if more hats could be got it would be still better; four hats may thus be fastened to a common walking-stick, which will thus sustain at least 28 pounds.

When a stick is not at hand, another pocket-handkerchief tied to the lower parts of those which covered two hats, would thus unite them like a pair of swimming corks and make them equally convenient. If a man happens to fall out of a ship or boat, he may support him-

self till he can get assistance, by turning his hat on its crown, and holding by its brim with both hands, so as to keep the hat level on the water.

Mr. Lawson recommends that the Humane Society should have at their receiving-houses large foot-balls, furnished each with a string and small weight, to throw out to those in danger, (if the expence of swimming spencers for the same purpose should be thought too great) by which they might support themselves till better assistance could be procured.

Observations.—The number of accidents that happen every year both to swimmers and skaters (the more melancholy, as the sufferers are generally in full health and vigour, and often in the midst of gaiety and frolic) make Mr. Lawson's contrivances for affording instant relief in all cases, very valuable; and should therefore obtain them notice in every publication where they can be admitted.

Large foot-balls also which Mr. Lawson recommends for assisting persons in danger, might be rendered more serviceable by uniting them in pairs like swimming corks; and would be thus nearly equal to swimming spencers, which latter differ somewhat from a cork jacket, and consist of a cork girdle, which is made by stringing a number of old bottle-corks (which may be procured at a small expence) on pack-thread, and uniting as many of those strings of corks as will form a belt of six inches diameter, which is inclosed in oil-cloth, and furnished with bands for girding it over the shoulders and between the legs.

It is strongly recommended, in the

the *Esprit des Journaux*, to carry a number of those cork spencers in every ship, for the use of the seamen; and an instance is mentioned in it where the lives of hundreds might have been saved by some such contrivance, in the fate of an English vessel of war, which was burned within view of the shore, off Leghorn.

A Mr. Mallison has invented a simple apparatus for similar purposes, of cork, which he sells under the name of the seaman's friend, and is one of the most convenient articles of the kind. Those commanders of ships who would not think it worth while to attend to these minute matters for the sake of the sailors, may perhaps do so for the sake of the ship. The inaction and insubordination which total despair produces among the crew, has often caused the loss of valuable ships; and such a contrivance as this mentioned, though it might only keep those who used it afloat for a few hours, would prevent this despair, and make them stick to the ship to the last. In case of a ship taking fire, which often happens near other ships or the shore, their use would be indisputable.

In addition to the methods before-mentioned for giving assistance in case of accidents, the following means of preventing their frequency in the neighbourhood of this and other large cities, is earnestly recommended to the attention of the Humane Society, and other benevolent gentlemen; which would not only have this effect, but greatly contribute also to the health, cleanliness, and activity, of that valuable class of men, to whose labours the rest are indebted for most of the necessaries and comforts of life.

All those advantages would arise from having large ponds prepared near the city, of about four feet deep, well supplied with fresh water, in which any one might be permitted to bathe or swim, for a penny paid at the entrance; within some feet of the bank, these ponds should be surrounded with walls or hedges, and might be planted, in the interval between these and the water, with shrubs, so as to form an agreeable walk all round. There is no doubt but ground might be procured in Hyde Park for this purpose, if properly applied for. The excavation to so small a depth would cost very little comparatively, and the trifle paid at the entrance would assist in paying interest for this cost. Baths for the use of the lower classes of people, furnished at the expence of the benevolent and rich, are universal in most parts of Asia, in Russia, and in several other countries. That there are none yet in England, unless some few for the actual sick, can only proceed from no one having suggested their use to the public.

As a farther inducement to gentlemen to subscribe to form such swimming places, it should be considered, that they will form excellent situations in winter for skating, where this fashionable and manly amusement may be practised in perfect safety, which will be an argument in their favour, even to those gentlemen who do not skait themselves, as there are very few of those who have not some friends or relations who use this exercise.

For both swimming and skating the ponds should be made of considerable extent: if formed on a too confined scale, the cost would be thrown away, as in this case few or

none would frequent them ; and it is evident, that to make them serviceable in preventing accidents, they should be formed as much as possible, so as to induce people to prefer them to any other situation for the above purposes.

It need scarcely be mentioned, that the circumstances which would constitute the safety of those ponds for the above uses, would be their small depth.

*Easy Method of purifying Water.—
Bib. Phys. Econ.*

A member of the Society of Sciences and Belles-Lettres at Douay, has published this method, which

consists in forming a filter, by placing in an empty flower-pot a wicker frame horizontally, over which four or five inches thick of pounded charcoal are to be laid, and on that a bed of sand, and over all a paper pierced with holes, to prevent the water, on being poured in, from forming pits in the sand. The filter is to be renewed at the end of some time.

This simple, and cheap method will enable even the poorest man to procure pure and wholesome water, which is a circumstance of great consequence in many foreign countries, and even in some parts of England.

ANTIQUITIES.

*An Essay towards an History of
Temples and Round Churches,
from "the Architectural Anti-
quities of Great Britain," by John
Britton, F. S. A.*

IN a state of savage nature, the human mind is but little superior to brutal instinct; yet, even in that degraded condition, there appears a consciousness of some superior and awful power. That man, in every state of society and civilized life, is inspired with, or possesses, some peculiar notions of a deity, is the general opinion of philosophers; and according to the advancement of civilization and refinement, so is the proportionate rationality of their modes of worship. The early annals of every country furnish evidences of this, and further inform us, that either some manufactured idol, or other more impressive object, was worshipped with servile veneration: As the eye of the ignorant is more susceptible than the ear, and as impressions on that organ are more powerful than those conveyed to the

mind by hearing, the most sagacious class of men, in the primitive ages, adopted certain symbolical figures to personify metaphysical subjects. Among these, the circle is described by different authors, as the most ancient, the most mystical, and, consequently, the most awful, figure. According to many writers, this denoted eternity, infinity, &c. and by the Hindoos it was formed by a coiled snake, which, with the addition of wings, was regarded with profound veneration. The Egyptians also used a globe with wings, and a snake attached, as a symbol of the deity; and on Chinese gates are found the figures of coiled snakes, applied to similar purposes.*

Among the most ancient (if not really the very first) species of circular temples, were those rude piles of stones, which are usually denominated druidical.† These are almost uniformly disposed in a circle, and consist of one, two, or four concentric rows of upright unwrought stones.‡ Several of these, of various dimensions and figures,

3 R 4

are

* See Stukeley's description, &c. of "Abury," fo.

† "Moses rose early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars." Exodus, chap. xxiv. v. 4. See also the first volume of King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, where the author has described, and referred to, numerous stone circles, or temples.

‡ Stonehenge, I believe, is the only example in Britain, where the stones have been squared, or shaped with tools; whence the Welsh antiquaries infer that it is not a purely druidical structure.

are still remaining in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, Scotland, Ireland, and other parts of the British islands; also in Brittany, Denmark, &c. but the most considerable in size, and popular in estimation, are those of Stonehenge, and Avebury, in Wiltshire. The former has obtained extraordinary celebrity; but the temple at the latter place, though upon a much more stupendous scale, and surprising plan, is seldom alluded to by antiquaries, and scarcely known even to Englishmen.* Its centre consisted of a circular range of immense stones, one hundred in number, with four other circles within the area. The whole was environed with a deep ditch, and high bank. Diverging from this were two avenues, or double rows of upright stones, which extended a mile each way from the centre, and at the extremity of one of these avenues, were two oval ranges of upright stones.

It was, and still is, the custom of many nations to worship the sun, the moon, fire, or some other visible object, in the open air; either on the summit of a mountain,† or within the area of a raised bank,‡ &c. for, with more sublime, than

rational ideas, they deemed it improper to confine their devotions within stone walls. The roof of their temple was the immense concave of the heavens, and the field of vision embraced the whole circled horizon. The Persians, Scythians, Numidians, Bithynians, Celtæ, &c. according to the testimonies of most writers, adopted this grand system of worship. In the southern regions, and in temperate climates, such custom was easily persisted in; but in the northern countries, where storms, and snows, and frosts, often prevailed, it was found necessary to guard against the inclemency of seasons, by resorting to caves, or erecting appropriate buildings.

The first regular sacred structures, according to the opinions of Herodotus and Strabo, were erected by the Egyptians; but the most ancient temples and tabernacles that we find described, are those of the tabernacle in the wilderness, made by Moses, and the splendid temple of Solomon.¶ Forbearing any further observations on temples in general, I will now briefly notice a few of those only, which are built on a circular plan.‡ Though we may fairly suppose that Greece, in the

* Stukeley wrote a dissertation on it, which he published in a folio volume, with numerous plates, in 1743; but as this work is scarce and dear, it is only to be found in the libraries of the curious, and consequently is only read by a few persons.

† In Homer, among other instances, the piety of Hector is commended by Jupiter, for the many sacrifices made by him on the top of mount Ida.

‡ From the remaining examples of druidical temples, we infer that all were encircled with a mound of earth, or vallum, and a ditch.

§ Pausanias writes, that the Thracians used to build their temples round, and open at the top.

¶ See ample accounts of these, and other sacred temples, with plates, in Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, 2 vol. 4to. 1801, and in a volume of Illustrative Fragments, by C. Taylor.

¶ Round temples are characterized by Vitruvius by the terms of *monopteral*, i. e. those without walls or cells, but with a cupola raised on pillars; and *peripteral*, which have detached columns, with an enclosed wall within, &c.

the effulgence of her architectural splendour exhibited many fine specimens of these buildings, yet we know but of one round building in Athens, the capital city of that country. This is called the Choragic monument of Lysicrates; and though a very small structure (only six feet diameter within,) is beautiful in its proportions and ornaments. It is of the Corinthian order, and is said to have been erected above three hundred years before the christian era; in the time of Demosthenes, Apelles, and Alexander the Great.* The tower of the Winds, in the same city, is an octangular building.

The Romans, who were mere imitators of the Greeks, built numerous temples, both in their capital and in the provinces; but it was not till after the revolution under Julius Cæsar that they produced any thing admirable in the arts. Among their circular temples we may notice the following.

On the banks of the Tiber is a round building, which, according to general opinion, says Palladio (B. IV. Ch. 14.) was built by Numa Pompilius, and dedicated to the goddess Vesta. Without the walls of Rome, near the Porta Viminialis, (now called the gate of St. Agnes,) is a circular building, dedicated to St. Agnes, and supposed to have been a temple of Bacchus.† On the Appian Way, near the Porta

Appia, (now called the gate of St. Sebastian,) are the remains of a circular building.‡

The temples dedicated to Vesta were generally, if not always, circular. Plutarch remarks that Numa erected a round temple to contain the sacred fire, which he intended as a symbol of the whole universe. This temple of Vesta had an atrium, and a grove, near the fountain of Juturna, and in the inmost part of it was kept the sacred fire, which was attended by the Vestal virgins. Near the palace of Augustus was also another similar building, called the temple of Vesta Palatina.§ Near the celebrated cascade of the Anio, at Tivoli, is another circular temple, sacred to the goddess Vesta. It is sometimes called the temple of Sibylla Tiburtina, is of the Corinthian order, and is much celebrated by travellers.|| Upon the Celian Mount, at Rome, was a large circular temple, which, according to some writers, was built by Claudius, and dedicated to Faunus. It consisted of a circular wall, which included two colonnades, one within the other. It is now called St. Stephen the Round, and measures about 190 feet in diameter.¶ The most popular of these circular temples is the pantheon at Rome, which is commonly supposed to have been erected by M. Agrippa, in his third consulate, though Palladio is of opinion

* Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol. I.

† Palladio, B. IV. Ch. 21. According to this author, the temples of Bacchus and Venus were to be built always on the outside of the city walls.

‡ Palladio, B. IV. Ch. 22.

§ Montfaucon, vol. II. Ch. 7. In this volume are several plans of circular temples.

|| See Chevalier Piranesi's Plans, &c. of this building, and Desgodetz's antiquities of Rome. The latter is translated by Marshall, and contains several plans, sections, &c. of ancient buildings.

¶ See Desgodetz's Antiquities.

opinion that the body, or circular part, was built in the time of the republic, and the portico only added by Agrippa. It was repaired A. D. 607, and dedicated to the blessed virgin, by pope Boniface IV. and, in three years after, it was again dedicated to all the saints, by pope Gregory IV.*

We must recollect, that all † the preceding temples were originally erected and consecrated to Pagan worship; though some of them, with several other similar edifices, were afterwards converted into Christian churches. As this new doctrine extended its benign influence, it was found necessary to provide its ministers and disciples with appropriate places of devotion. These now assumed the names of Ecclesia, Basilica, and Church; and as Constantine the Great, who was the most powerful advocate in the cause, became more and more confirmed in the Christian tenets, he extended his liberality and influence towards the Christians, and their sacred structures. “The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince, ambitious, in a declining age, to equal the perfect labours of antiquity.” ‡ In the course of two

centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, eighteen hundred churches of the empire were established and endowed. §

Let us now turn our eyes to the small islands of Britain, where we shall perceive a few glimmering rays of Christian light breaking through the mists of Paganism. In the beginning of the seventh century, Austin, or Augustin, with forty other monks, were deputed by Gregory the great, from the papal see at Rome, to visit England. They were particularly instructed, by the zealous and sagacious pope, “not to destroy the heathen temples of the English, but only to remove the images of the gods, to wash the walls with holy water, to erect altars, and deposit relics in them, and so convert them into Christian churches.” || What was the exact shape and size of these temples, we are not well informed, though it is generally admitted that the first Saxon churches had semicircular east ends. Dr. Stukeley, speaking of round churches, very strangely says — “I suspect these are the most ancient churches in England, and probably built in the later times of the Romans, for Christian service, — at least in the early Saxon reigns.” ¶ As this remark is scarcely entitled

* See Desgodetz's *Antiquities*.

† The church of St. Agnes, according to some writers, was built for a temple of Bacchus; but others contend that it was erected by the emperor Constantine.

‡ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* L. X. Ch. 2, 3, 4. “The bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced, in public, an elaborate description of the church of Jerusalem, (in *Vit. Const.* L. IV. C. 46.) It no longer exists; but he has inserted in the life of Constantine, (L. III. Ch. 36,) a short account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewise mentions the church of the holy Apostles at Constantinople. (L. IV. Ch. 29.)” Gibbon's *Roman History*, vol. III. 292.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Henry's *History of Great Britain*, vol. III. p. 191, &c. See also Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. IV.

¶ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 35.

entitled to animadversion, let us endeavour to ascertain, with some appearance of consistency and rationality, the origin, styles of architecture, and characteristics of

English Round Churches.

These certainly constitute a singular and rare class of ancient edifices, and are eminently interesting to the architectural antiquary. The three examples here brought forward will perhaps stagger the faith, or remove the doubts, of those writers who contend that the pointed arch, when once adopted, completely superseded the semicircular. Such antiquaries should recollect that new fashions, with every other species of novelty, are not instantaneously and universally embraced; but that they become prevalent according to their utility, and in proportion to the influence of the inventor. Every new fashion has also to contend with the prejudices of man, and with his established customs. The revolutions of architecture are not exempt from these obstacles; and we should not, therefore, be surprised in beholding two styles of arches, &c. employed in the same building.* In the circular parts of the churches at Northampton and at the Temple, this variety of style is decidedly manifest. Here the pointed arch is displayed, from its first formation, (the intersection of the semicircular arches in the Temple church) through the gradation of the plain, simple, almost straight-lined triangle, in the church at Northampton, to that of the Temple, where the same shaped

arch is adorned with mouldings, and where it springs from the capitals of clustered columns.

The origin of round churches, in England, has been generally attributed to the Jews. This opinion was very prevalent in Cambridge, till Mr. Essex corrected it by his historical observations, which were published in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*. "Their temple at Jerusalem," he observes, "was not of the circular form, neither was the tabernacle of Moses; nor do we find the modern Jews affect that figure in building their synagogues. It has, however, been generally supposed, that the round church at Cambridge, that at Northampton, and some others, were built for synagogues, by the Jews, while they were permitted to dwell in those places; but as no probable reason can be assigned for this supposition, and I think it very certain that the Jews, who were settled in Cambridge, had their synagogue, and probably dwelled together, in a part of the town now called the Jewry, so we may reasonably conclude, the round churches we find in other parts of this kingdom were not built by the Jews, for synagogues, whatever the places may be called in which they stand."† As these churches are evidently not of Roman architecture, and as they were not erected by the Jews, we are naturally curious to ascertain when, and by whom, they were built. There appears to be four perfect examples of these buildings in England: St. Sepulchre's church at Cambridge, St. Sepulchre's church at Northampton,

* I humbly offer this, merely as a hint, or a remark *en passant*, at present: in another place I hope to develope and elucidate the subject.

† *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 166.

ton, the Temple church, London, and a small church at Little Map-
 lested, Essex. All these, with one
 that was at Temple Bruer, and one
 at Aslackly, Lincolnshire, are ge-
 nerally attributed to the knights
 Templars,* during their power and
 prosperity in England. This sin-
 gular religious order of "knights-
 errant" obtained their organization
 and fame in the vicinity of the
 church of the Holy-Sepulchre at
 Jerusalem.

It is the general opinion of wri-
 ters, that this sacred structure was
 built by Helena, the mother of Con-
 stantine the Great; but, unfortu-
 nately, none of these writers have
 identified the part then built, or de-
 scribed its size, character, or style of
 architecture. Besides, we are in-
 formed that Charlemagne (A. D.
 813.) rebuilt this venerated edifice.
 "The east end," observes Mr.
 Essex, "I take to be of his build-
 ing, containing the semicircular tri-
 bune; but the intermediate part,
 between it and the sepulchre, is more
 modern, and might be rebuilt when
 the church was restored, in the year
 1049, after it was defaced by the
 Saracens towards the end of the
 tenth century."† Bede, speaking
 of this structure, describes it as a
 large round church, with three walls
 and twelve pillars; but the precise
 disposition of these walls and pillars

is not specified.‡ The round part
 of the present building materially
 differs from this description. It
 consists of a semicircular wall, which
 attaches to a large mass of buildings
 on the east, and a little within the
 wall is a circular colonnade, con-
 sisting of sixteen columns and piers,
 with an open space for four others,
 towards the east.§ The circular
 part of the building is of Roman ar-
 chitecture, and its roof, which is
 mostly of cedar, gradually dimi-
 nishes from its base upwards, and
 terminates with a round aperture.
 This shape is rather singular, as it
 differs from the usual form and con-
 struction of domes, or cupolas. The
 other parts of the building consist of
 several chapels, oratories, passages,
 towers, &c. and on the south side is
 displayed several examples of point-
 ed arched doors and windows, with
 corresponding clustered columns.
 Sandys, Le Bruyn, and Maundrell,
 who have all visited this place, are
 so extremely vague and unsatisfac-
 tory in their respective accounts,
 (I cannot apply the term of history,
 or description,) that they prove more
 tantalizing than gratifying to our
 curiosity.

This sacred structure was rever-
 ed, by the holy knights, above all
 earthly objects; their enthusiasm
 had endowed its every stone with
 marvellous qualities; and they
 foolishly

* The Templars had numerous other places of residence in England, where they
 established preceptories, &c. In Strype's edition of Stow, 1720, vol. I. p. 270, it
 is said that they had temples at London, Cambridge, Bristol, Canterbury, Dover,
 Warwick, &c.

† Archæologia, VI. p. 169.

‡ Resurrectionis Dominicæ rotunda ecclesia tribus cincta parietibus, duodecim
 columnis sustentatur. (De Locis Sanctis, Cap. 2.)

§ See the ground plan in Sandy's Travels. I have also been favoured with a
 view of a model of this church, now in the possession of the learned author of
 Munimenta Antiqua.

foolishly fancied it a secure passport to heaven, if they lost their lives in defence of the building. As it was their province to protect Christian pilgrims against the Saracens, and as they were originally instituted and stationed at the church of the holy Sepulchre, it seems extremely probable that they would imitate that structure, when they were afterwards distributed in companies over Europe, and when they had occasion to erect a new church. This appears actually to have been the case with those that settled in England; for we have already seen that they had circular churches at several places,* and some of those were dedicated to the holy Sepulchre, Sanctum Sepulchrum. Perhaps the most ancient of these is that at Cambridge.

Architectural Nomenclature.

In Britton's architectural antiquities, part VI. there is a history of Malmsbury abbey church, and the author gives the following table of terms, &c. to characterize the various styles which prevail in ancient English buildings.

In this essay, and in the subsequent parts of the present work, I shall find it necessary to employ some precise terms, calculated to characterize the various styles of that ancient architecture, which peculiarly belongs to Great Britain, and of which we are endeavouring to investigate the history and ascertain the principles. The usual common-place terms of Saxon and Gothic, are not only extremely vague, but, from indiscriminate application, are completely nugatory. It is time this was remedied; and it is rather a reproach to antiquarian literature, that such improper and imperfect words should have so long continued in general use. Though almost every writer, on this subject, reprobates the latter term as applied to architecture, yet all continue to use it, as if it were criminal to correct inaccuracy, or oppose an absurd custom, that would be "more honourable in the breach, than in the observance." Though I am not disposed to employ an imperious dictatorial tone, to enforce the necessity of the following arrangement and classification, yet I am persuaded that every one who feels the necessity of rendering language unequivocal, of being definite and precise

* "The German writer of 'Voyage en Sicile & dans la Grande Grèce adressé à l'Abbé Winckelman, Lausanne, 8vo. 1773,' gives this description of a church of St. Sepulchre at Brindisi, the ancient Brundisium. 'On donne l'Eglise du St. Sepulchre pour un temple antique; c'étoit une rotonde; cet édifice n'est point du bon tems de l'architecture: sa forme n'est pas parfaitement circulaire & il n'y a point de portique à l'entrée, et il décrit un demi cercle différent, qui ne fait point corps avec le reste du bâtiment; ce qui lui donne une irrégularité désagréable. L'on reconnoit aussi le mauvais goût du tems de la decadence des arts aux ornemens de l'ancienne porte qui est murée aujourd'hui. Cet édifice est vouté & soutenu entierement par des colonnes de marbre.'

"This person, who was over head and ears in Roman and Grecian antiquities, would not have thought it worth his while to have taken notice of an ancient Christian temple, as this is no doubt, had he not mistaken it for a Pagan one. The description answers exactly to our church of the holy Sepulchre at Cambridge." British Museum, Cole's MSS. vol. II. p. 46

cise in his own writings, and who hopes to avoid all mistakes in construing the terms employed by others; will admit the propriety of the plan now suggested, or give it a better modification.

I would recommend that each decisive variety of style, in ancient buildings, be designated by one of the following phrases, agreeably to the era of its prevalence; and to be more precise in these, it may be necessary to specify five divisions, or eras of time; each of which is marked by a distinct style of architecture in the public buildings erected during the respective periods.

Sketch of a Nomenclature of Ancient Architecture, intended to affix precise terms to each peculiar style in English buildings.

First style.—*Anglo-Saxon*. This will embrace all buildings that were erected between the times of the conversion of the Saxons, and the Norman conquest, from A. D. 597, to A. D. 1066.

Second style.—*Anglo-Norman*, by which will be meant that style which prevailed from 1066 to 1189, including the reigns of Williams I. and II. Henry I. Stephen, and Henry II.

Third style.—*English*, from 1189, to 1272, embracing the reigns of Richard I. John, and Henry III.

Fourth style.—*Decorated English*, from 1272, to 1461, including the reigns of Edwards I. II. and III. Richard II. and Henrys IV. V. and VI.

Fifth style.—*Highly decorated, or florid English*, from 1461 to 1509, including the reigns of Edwards IV. and V. Richard III. and Henry VII.

From this era we lose sight of all style and congruity; and the public buildings erected during the reigns of Henry VIII. Elizabeth, and James I. may be characterised by the terms of Debased English, or Anglo-Italian.

Account of the Ruins of Carthage, and of Udena in Barbary, by John Jackson, Esq. F. A. S. in a Letter to John Wilkinson, M. D. F. R. S. and F. A. S.

Read Dec. 15, 1803.

Tonnisholm Hall, Nov. 25, 1803.
Sir,—The scite of ancient Carthage appears to have been a most excellent situation for commerce, no part of the world could afford better accommodation for shipping; here is a lake about ten miles long, and five broad at the widest part, in a direct line between the ruins of Carthage, and the city of Tunis, and communicating with the sea, by a navigable canal at the Goletta, near Carthage. On examining this lake, I found that it had once been about eighteen feet in depth, with an hard bottom, except a part of the east side, lying near the sea between the Goletta and the Tunis. Here are the remains of houses for about three miles, their breadth at the broadest part does not appear to have been above a mile. I took a great deal of pains to satisfy my curiosity respecting these houses: having a boat belonging to a ship of war, no other being permitted to navigate on this lake at low water. Some of the tops of them were not above a foot under the surface of the water; at the Goletta there is generally a rise and fall of the tide, about three feet; but the canal between the sea and the lake

lake being very narrow, it does not raise the water in the lake so much. My people frequently got out of the boats, and walked on the tops of the houses, but were sometimes in danger, often meeting with places beyond their depth; one of them having shot at a flamingo, and broke its wing, pursued it over these houses, where the boats could not go, and had nearly lost his life by falling into some deep holes. Many parts of this lake are now scarcely navigable, and particularly towards Tunis, since the Moors will not take the trouble to clear away the immense quantity of mud and filth, that is continually washing into it, from the city of Tunis, and which has been accumulating for many centuries.

The ruins of ancient Carthage are about twelve miles north west from Tunis, in a pleasant situation, and reckoned very healthy, commanding an extensive prospect over the gulph of Tunis, as well as the interior of the country, but there are no fresh running streams of water near them; to remedy this inconvenience, the Carthaginians, at the time of their prosperity, were at immense labour and expence in conducting a considerable stream of fresh water from the mountain Zuan, about forty-five miles south-east from Carthage. This stream is still very remarkable for its good quality in dying scarlet, and the Tunisians are now obliged to carry all their articles that are to dyed of that colour, to Zuan. The length of this aqueduct is above seventy miles, and by means of it the Carthaginians conducted the stream through mountains and over valleys; considerable remains of it are still to be seen: near Udena there is a range of above one thousand

arches, where it had been conveyed across a valley: some of the arches in the middle of the valley are above one hundred feet high. I have every reason to believe this aqueduct, but more particularly this great range of arches near Udena, had been repaired by the Romans, every arch being regularly numbered in Roman characters. In building this aqueduct, they have made use of a strong cement, which seems to be as durable as the stones themselves, though they are harder than our limestone of a yellowish colour. In the conduit where the waters have run, there is a cement of about four inches thick, which in some places has fallen down in flakes one hundred feet in length, yet still adheres together. The conduit is about six feet high within, and four feet broad, yet two people cannot conveniently walk abreast within it, by reason of its being arched to a point at top. At Uriana, a village four miles north-west from Tunis, many arches of the aqueduct are of a considerable height, but not in so perfect a state as at Udena, the Bey of Tunis having taken away many of the stones to build his palace at Manuba. Where the stream has been conveyed through a mountain, at every sixty yards, there is a round hole about four feet in diameter, and very neatly walled with hewn stone, and the wall is continued about four feet above the surface of the earth, to prevent any thing falling in; the stones are very neatly rounded at top.

There is no difficulty in tracing the remains of this aqueduct, all the way from Zuan to Carthage, following the course of it through mountains and over valleys. In magnitude it far exceeds any thing I have yet seen in Asia or Europe, of either ancient or modern architecture; it

has been neatly executed, and very highly finished, which has been the cause of its lasting so many ages; in some places it is so very perfect, that it does not appear to have received the least injury. This country abounds in ruins, many of which are still very considerable; even in Carthage there are some remains of its former greatness. The reservoirs for water are still very perfect, being all arched over; they are not exposed, the walls being covered with a thick and strong cement in general. Those remains are in a tolerable state of preservation, which have not been exposed to the sun and air. I very frequently visited these ruins, and found, though they were very extensive, the greatest part to have been undermined, and supported by very strong arches; some of these have fallen in, which makes it rather dangerous to take a horse amongst the ruins. Through some of these broken places in the arches, I descended, and went into some neat square chambers, communicating one with another, being covered with a strong cement, still used in this country; its present name is gyps. Some of the rooms were so very perfect, that I could not discover the least flaw in the plaster, and very little discoloured, being still a tolerably good white. I was informed that the walls of some of those chambers were covered with handsome paintings, in a tolerably perfect state; but I did not discover any of those painted chambers, nor could I find any guide able to conduct me to them.

The plough now passes over the greatest part of the ruins of Carthage. I have seen a very abundant crop of wheat, under which were many handsome apartments in a very perfect state, the floors of the chambers were all laid with gyps. It is rather

unpleasant searching amongst these ruins; to get down into the chambers, I was frequently obliged to creep upon my hands and knees, but after I got into them often found it cool and pleasant. I never saw any scorpions, or other venomous reptiles, in any of the chambers, though they were very numerous on the surface; to guard against them, I wore boots and strong gloves.

There are no very considerable remains of buildings to be seen on the surface: the principal is what I was told were the ruins of the temple of Æsculapius, but I am of opinion that must be merely conjecture. There are now only some massy walls, about twelve feet thick, and no part above thirty feet in height; the whole is lying in such confused heaps, I could not trace the form or extent of the building. These ruins lie near the sea at the lower part of Carthage towards the Goletta, along the shore facing the gulph of Tunis, where for above one mile and a half the sea has made some encroachment on the land: here I discovered the foundations of houses. The stones were in general very large, some above and some below the surface of the water; the sea being very clear, I could discern the whole very perfectly. The foundations are an oblong square, their greatest length projecting towards the sea. They have been at least three times as large as the rooms I saw in the midst of the ruins, which were in general about eighteen feet square. There are still a great many ancient coins and antiques discovered amongst the ruins; they are chiefly found by the Bedquins, who are not well acquainted with their value: the Bedouins sell them to the Jews.

The present Bey of Tunis is very jealous, and will not permit any Christian

Christian to dig amongst the ruins, though it has often been proposed to him, to return the same weight of whatever valuable metal might be found.

In this country they have plenty of naphtha, or bitumen, but I never found that they had made use of it in any of their buildings, as I have seen at Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and other ancient ruins, in that part of Asia; here the gyps appears to have been generally used.

It is very difficult to form an accurate idea of the extent of ancient Carthage, but it does not appear to have been above nine miles in circumference; the principal part lies on the side of a hill, which narrows as it rises, almost to an angle on the north side, towards Porta Farina; from the top of this hill there is a very extensive and most beautiful prospect. This promontory, or cape, is still distinguished on the charts by the name of Cape Carthage.

On the north side of the hill down to the sea, it is very steep, and does not appear ever to have been much inhabited; it continues very steep on the east side towards the sea, to a considerable distance.

At present, the Bey of Tunis employs a great many Christian slaves in carrying stones from the east side to the pier now making at the Goletta; the slaves roll the stones down the steep, then put them into sandals, a sort of flat-bottomed craft used in that country; they have only to carry them a few miles on the gulph of Tunis, then throw them overboard, to form the pier at the Goletta. This pier now extends a considerable way into the sea, and is a very great improvement to the port of the Goletta, and an accom-

modation to vessels of an easy draft of water, as they may now lie in perfect safety; and it is intended to carry the pier further out into deep water, where the largest ships may be protected by it, and lie in perfect safety.

Amongst the ruins of Carthage I have found marble of almost every description, but mostly in small pieces.

The principal cause which has contributed so much to reduce the ruins of Carthage to its present insignificant appearance, is its proximity to Tunis, and the palace of Bardo, &c.. The beys and the principal people have, for a considerable time past, built their palaces from the ruins, and they have always been particularly careful to collect the most beautiful marbles.

Uden is situated about twenty miles south from Tunis; it appears to have been a city of some consequence, though it has never been mentioned by Lee, Dr. Shaw, or any other traveller or historian. The remains of this city are still in a more perfect state than any other ruins in Barbary. Having no guide to instruct me what this city was formerly, or even its ancient name, or whether it has always been distinguished by the name it bears at present, I could form no other idea of it, than what fell within my own observation. The Tunisians at present call it Udena; it is situated upon a hill, having an easy ascent to it on every side; from the best observations I could make upon the spot, the ruins still visible do not exceed five miles in circumference. The cisterns, or reservoirs for water, are in a much more perfect state than those of Carthage; they scarcely appear to have received any injury,

and still contain a considerable quantity of good fresh water. The arches which form the roofs of the cisterns, are covered with earth a considerable depth, which appeared to me to have preserved them in their very perfect state. The cisterns are at least a quarter of a mile south from the principal ruins of the city.

There are the remains of a noble amphitheatre, about two hundred yards in circumference, taking its extent from the highest seats in the galleries; it is of an oval shape, the principal entrances into it, are one at each end, at the bottom, or ground floor of the building; these two entrances have been very broad. There are sixteen other entrances for the spectators, eight on each side, perfectly uniform, and from each entrance there is a staircase to ascend into the galleries. From the bottom, or ground floor of the amphitheatre, to the lowest seats in the galleries, is about thirty feet perpendicular solid wall, quite smooth; the whole has been built with hewn stone, generally of a large size, harder than our lime-stone, and of a yellowish colour.

Near the amphitheatre are the remains of several large marble columns, standing in rows, at equal distances. There appears to have been an immense pile of building standing on the highest ground: I conceived it must have been the citadel. Within this building there is a bath of semi-circular form, and almost perfect; the whole of the bath is beautifully inlaid with Mosaic work; in which are drawn several female figures, swimming in various attitudes, as perfectly as in any painting; being done with various coloured marbles, they do not seem in the least to have lost their

colour. There are several aquatic fowls, drawn in the same style, above the human figures; the whole are coloured so as to resemble nature. I was much mortified that I could not take away any of those figures entire, having no instruments to cut them out, and it is very difficult to make any impression upon the mosaic-work, being so strongly cemented together; it has been so very highly finished, that I could not distinguish it as mosaic-work, without a very narrow examination. Near the bath are the ruins of many very elegant buildings, which I imagined to have been temples, or some other public works: one of the most perfect has two rows of pillars in the inside, and a gallery still entire, by which I walked round the whole of the building on the outside. This temple is an oblong, about forty yards in length, an entrance at each end: at present it has no roof over the centre of the building, being only covered on each side, as far as the two rows of pillars. I observed particularly in this building, that all the masonry was very handsome, highly finished, and not of the massy structure that I have often observed amongst other ancient ruins; the pillars, and the whole of the building are quite plain, without any carved ornaments.

Very near this temple is an immense heavy pile of building, which seems to have been a place of considerable strength; the stones with which it has been built are very large, I am persuaded many of them would weigh three tons. The whole of this building is arched over: upon a careful examination of this heavy pile, it appeared to me to have been a prison. There is a very large hall which seems to have been upon the ground-floor, and into this hall there

four large entrances, all arched over: on entering, it is very similar to passing under the arch of a bridge; this hall is certainly capable of containing more than two thousand people. Underneath this building there are vaults, or cells, which go round the whole; there is a stair-case on each side of the hall, leading down to the vaults; I went with my companions down one of these stair-cases, each carrying a light: we found it very difficult to enter the vaults, not having more than eighteen inches in height at the bottom of the stair-case, and were obliged to creep down flat upon the rubbish before we could enter. We found the vaults, or cells, were about fifteen feet in height. The door-ways between the several cells are very small; from the surface of the earth to the bottom of these vaults is at least forty feet perpendicular: we could not prevail on any of our servants or the Bedouins, to accompany us down into the vaults. It does not appear there has ever been the least ray of light in any of these cells; and the air being so much confined, I felt some inconvenience. On entering these horrid gloomy cells, I was fearful we might meet with some ravenous beast, as this country abounds with wild beasts of prey of almost every description; to guard against them, I took a double-barrelled gun down with me; however, I met with nothing but foxes, which appeared to be numerous, and even here, at so great a depth, burrow amongst the rubbish at the bottom of the cells. The cieling of the cells is covered with bats of a large size, which, when disturbed, flew about the cells and sometimes struck with considerable force against our heads, and

if the greatest care had not been taken, they would soon have put out the candles; we took down with us a dark lanthorn, to prevent any accident of this kind: without proper precaution, it might have been attended with very serious consequences, not having the least ray of light, it would have been very difficult to have found our way out again. In one of the smallest cells I fired my gun, to try what effect it would have in such a confined place, so far below the surface of the earth; though the gun was very well charged it had little effect, and was scarce heard by the people at the top; it seemed to rarify the air a little in the cell, and make it more tolerable. All the walls and cieling in these vaults are quite black, as if occasioned by smoke, yet it does not stain the hand.

About two miles north from the citadel, is a very fine stream of fresh water; over the valley through which this stream runs, is the greatest range of arches in the Carthaginian aqueduct. The whole of the surrounding country appears to have been once cultivated; and I have no doubt it would still yield abundant crops with very little trouble; at present there is not the least cultivation for a great many miles, except among the ruins of Udena, and no fixed habitation nearer than Tunis. Such is the present degraded state of what was formerly considered one of the most fertile countries in the world.

There were a few Bedouin tents in the neighbourhood. The Bedouins appeared to be almost half-starved, and were very happy to accept of any part of our victuals that we chose to give them, and were very ready to fetch us fresh water. There

are still some small tribes of Bedouins in this country, who profess Christianity; they are chiefly to be met with about Zuan and that neighbourhood.

Among the ruins of Udena, are a great many deep wells, and in these the wild pigeons build their nests; by throwing stones down the wells, the pigeons flew up, by which means we caught several.

While examining the ruins of Udena, the strange infatuation of the ignorant Bedouins, to prefer sowing their corn in the midst of ruins, struck my mind very forcibly; these ruins being in a more perfect state than those of Carthage, there is, consequently, not so much arable land; but wherever they find a small patch amongst the ruins, they are sure to plough it. I could not easily account for this strange notion of the Bedouins, because it is certainly contrary to nature. In the kingdom of Tunis, the quantity of corn depends entirely on the quantity of rain, and it cannot be supposed that water can lodge much amongst ruins, where the whole is undermined; it must of course drain off almost as fast as it falls: it cannot do so upon a good solid ground, which will naturally imbibe the moisture, and retain it a considerable time.

I imagined they might have some other inducement, more than the bare prospect of the crops of corn; and that was the prospect they had of finding treasure; was this their principal motive, they certainly would know how to turn whatever they found to a better account. A Bedouin will sell the most valuable antique to a Jew, for a *carobb*, ($1\frac{1}{2}$ l. English money) and the gold and silver for much less than their

weight in the current coin of the country. I have very often enquired why they preferred ploughing amongst the ruins of ancient cities, but could never get a satisfactory answer.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

John Jackson.

John Wilkinson, esq. M. D. F. R. S.
and F. A. S.

Some Remarks on the Ancient Ceremony of the Feast of Fools, and on a Sculptured Girdle worn at its Celebration. By Francis Douce, Esq. F. A. S.

Read May 10, 1804.

During the early ages of Christianity, when the minds of men were yet under the dominion of their prejudices for the Pagan superstitions, it had become necessary on the part of those who held the reins of civil and ecclesiastical government, either to endure the practice of certain ceremonies and amusements, to which the common people had been long accustomed, or to substitute others in their stead, which bore at least some resemblance to them. One of the most ancient of the latter kind, and which appears to have been the greatest favourite, was that known by the name of the "Feast of the Calends." It had arisen out of the Roman Saturnalia, and resembled, in a great degree, the excesses of a modern carnival. Amidst various other absurdities men ran through the streets disguised as old women, and even as brute animals, whence this ceremony has been sometimes distinguished by the names of "Vetula," and "Cervula." As it was attended by the

commission of many crimes, and had become in all respects an object of ecclesiastical censure, we accordingly find the pious Tertullian, with many other fathers of the church, vehemently declaiming against it; and St. Augustine, in one of his sermons, menaces severe punishment against all who should encourage it; but the anathemas of these holy men appear to have no effect in checking these impious fooleries, for they were continued without interruption even to the middle ages, the religious and other manuscripts of which, particularly those of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, furnish many allusions to them, depicted in their margins. The late ingenious Mr. Strutt, whose indefatigable but ill-rewarded services will be duly appreciated by every real antiquary, has preserved a memorial of these representations, but not aware of their precise signification, he has included them in the general mass of ancient mummeries.

These festivities, which prevailed at the opening of the new year, were, it is to be hoped, originally confined to the laity; but it is certain that they were very soon imitated by the clergy. In the ninth century the acts of the eighth general council of Constantinople, indistinctly refer to some ecclesiastical mockeries, that seem to have relation to the before-mentioned excesses. During the twelfth century, a festival remained, called "*Libertas Decembris*," which in some degree resembled the Roman Saturnalia, inasmuch as the archbishops and bishops degraded themselves by playing at dice and other games, and dancing with the inferior clergy in the monasteries and episcopal houses.

In France, a very singular ceremony crept into the church about this time, under the name of "*La Fête des Foudiacres*;" or the feast of subdeacons. The learned M. Duncange conjectures that this expression did not indicate that the subdeacons were exclusively the actors in this farce, but that it is to be literally expounded, *diacres faouls*, or drunken clerks, from their bacchanalian excesses; an opinion, which with great reverence to so high an authority, I cannot help regarding as very apocryphal. It is more generally known under the title of the Feast of Fools, on which occasion in the cathedrals, a mock bishop or archbishop was elected. Sometimes he was called an abbot, and in those churches that were more immediately under the papal jurisdiction, a pope. There was no unity of time in this election, for it is found to have been celebrated, according to variety of place, on Christmas-day, St. Stephen's, St. John's, and the Innocents' Days; the Circumcision, the Epiphany, and on some of the octaves of those festivals. An ancient ceremonial for the church of Viviers states, that the abbot was elected on the 17th of December. It is necessary to observe, that an *episcopus stultorum* had been already elected on the Innocents' day of the preceding year, but he enjoyed his official rights only during the three days of St. Stephen, St. John, and the Innocents'. At Auxerre the ceremony took place on the 18th of July. In the celebrated Beauford Missal, now in the possession of Mr. Edwards, there is a calendar, in which, under the month of February, the following inscription occurs, "*Comment a Fevrier on souloit faire*"

la feste aux fols et aux mors." One might be supposed at first sight to imagine that the Feast of Fools is here alluded to as celebrated in this month; but as the fabrication of this calendar uniformly refers to feasts and ceremonies in use among the ancients, it is evident that in this instance he applies the above expression to the *Quirinalia*, which were also termed *feriæ stultorum*, between which and the Feast of Fools in question, there is not the slightest connection. The illumination that belongs to this line, represents several men feasting in a church-yard, who have been supposed by an eminent antiquary, in his account of this invaluable manuscript, to wear fools' caps; but this will be found, on attentive examination of the figures, to be a mistake, probably originating from a part of the above motto. The subject of it refers to another ancient festival, on the 21st of Feb. viz. the *feralia*, or feast of the dead, instituted by Numa, in honour of the *manes*, and sometimes called *parentalia*. It is to be supposed that similar variations would arise in the manner of celebrating this indecorous violation of every thing that was sacred and solemn, yet the principal incidents were at least uniform, and these were, a ludicrous paraphrase of the service of the mass, performed by persons with blackened faces, disguised in masquerade habits of women, of fools, and of brute animals, exhibiting, in this respect, evident traces of the *Veluta* and *Cervula*, already noticed. The bishop, or abbot, was arrayed in mock pontificals, partly borrowed from the dresses of jesters and buffoons, and after his election carried in

procession through the streets, in a triumphal car, filled with ordure, with which he bespattered the spectators. His attendants threw themselves into all kinds of indecent attitudes, saluting the people in the grossest and most lascivious language. Sometimes they danced in the choirs in the churches, and chaunted dissolute songs. They even profaned the altars by converting them into tables for their provisions, carousing in the most riotous manner, and crowning their impious orgies with playing at dice and other games. Nor should it be omitted to state that the ceremony of burning incense was likewise ridiculed with the smoke of old shoes, which they burned for this purpose. In short, the excesses of these fools and madmen may very well warrant the expression of a writer on the subject, who has emphatically called them *the abomination of desolation*.

The enormities of this idle ceremony became at length so excessive, that it might well be expected some effort would be made to curb and counteract, if not wholly to abolish it. Accordingly, many of the councils issued their decrees against them, but as it should seem to very little purpose; so deeply rooted were they become in the minds of the lower orders of the clergy, and of the common people every where, who always joined in and supported them. Mons. Du Tillot, a writer who has given many curious particulars relating to this ceremony, but whose treatise is on the whole very confused and immethodical, from his indiscriminate admission of extraneous matter, has cited several ecclesiastical decrees for its abolition. Ducange supposes it to have been altogether

altogether suppressed in France in the year 1444, when the faculty of theology at Paris issued circular letters for that purpose; but it seems impossible to state with any precision, when it disappeared entirely at any place, except at Sens, where it ceased in 1528, because it is said to be mentioned in edicts of a much later date, and particularly in one so low as 1620; but there is very good reason for supposing it to have been confounded with the Feast of the Innocents, which, from the best consideration I have been able to give it, appears to have been a very different ceremony, and to have existed long after the abolition of the Feast of Fools.

M. Ducange has cited the ceremonial for this festival, belonging to the cathedral of Viviers, in 1365, and another for Sens has been described by M. Lancelot, in vol. 7, of the "*Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*." The latter is a long folio, covered with ivory, on which some of the ceremonies of the festival itself are said to be rudely sculptured. Of this a transcript on vellum is preserved in the French national library at Paris. No. 1351, which is thus described "*Officium stultorum ad usum metropoleos et premitialis ecclesiæ Senonensis: cum notis musicis*." At the beginning is written, "*Transcriptus est liber sequens, vel potius officium, ex originali perantiquo in thesauro metropolitana Senonensis ecclesiæ conservato, ex utraque parte foliis eburneis munito, nunc in auctivis capitularibus incluso*." Engravings from these ivory covers would be very desirable, and I shall take this opportunity of hazarding a remark, that many of the grotesque figures in the illuminated religious manuscripts generally, but erro-

neously, called missals, as well as some of the sculptures in ancient cathedrals, have a reference to the subject in question.

The Feast of Fools soon made its way into England, but its vestiges here are by no means so numerous as among our neighbours. The earliest mention of it that I have traced, is under the reign of Henry III. when Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, in a letter addressed to the dean and chapter of that diocese, about the year 1240, thus speaks of it—

"*Execrabilem etiam consuetudinem quæ consuevit in quibusdam ecclesiis observari de faciendis festo stultorum, speciali autoritate rescripta apostolici penitus inhibemus, ne de domo orationis fiat domus ludibrii, et acerbitas circumcisionis Domini Jesu jocis et voluptatibus subsannetur. Qua propter vobis mandamus in virtute obedientiæ firmiter injungentes, quatenus festum stultorum cum sit vanitate plenum et voluptatibus spurcum, Deo odibile et dæmonibus amabile, de cetero in ecclesia Lincoln die venerande sollemnitatis circumcisionis Domini nullatenus permittatis fieri.*" What-
ever effect this inhibition might have had in the place to which it immediately related, it is certain that the Feast of Fools continued to be observed in various parts of the kingdom, for more than a century afterwards. It was probably abolished about the end of the fourteenth century; for, in some statutes and ordinations, made by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, for the better government of the collegiate church of St. John, at Beverley, in 1391, there is the following regulation:—"In festis insuper sanctorum Stephani, Diaconis, et Johannis, Vicariis; ac sanctorum innocentium, Thuribulariis et Choristis; in die etiam

etiam circumcisionis domini, subdiaconis et clericis de secunda forma de victualibus annis singulis, secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesiæ ab antiquo usitatos, debite ministrabit (i. e. præpositus) antiqua consuetudine immo verius corruptela regis stultorum infra ecclesiam et extra hactenus usitata sublata et extirpata."

This festival has by many writers been strangely confounded with the ceremony of electing a boy-bishop in cathedrals and other places. Ducange, followed by Du Tillot, quotes from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, an inventory of ornaments, &c. belonging to the cathedral of York, in 1510, wherein are mentioned a small mitre and a ring, for the "*episcopus puerorum*," from which he has inferred that the Feast of Fools continued till that period in England: but it is evident that this refers to the election of a boy-bishop, a ceremony not only of a serious nature, and instituted in honour of St. Nicholas, or, as some have, I think erroneously, conceived, in remembrance of the massacre of the Innocents, but which uniformly took place on the 6th of December, St. Nicholas's Day, from which time to the Feast of the Innocents, this boy-bishop remained in office. But I purposely wave any further discussion of this subject, because I feel much pleasure in reflecting that it will most probably find a place amidst a general exhibition of our popular customs and antiquities, by the masterly hand of my valuable and learned friend, the secretary of this society, and shall conclude my remarks on the Feast of Fools, with stating that numerous imitations of it arose in various places, and on

different occasions. These were, the feast of the ass; the elections of an abbe des cornards or cornards, of an abbe des esclaffards, of an abbe de malgouverne, whence our abbot, or lord of mis-rule, of a prince dessots, (sometimes called mere folle, or folie) of a prince de plaisance, a prince de l'estrille, a prevot des etourdis, a roi des ribauds, and some others of a similar nature. It is now time to advert to the more immediate subject of the exhibition which has given rise to this imperfect communication. It is a girdle which tradition reports to have been worn by the abbot of fools, in the cathedral of Dijon, on his election into office. From the style of it, I conceive it to belong to the fourteenth century. It consists of thirty-five square pieces of wood, so contrived as to let into each other, by which means it easily assumes a circular form. On these are carved a variety of ludicrous and grotesque figures, consisting of fools, tumblers, huntsmen, and animals, with others, that from their licentiousness do not admit of a particular description. They bear, on the whole, a very striking similitude to the sculptures on the seats of the stalls in our cathedrals and monastic buildings, which were, no doubt, conceived in ridicule of the clergy in general, but more particularly of the friars; or, as I have already observed, they may, in some instances at least, refer to the mockeries that were practised in celebrating the Feast of Fools. It only remains to add, that for the possession of this, perhaps unique curiosity, I am indebted to the liberality of monsieur l'abbe de Terson, of Paris.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

State of Education in France. From Recollections of Paris, in 1802-3-4-5. By J. Pinkerton. Vol. I.

THE state of education, in any country, is of infinite consequence to its prosperity and glory. It may be doubted whether even the form of government have such decided influence on the talents and happiness of the individual.

In the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, education had become extremely neglected, before the Jesuits lent their attention to this department. Their method of education has been highly praised: and it is to be supposed that they studied the character of the youth entrusted to their care, and, by the spur of a predominant passion, instigated them in the path that was most adapted to their capacities. It is, however, to be wished, that some patient writer would, from their own publications on this subject, delineate the complete plan of education practised by the Jesuits.

Numerous universities were also scattered over the kingdom; but the mode of education there followed, was far from being the best, as, instead of changing their forms, and adapting themselves to the progress of national illumination, they re-

tained a pedantic routine and jargon, wholly useless in the high road of human affairs. This obstinacy led, as usual, to their own destruction; as they could not bend they must break: while some colleges, as that of Louis the Great, still exist, because the professors did not choose to sacrifice an useful institution to their own obstinacy or caprice.

As it often happens in human affairs, that the useful is sacrificed to the splendid, the foundation of universities, of very dubious utility, supplanted that of common schools, which may be regarded as the chief pillars of national education. For, if we except divinity and medicine, in which regular degrees are bestowed, it may be questioned whether the education at the French universities, were of the smallest advantage to any other class of mankind. As the military schools have been found to confer such great advantages, it would seem to follow that similar institutions might be allotted to other professions, after the bias of the child has been discovered, which may generally be done about the age of twelve years; before which period the gymnastic exercises ought to be the chief part of education, but might be interspersed with
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the native language, writing, and arithmetic. To these, in a French education, ought to succeed a long course of the mathematics, in order to allay the volatility and evaporation of the character.

In the parochial, or common schools, might therefore be taught horsemanship, swimming, fencing, and other gymnastic exercises, and amusements, interspersed with the French language, writing, and arithmetic, and followed by the course of mathematics, which would be found useful in every possible profession. If the conscription must be continued, it is to be regretted that the lots are not drawn at the age of twelve, that needless care and expence might be saved in the education of the boy for another pursuit. At the age of twelve, the boys might be transferred to the Lyceums, or to the special schools for each profession. This separation at the age of twelve, would also be attended with certain beneficial effects, moral and physical, which may easily be divined by parents; the mixture of little boys with those more advanced being of so pernicious a tendency, as to require prohibition by positive laws. In some schools, containing generally boys from the age of seven to that of twelve, a great lad of seventeen or eighteen arrived from some colony for the first rudiments of his education, has been known to corrupt the morals and health of thirty little boys, who before had not even an idea of vice.

After these considerations the present plan of the Lyceums cannot be approved, as there is a great mixture of ages, while they ought not to be permitted to receive any scholars till after the age of 12 years complete. Other foundations might be allotted

to the earlier years of the children of officers killed in battle, or others deserving the public care, an institution, by-the-bye, worthy of imitation. Such foundations might still be styled *Prytanées*, as maintaining those who have deserved well of their country; while the Lyceums derive their name from a famous university at Athens.

At present the primary schools are those which deserve the greatest attention, and would attract the chief care of an enlightened government; but the masters of the Lyceums, and other persons consulted on education, unhappily either affect a contempt for the primary schools, which can alone diffuse a general national education, open the bud of the village rose, increase its scent, and destroy its thorns; or regard them as rivals who may withdraw a part of their gains. Hence, in conversations with directors and professors of the *Prytanées* and Lyceums, I have been not a little hurt by their apparent spirit of monopoly, and their estrangement from the idea of a national education, which might deeply influence the public character, and by opening the mind to moderation and modesty, the usual concomitants of knowledge, prevent the recurrence of scenes of outrage and blood, the fruits of ignorance conducted by knavery. These effects of rivalry and jealousy, between the Lyceums and primary schools, would also be effectually prevented by the division of ages above proposed.

There were formerly two *Prytanéums* in France, one at Paris, another at St. Cyr, chiefly destined, as the name imports, for the children of men who had deserved well of their country, though they also boarded

boarded and educated other scholars. But within these two years the name has been formally changed for the common appellation of *Lyceums*. The most important is that at Paris, formerly the college of Louis the Great. The director Champagne, a member of the Institute, and a man of considerable talents, gave me a plan of the education here pursued, with a work written by himself, on the organization of public instruction. The importance of the subject will merit a few extracts and observations.

It was under the administration of François de Neufchâteau, that the new name of *Prytaneum* was adopted; and when Chaptal became minister of the interior, one hundred and eighty scholarships were granted at the public expence, and soon after one hundred others, all to be named by the first consul. It was at the same time permitted that other children might share the advantage of the careful education proposed, on paying a moderate salary. This institution is immediately under the care of the minister of the interior, who names the directors and professors. Mass is celebrated every morning, but no blame is attached to those who do not attend: gymnastic exercises are also mingled with instructions in the moral duties towards their parents, their country, and the Supreme Being; but each scholar is at perfect liberty to follow his own mode of worship.

Instead of the old pedantic routine, simple and practical methods have been adopted. Instead of a general tinge of superficial knowledge, the talents and inclination of the scholars are carefully observed, and directed to such studies as they may pursue with most advantage.

The course of study is divided into three distinct parts. Children are first taught the French language and grammar, a first and indispensable branch, which is never neglected during the whole period of instruction. The Latin tongue is carefully taught by the methods of Condillac and Dumarsais, which spare the time, and sometimes prevent the disgust of the scholars. In this first course, all are taught the elements of arithmetic.

To this course, merely elemental and grammatical, succeeds another, in which the scholars are taught composition; and instituted in the elements of literature, French, Latin, and Greek.

In the third course, the education is completed by that kind of instruction which is adapted to their talents and inclinations: rhetoric, philosophy, and the mathematics, with mechanics, surveying, and the first principles of astronomy and chemistry, are laid before the students. Geography is not only studied, but accompanied with the practical art of drawing maps and plans. In history, the scholars write down the lessons, so as to form a little collection of their own composition. In the second and third course all are taught the German and English languages; and the study of drawing is alike universal. A fencing master and a dancing master are each charged with a class of twenty-five scholars, chosen for their good behaviour; but any may be taught these arts, and music, at the expence of their parents. Gymnastic and military exercises, and swimming, are practised by all on the days of vacation. The instruction is not uniform, a plan rather calculated to enchain than to develope the faculties,

ties, but is varied according to the talents, dispositions, and future views. A select and ample library is open to the scholars.

They are divided, according to their age and studies into classes of twenty-five; each forming a separate habitation, with a school and sleeping rooms, under the care of an experienced teacher, who watches over their manners and conduct, assists their inexperience in literary toil, forms their character by remonstrating on their faults and teaching them their duties, sees that they read no improper books, and that they write regularly to their friends. He presides over their repasts, attends when they rise and go to bed, in short, never quits them, except when he brings them to the professors, adopting every care of a good master and father of a family. A careful servant confined to each class or division, is charged with the physical care of the children, their dress, and personal cleanliness. It may not be improper to add, that they sleep alone, and are carefully watched by the teacher, who is placed in the centre of the division; and that the domestic and a night watcher walk through the sleeping rooms, to guard against the smallest accident or impropriety.

The games and recreations of the children are always superintended by the masters, and their walks in particular are well watched. A regulation approved by the government, forbids them to leave the house upon any pretence, except during the vacations, when they may visit their families. They are, however, indemnified by the extent of their own domains, even those at Paris passing the summer days of vacation at the large house and park of Vanvres,

in gymnastic exercises, swimming, and such little exercises in gardening and agriculture, as they may choose.

Although sickness be rare, a physician and surgeon constantly reside in the house; and there is an infirmary where the sick children are attended with the same care as if they were in their own families. At the same time every attention is paid to the general health. The halls and rooms are well aired, a regular warmth distributed in winter, the food of a salutary nature, and the beginning of any disease carefully marked and opposed.

Such is the general plan of this institution, in which there is doubtless much to be praised; but in the division of the courses, it may be doubted whether the Latin should enter into the first course, where writing might supply its place; and, in fact, this first course ought wholly to belong to the primary schools. Yet, upon the whole, the education is excellent, and the distribution of the prizes, which takes place before the summer vacation, forms a very interesting and crowded spectacle. After discourses by the director, and by the minister of the interior, or any other member of the administration named to dignify the ceremony by his presence, the names of the boys who have distinguished themselves in each branch are solemnly proclaimed, with flourishes of music, and the plaudits of the audience. The boy advances, is embraced by the minister, who places on his head a wreath of laurel, and gives him some valuable book. The catalogue of the victors and prizes is afterwards published, to the great satisfaction of parents and friends.

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Let me not be accused of being tedious on a subject of such infinite importance as practical education, the subject of innumerable books, but of difficult execution, as what seems true and salutary in theory, often in practice proves false and detrimental. Nor shall an apology be offered for some further illustrations of this interesting topic, and which though sometimes minute, may be of lasting consequence to the community.

The board at the Prytanée, now the Lyceum at Paris, is nine hundred francs a-year (not thirty-eight pounds sterling), but each boarder must pay quarterly, and by advance. Each boarder must bring a trunk, containing the following articles;

A great coat of broad cloth, colour, iron grey—the uniform of the school.

An uniform coat of iron grey, with blue collar and sleeves.

Two waiscoats, &c. of the same.

Two white waistcoats, one of cloth the other of dimity.

Two pair of sheets of ten ells.

One dozen napkins.

One dozen of shirts.

Two bed-gowns.

Twelve handkerchiefs.

Six cravats of double muslin, and two of black silk.

Six pair of cotton stockings, of mixed blues, and two white.

Six cotton night caps.

Two hats, one three cornered.

Two pair of shoes.

Two combs, and a comb brush.

A clothes brush.

A plate and goblet of silver, or other metal, at the choice of the parents, and marked with the number of the scholar, which is also put on his other effects, that no other may use them.

After this first equipment, no further expence is incurred for the children, whether sick or in health. The dress and all the other articles are renewed at the expence of the institution, during the whole course of the studies, except losses positively ascertained to have been made by the scholars themselves. For books, maps, and paper, used in the third course, there is an additional charge of twenty-five franks, or a guinea a year. The trunk, except the sheets and napkins, is returned when the scholar leaves the Lyceum; and as only French manufactures are permitted, the articles, in case of difficulty, may be easily procured at the house.

The boys educated at this seminary are very numerous, generally appear stout and healthy, and possessed with an interesting emulation. The military part of their education is rather to be regretted; but it is to be feared that the ambition of France will render it necessary in other countries.

The work of Champagne, the director, on Public Education, is valuable, as the production of a practical man; but several of his ideas are objectionable. That education should be connected with politics seems illusory, it ought rather, like a national bank, to be independant of the government, and an absolute silence observed on political subjects. Of what consequence are the politics of a boy? Even a thinking man finds it difficult to choose, when there are faults on all sides, and attended with such dismal and unforeseen consequences. He supposes the primary schools are between six and seven thousand; a number certainly too small for the extent of France; and he justly observes great defects

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in the organization, especially the want of encouragement for the masters, and the deficiency of fixed elementary books.

The population of the French empire being at this moment about thirty-four millions, there must be three millions of children under the age of twelve; and supposing that the sixth part of the parents can afford to pay liberally for the education, and that there be sixty scholars for each country school, more than forty-seven thousand teachers of both sexes will be required. The commencement ought of course to be to teach the teachers, by instituting a grand foundation for needy and deserving young men, in order to qualify them for this office, which should be accompanied with a salary for life, only to be lost by notorious and scandalous misconduct. If, during the rage of innovation, the voice of reason could have been heard, the funds, revenues, and buildings of the ancient universities, would have been admirably adapted to this purpose; and the useless fellowships, and other sinecures, might have been supplanted by a most useful body of men, the future schoolmasters, who, after a residence of two years might have made room for others.

A moderate salary to the masters of the primary schools ought to be secured by a tax upon land and houses; but it is supposed that one half of the salary might be paid by such parents as are in tolerable circumstances, while the poorer class ought to pay nothing. This land-tax might be called the tax of instruction; and ought to be rendered perpetual as far as human foresight can penetrate into futurity.

But I forget Champagne, who

recommends public schools supported by beneficent societies. He justly observes, that before parochial schools were spread through the Highlands of Scotland, there were frequent disturbances and rebellions, which have ceased since the country became more enlightened. He proposes that the tax upon bachelors should be allotted to the public instruction; and that, of fifty thousand places of clerks, employed in the different offices under government, one quarter should be reserved for schoolmasters who have performed that office during ten years. But the chief object would seem to be, that, by a moderate tax on land and houses, each parish should support its own schoolmaster.

This practical writer also observes, that there was too violent a transition between the primary and the central schools, where the boy who had only been taught to read and write, and the four first rules of arithmetic, was suddenly introduced to the ancient languages. This defect was chiefly owing to the boy's not having been taught grammar and orthography. Before the revolution there were three gradations, the little schools, the colleges, the universities; the instruction of the first being necessary to all ranks; that of the second for liberal professions; while the universities qualified men to become masters themselves. That the utility of the secondary schools may become more apparent, he computes that in the French empire there are sixty thousand officers in the land and sea service; fifty thousand agents and clerks in the administration and finances; some thousand judges and professors; while there ought to be

at least twenty thousand masters of primary schools, not to speak of men of business, merchants, and artists, who ought to receive a liberal education. Of these a great part must necessarily belong to poor families, for the son of a rich man will not employ his time for such moderate salaries. It therefore becomes necessary that the colleges be encouraged by the government, and the three hundred and twenty colleges, formerly existing in France, were ill supplanted by one hundred and four central schools, one for each department. These schools were also objectionable, as each was to contain nine masters and a librarian; a number often ridiculously disproportioned to the little villages, which have become the chief places of the departments.

Champanne proposes that the central schools, or universities, should be restricted to the twenty-nine cities where there are tribunals of appeal; and that there be founded one hundred and fifty small colleges, each with five professors, in towns of the second order. This idea seems to have been in part adopted by the government, the secondary schools, or colleges, having been re-established; while the lycées supply the place of the central schools or universities.

He afterwards proceeds to consider the plan of education, supposing that the boys leave the primary schools at the age of ten years, and remain at the secondary till the age of thirteen or fourteen. He proposes, as already mentioned, that there should be five professors in each secondary school, two for grammar, one for elements of history and the arts of composition; one for arithmetic and simple geometry, one for draw-

ing. The professors of grammar are chiefly for instruction in the French language, interspersed with elements of Latin and of geography. Herightly recommends that grammar be taught from the native tongue; and regards it as absurd to place abruptly the rudiments of Latin in the hands of children, to whom the words adverb, pronoun, verb, mood, number and case, are as unintelligible as the Latin itself, and the child is taught the unknown by the unknown; a great cause that so many educations totally fail: nay, perhaps, the more understanding a child has, the more he appears a dunce, because dulness may learn by perseverance, where intelligence is totally confounded by seeing the palpable darkness. This observation may explain why so many men of distinguished talents have appeared dunces in common schools.

After some observations upon the hours of labour employed by each professor, he recommends that a person skilled in natural history should accompany the boys in their walks; to give them some rudiments of botany and mineralogy, which might be useful to them on many occasions. His remarks on the central schools are also just and practical, but do not fall into my present design. The professorship of legislation is a truly singular title for a teacher of the laws of nations, and of the French laws. The academy of legislation existing at Paris, is liable to the same objection, and should be styled the academy of jurisprudence. There ought, as he observes, to be four professors, of natural laws, of ancient laws, of civil and French law: and he adds that there might even be a professor of the forms of procedure, which might

might tend to prevent the avidity and cunning of some professional men. "Yet, amongst the ancients and the moderns, the wisest laws have not been able to prevent this evil, which re-appears under a thousand shapes. If the knowledge of the forms of procedure were generally spread; if all the tricks and turns of chicane were well known, and ceased to be the useful secret of knaves; no one would dare to use them: and, perhaps, by means of this course, the gradual destruction might be operated of that chicane, which is the most dangerous malady of justice." Though there be schools for the education of lawyers and physicians, it is believed there are none especially dedicated to that of the clergy; and with the universities all degrees have expired. He justly praises the liberality of the ancient government, which, at the college of Louis the Great, educated six hundred boys, free of all expence, and founded the excellent military schools, which formed so many great men. The various universities also enjoyed very numerous free scholarships. He justly regrets the sale of the funds destined for these laudable purposes, and quotes, with deserved applause, the example of Washington, who bequeathed a great part of his wealth for the public instruction of his country. He proposes, therefore; 1. That such donations be authorized by law. 2. That small contributions be paid by those who have received their education in these seminaries. 3. That the government, actually in possession of eight millions of acres of woods, sold for a very trifling profit, should allot the whole, or a part, for this purpose. 4. That a part of the national lands, generally sold at five

or six years purchase of the rent, should be disposed of to administrators, on condition of paying the price at the end of six years, when the departments might be excited, by the certainty of the pledge, to contribute by gifts or loans to defray the expence.

He concludes with remarks upon the rewards to be offered, in order to excite emulation; and recommends that, after solemn examinations, the most meritorious of the poor scholars should have an allowance of certain sums, in order to prosecute their studies, or be placed at the public offices, where intrigue and interest have too long supplanted merit, and states sometimes perish by the ignorance of subalterns. He justly and somewhat boldly reproaches the military education given by the ancient Greeks and Romans, "Where what was called a republic was a handful of men, who kept the rest of the people in oppression and slavery."

If this important subject of national education have diffused itself to more length than was intended, it must be considered in apology, that some degree of minuteness is essential to its illustration: and it was thought that the practical opinions of an experienced master, in a country where an unprecedented revolution had authorized every experiment and innovation, deserved to be weighed with particular attention.

*Luxury of Paris. From the Same.
Vol. II.*

An Englishman who has not visited Paris, will scarcely believe that the luxury of London can be exceeded.

exceeded. But in fact the luxuries and opportunities at Paris are allowed, by all candid judges, infinitely to surpass those of the English capital, in the variety, and the cheap rates at which they may be procured. The superior dryness of the air also exhilarates the spirits, and gives a keener relish to many enjoyments.

The well known work, called "The Almanach des Gourmands," by Grimod de la Reyniere, may serve in some measure as a text book in treating of the luxuries of Paris. But it is in so many hands, that a few extracts, or rather remarks, suggested by its perusal, may suffice. That work, indeed, only embraces one branch of luxury, but a branch particularly cultivated by the new rich; whose cellars and larders are far better replenished than their libraries. This taste has become so general, that many booksellers have become *traiteurs*, and find the corporeal food far more profitable than the mental.

The old new year, the first of January, is still the season of little gifts, chiefly eatables and sweetmeats, for which last the Rue des Lombards is deservedly famous. The best beef at Paris is that of Auvergne and Cotentin, and the *aloya*, which seems to be the inner part of our sirloin, is regarded as the most chosen morsel; but the French custom of sticking such pieces with little morsels of lard, is to an English palate truly nauseous, and irreconcilable with any just principles of cookery, as it diminishes the juice, and injures the flavour of the meat. When M. Grimod supposes that beef-steaks form the chief dish of an English dinner, he shews a ridiculous igno-

rance of our customs. The best veal is that of Pontoise, not far from Paris; but as they are strangers to our mode of nourishing the animals, this food is regarded as of difficult or irregular digestion, nor can it ever be compared with English veal. Our author says, that the French calves are fed with cream and biscuits, which may account for this quality. The lamb is also so young, so insipid, so vapid, that it bears no resemblance to the delicate juices and flavour of the English. The mutton is from the Ardennes, but it is as rare as Welch mutton in London. In general the mutton cannot be praised; and while the French import the Spanish breed on account of the wool, they ought also to import some other for the meat. Nor does their pork seem equal to the English.

The game is, in general, superior to that of England; and the red partridge forms an elegant regale. The pheasant has become extremely rare, the pheasantries having been destroyed with the other marks of rank. The quails in the neighbourhood of Paris are excellent.

Young turkies, of the size of a large fowl, are very common, though somewhat higher in price; and poultry in general is about one third cheaper than in London, if bought in the large markets. Among the vegetables, spinach is particularly well cooked, and not diluted with water as in London. As the leaves take up much space, it is always sold at the green-shops simply boiled, and is afterwards cooked according to the fancy of the purchaser. The vinegar put into the sauce for cauliflower destroys its flavour; and in general a

mixture of the English and French modes of cookery would be the best. Boiled endive, rare with us, is a common and healthy dish at Paris, being mucilaginous, and agreeable to weak stomachs. But another usual dish, a partridge boiled with bacon and cabbage, seems an absurdity, the flavour being lost, and the whole nauseous to the English palate. Carrots are regarded as stomachic, and a bason of vermicelli soup, with grated carrot, is a famous breakfast. The French pastry is much celebrated, but many persons seem deservedly to prefer the English. Some have an aversion to the pigeons of Paris, because they are fed from mouth to mouth. The goose is left to the populace, being in general meagre and unsavoury; but the ducks are often excellent.

In the winter there is a sufficient supply of excellent fish, and turbot is sold by the pound. A rich farmer general, about to give a solemn dinner, sent his maitre d'hotel for fish, who reported that there was only a large turbot, for which a counsellor had paid two louis d'or. "Here," said the farmer-general, throwing four louis on the table, "go and buy me the turbot and the counsellor." During the summer the fish is scarce and bad, and a large fortune might be made by bringing this article to Paris in ice. Fish-women carry about live carp in leathern vessels, suspended at their girdles: these are dangerous to encounter, as any derangement of her fish-pond occasions a torrent of abuse; and sometimes a live carp serves as an instrument of manual exercise. A dish of gudgeons is a favourite food of a *petite maitresse*. The hams of Bayonne are excellent, and extremely mild; but those of

Mentz, though harder, are more savoury. The milk and eggs of Paris are superior to those of London. Of artichokes and strawberries the season is prolonged by the art of the gardener, and both may be had at the end of September.

M. Grimod has wittily observed, that thirteen form an unlucky number at table, when there is only food for twelve; and that the falling of the salt-seller is very unlucky, when it spoils a good dish. Yet he recommends as sacred another prejudice, that of paying a visit at the house where you are treated, some days after the dinner; as if the business of a forenoon could be neglected for such an idle ceremony. His parallel, vol. i. p. 225, between the pleasures of the table and those of love, gave some offence to the Parisian belles, and he was obliged to soften it in a second edition.

Le dejeuner à la fourchette, or fork-breakfast, is so called, because in eating meat you have occasion for a fork. Since the lateness of the dinner hour, and the discontinuance of supper, this repast has become very common. It generally consists of cold meats; but broiled fowls, kidneys, and sausages, are admitted with petit-pâtés. During the winter, oysters from the rock of Cencale, a public-house so called, and much celebrated for this article, form the usual introduction.

The master and mistress of the house continue to carve, while it is to be regretted that the German fashion is not introduced, of having the dishes carved by a servant at a side-table. The *plateau* which decorates the middle of the table, is often strewn with fine sand, of various colours, in compartments, and deco-

décorated with small images, and real or artificial flowers. Images of porcelain seem particularly adapted for this purpose; and the proper decorations are peculiar objects of good taste. In England it is not uncommon to see a splendid silver vase, containing a few oranges; or a sallad, placed in the middle of the table, with, perhaps, two smaller vases at either extremity, filled with similar articles, or with bottles of favourite wine. Nothing can be more void of taste, as the contents do not correspond to the richness of the vases, and a statue of clay might as well be mounted on a horse of gold. A bottle of wine, a few oranges, or a sallad, can never delight the eyes, the chief intention of the *plateau*, and the vases are only profitable to the silversmith. It was at the marriage of Louis XV. in 1725, that the first *sanded plateau* appeared at Paris. Desforges, father of the celebrated author of the *Jealous Wife*, Tom Jones at London, &c. introduced artificial verdure with great success. The son was no less remarkable as an actor and dramatic poet, than as the author of the very singular and erotic *Memoirs* of his own Life, in eight small volumes, under the title of *Le Poete, ou Memoires d'un Homme de Lettres*. Little temples were added by Dutofy, who also invented artificial fire-works in miniature, delighting at once the eye and the smell.

The custom of dining without the attendance of servants, is warmly recommended by M. Grimod, who justly observes that they throw a constraint over the conversation. He recommends the use of numerous dumb waiters, and that the servants should only bring in the services.

The custom of visiting during the dinner, not uncommon at Paris, seems contrary to every rule of true politeness, as it disturbs the guests, and prevents the enjoyment of the repast. But the French talk so much during the dinner, that one would conceive they are anxious not to know what they are eating. The want of carpets in a French dining-room forms also, as already mentioned, a great and unhealthy inconvenience.

The hour of invitation is marked in three ways. If it be a *six heures*, it is understood that the dinner will be served at seven; if *six heures précises*, it is half after six; if *six heures très précises*, it is an invitation for six o'clock exactly. The art of arranging the guests, so that the characters and conversation may correspond, is regarded as the height of good breeding.

Among the finest wines of France are esteemed Clos-Vougeot, Romanée, Chambertin, S. Georges, Pomard, Volnay, Vosne, Nuits, Beaune, Tonnerre, Mâcon, La Fitte, Château Margot, S. Julien, S. Estephe, Pic-Pouille, Tavel, S. Giles. The white wines are those of Montrachet, Mursault, Pouilly, Chablis, Sillery, Pierry, Ai, Sauterne, Graved, Barsac, Condrieux, Hermitage, Côte-Rotie, Rhenish, Moselle, Bar, &c. The sweet wines served at the desert, are those of Lunel, Frontignan, (which we call Frontiniae) and Rivesaltes, which last is esteemed the best. That of St. Peray, near the Rhone, which the eye cannot distinguish from water, is also excellent. The foreign wines are those of Malaga, Alicante, Xérès (Sherry), Pacaret, Madeira, Clazomène, Constantia, Calabria, Tokay, Lacrima Christi,

Canarie, &c. Nor should that called the wine of Syracuse be omitted. When it is considered that all the French wines have different and peculiar flavours, more or less acceptable to the stomach at particular times, and with various aliments, the luxury may be compared with our very homely port wine and claret.

The ordinary wines common at Paris, are often those of Orleans, which rather load the stomach; and those of Lower Burgundy, which are also known under the name of Macon, though they chiefly come from the neighbourhood of Auxerre. These last are often healthy, nourishing, and generous, without being in the least heady. But, at the best tables the ordinary wine is sometimes of a bad quality. The beer at Paris resembles our table beer, but is always in bottles. There are two kinds, the white and the red, the malt used in the latter being higher dried. What is called double beer, approaches to our strong beer. *Bierre de Mars*, or March beer, is the most esteemed, and advertised at every public-house, though it can seldom be found within. The signs are often singularly improper; one of the best brewers of Paris lives at the Incarnation of the Word, in the street Oursine.

Great quantities of cyder are brought from Normandy by the Seine, and lodged on the quay of the Louvre, where the venders may be found in a kind of sentry boxes. Another quay on the other side of the town, is often loaded with thousands of barrels of wine, from Auxerre and Orleans. As the Normans do not make good keeping

cyder, it is a winter drink at Paris, being always made in the preceding autumn. For the Parisians, who love sweets, it is also mixed with honey, &c. so as to be a corrupt and unwholesome beverage.

The *coup du milieu* is a recent refinement, which has passed from Bourdeaux to Paris. It is thus described by the modern Apicius.

Between the *rôti* and *entremets*, that is, about the middle of dinner, you see at Bourdeaux the door of the dining-room open, and a young girl appear, between the age of eighteen and twenty-two, tall, fair, and well made; with features bespeaking affability. Her sleeves are tucked up to her shoulders; and she holds in one hand a tray of mahogany, replenished with glasses, and in the other a decanter of Jamaica rum, Wormwood wine, or that of Vermouth. This Hebe goes round the table filling to each guest, and then retires in silence."

The glass is thought to restore the appetite to its original vigour.

The French liqueurs form another article of their luxury; and even those of the isles or West Indies are sold at less than one quarter of the price which they bear in London. The variety is also great; but many deservedly refuse this luxury, and even coffee. M. Grimod observes that "coffee, mixed with milk or cream, forms a common breakfast of nine tenths of the Parisian females, in spite of the inconveniencies which result from its habitual use; the consequences of which are prejudicial to their health and freshness, and often cause the infidelity of a husband or lover*." After dinner, and simply prepared

* Being regarded as a chief cause of the *fluor albus*, and *gonorrhœa benigna*, so general at Paris.

with water, coffee is thought to assist the digestion; but many find it on the contrary heating and prejudicial.

To such a pitch is luxury carried by some, that their cooks regularly take medicines, in order to preserve the fineness of their palate, and of their sauces.

Fromage, or cheese, is a lax term at Paris for any substance compressed. Thus a *fromage d'Italie* is a Bologna sausage, a *fromage glacé* is a kind of ice, &c. Animals killed by electricity are found to be singularly tender.

The French have only one term, *confitures*, for pickles and confections. The best preserved fruit at Paris is that of the julian, or green plumb, here called those of queen Claude, but in the time of the revolution they were cried through the streets, *prunes de la citoyenne Claude*.

The master and mistress of the house generally sit opposite to each other, at the middle of the table, not as with us, at the head and foot. They can thus converse with all the guests, and see that a proper attention is paid to each. The soup is distributed on the right and left alternately; and if there be few or no ladies, it is passed from hand to hand, so that the nearest are the last served. In some houses glasses of sugar and water are presented two hours after the dinner, in order to assist the digestion; but it must be drank by mouthfuls and slowly, otherwise the intention will be defeated. Three or four hours after dinner, the guests escape one by one, and in silence; for to take leave would be thought as impolite as not to make the ceremonial visit,

of tacit acknowledgment, within a week after the dinner. Healths are rarely drank, but it is usual to clash the glasses as a token of intimate good will. Twelfth cake, and the king and queen of the bean now re-appear. On the birth-day of the master the servants often exhibit little fire-works.

The author of the *Almanach des Gourmands* has wisely added a chapter upon indigestion, from which there are not a few sudden deaths at Paris. A beautiful lady died suddenly after a copious breakfast of oysters and new bread. This *Arbiter elegantiarum* advises slow mastication; and he well observes the diversity and caprice of the stomach, which may be very strong in some respects, yet weak in regard to certain foods.

According to his decision, a great dinner is composed of four services: 1st. the soups, the *hors-d'œuvres*, *relevés*, and *entrées*; 2d. the roast meats and sallads; 3d. the cold pastry and *entremets*; 4th. the desert.—The superiority of the French cookery is thus visible even in the language; and I know not that any translation has been attempted.

Among the fruits of France the peaches are excellent and cheap. The smooth peach, which we call nectarine, is common, and is called *brignolet*; but that called the *teton de Venus*, which ripens towards the end of August, is preferred. The pears are also excellent, especially the *cresanne* and *bon chretien*. The most excellent grape for the desert is what is called the *chasselas de Fontainbleau*, which over a golden colour presents a rich bloom. The best apples are, the *rainette*, *calvel*,
3 T 3 api,

api, &c. In the autumn, 1804, rainettes, weighing more than a pound, and of excellent flavour, were brought from *Tressancourt*, two leagues beyond St. Germaine. The chesnuts of Lyons are large and celebrated. Almonds ripen at Paris, and are highly beneficial to the stomach, by diminishing acrimony from bile or other causes. In the form of orgeat they become a febrifuge. Figs and melons, as already observed, never appear at the desert, but accompany the boiled beef.

The Wednesday club consists of lovers of good cheer, who assemble at Le Gacques's, in the garden of the Tuilleries. The perpetual pot of the street Grands-Augustins, is said to have been in activity for more than a century, and is always well replenished with capons. Green pease are preserved in salt; when boiled they are thrown into cold water, which restores their freshness and colour; they are then warmed with butter and sugar. Sugar also is often used with spinach.

The best oysters come from Dieppe, Cancale, Marrène, Etretat, and Grandville. Cahors is celebrated for partridges; wine, truffles, eels, cheese, and fine bread; and is thus of singular eminence in Apician geography.

Gluttony is of all ages. A little boy, in the middle of a great repast, having no longer any appetite, began to cry; being asked the cause, "Oh, (says he) I can eat no more;"—"But put some in your pockets."—"Alas, they are full," replied the child. A little girl hearing a conversation, whether

gluttony or liquorishness gave the most pleasure, said, "I prefer being liquorish, because it does not take away the appetite." Children, and even women will pocket sweetmeats from the table, while in other countries such a practice would savour of very bad breeding. After eating eggs it is usual to break the shells, a fragment of ancient superstition, as it was thought that witches made use of them to procure shipwrecks.

The bustard, and the cock of the woods, or in French, of the heath, about the size of a peacock, are not unusual in the shops of eatables at Paris. The latter is chiefly from the mountains of Vosges.

So much for the luxury of the table; the luxury of the houses is often extreme, particularly in the *boudoir*. Windows over the fireplace were invented for a farmer-general, who was confined by the gout, and wished to enjoy the prospect of his garden. The luxury of equipages is on the increase, but that of beautiful jockies must be passed in silence, though known even by advertisements in the newspapers. The worshippers of Venus, or, as they are here called *amateurs*, may at Paris gratify every taste and caprice with females of all countries and complexions; moral liberty being complete, and aberrations only reprobated by ridicule, while civil liberty does not find the climate so favourable. Nor must the luxury of the theatres be forgotten, particularly the grand and expensive opera: so that, in this respect, Paris probably rivals ancient Rome, or any other luxurious metropolis, ancient or modern.

Account

*Account of Joanna Southcott, from Letters from England, by Don M. A. Espriella. Translated from the Spanish. Vol. III.**

In the early part of the thirteenth century there appeared an English virgin in Italy, beautiful and eloquent, who affirmed that the Holy Ghost was incarnate in her for the redemption of women, and she baptized women in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of herself. Her body was carried to Milan and burnt there. An arch-heretic of the same sex and country is now establishing a sect in England, founded upon a not dissimilar and equally portentous blasphemy. The name of this woman is Joanna Southcott; she neither boasts of the charms of her forerunner, nor needs them. Instead of having an eye which can fascinate, and a tongue which can persuade to error by glossing it with sweet discourse, she is old, vulgar, and illiterate. In all the innumerable volumes which she has sent into the world, there are not three connected sentences in sequence, and the language alike violates common sense and common syntax. Yet she has her followers among the educated classes, and even among the benefited clergy. "If Adam," she says, "had refused listening to a foolish ignorant woman at first, then man might refuse listening to a foolish ignorant woman at last:"—and the argument is admitted by her adherents. When we read in romance of enchanted fountains, they are described as flowing with such clear and sparkling waters as tempt the traveller to thirst; here, there may be a magic in the draught, but he

who can taste of so foul a stream must previously have lost his senses. The filth and the abominations of demoniacal witchcraft are emblematical of such delusions; not the golden goblet and bewitching allurements of Circe and Armida.

The patient and resolute obedience with which I have collected for you some account of this woman and her system, from a pile of pamphlets half a yard high, will, I hope, be imputed to me as a merit. Had the heretic of old been half as voluminous, and half as dull, St. Epiphanius would never have persevered through his task.

She was born in Devonshire about the middle of the last century, and seems to have passed forty years of her life in honest industry, sometimes as a servant, at others working at the upholsterers' business, without any other symptom of a disordered intellect than that she was zealously attached to the methodists. These people were equally well qualified to teach her the arts of imposture, or to drive her mad; or to produce in her a happy mixture of craziness and knavery, ingredients which in such cases are usually found in combination. She mentions in her books a preacher who frequented her master's house, and, according to her account, lived in habits of adultery with the wife, trying at the same time to debauch the daughter, while the husband vainly attempted to seduce Joanna herself. This preacher used to terrify all who heard him in prayer, and make them shriek out convulsively. He said that he had sometimes, at a meeting, made the whole congregation lie stiff upon the floor

* These letters are supposed to be written, in fact, by an English author of some reputation.

till he had got the evil spirits out of them; that there never was a man so highly favoured of God as himself; that he would not thank God to make him any thing, unless he made him greater than any man upon earth, and gave him power above all men; and he boasted, upon hearing the death of one who had censured him, that he had fasted and prayed three days and three nights, beseeching God to take vengeance upon that man and send him to eternity. Where such impious bedlamites as this are allowed to walk abroad, it is not to be wondered at that madness should become epidemic. Joanna Southcott lived in a house which this man frequented, and where, notwithstanding his infamous life, his pretensions to supernatural gifts were acknowledged, and he was accustomed to preach and pray. The servants all stood in fear of him. She says, he had no power over her, but she used to think the room was full of spirits when he was in prayer; and he was so haunted that he never could sleep in a room by himself, for he said his wife came every night to trouble him: she was perplexed about him, fully believing that he wrought miracles, and wondering by what spirit he wrought them. After she became a prophetess herself, she discovered that this Sanderson was the false prophet in the Revelations, who is to be taken with the Beast, and cast alive with him into a lake of burning brimstone.

Four persons have written to Joanna upon the subject of her pretended mission, each calling himself Christ! One Mr. Leach, a methodist preacher, told her to go to the Lord in his name, and tell the Lord that he said her writings were inspired

by the devil. These circumstances show how commonly delusion, blasphemy, and madness are to be found in this country, and may lessen our wonder at the phrensy of Joanna and her followers. Her own career began humbly, with prophecies concerning the weather, such as the popular English almanacks contain, and threats concerning the fate of Europe, and the successes of the French, which were at that time the speculations of every newspaper, and of every alehouse politician. Some of these guesses having chanced to be right, the women of the family in which she then worked at the upholstering business, began to lend ear to her, and she ventured to submit her papers to the judgment of one Mr. Pomeroy, the clergyman whose church she attended in Exeter. He listened to her with timid curiosity, rather wanting courage than credulity to become her disciple; received from her certain sealed prophecies which were at some future time to be opened, when, as it would be seen that they had been accomplished, they would prove the truth of her inspiration; and sanctioned, or seemed to sanction, her design of publishing her call to the world. But in this publication his own name appeared, and that in such a manner as plainly to imply, that if he had not encouraged her to print, he had not endeavoured to prevent her from so doing. His eyes were immediately opened to his own imprudence, whatever they may have been to the nature of her call, and he obtained her consent to insert an advertisement in the newspaper with her signature, stating that he had said it was the work of the devil. But here the parties are at issue: as the
advertise-

advertisement was worded, it signifies that Mr. Pomeroy always said her calling was from the devil; on the other hand, Joanna and her witnesses protest that what she had signed was merely an acknowledgment that Mr. Pomeroy had said, after her book was printed, the devil had instigated her to print his name in it. This would not be worthy of mention, if it were not for the very extraordinary situation into which this gentleman has brought himself. Wishing to be clear of the connection in which he had so unluckily engaged, he burnt the sealed papers which had been intrusted to his care. From that time all the Joannians, who are now no inconsiderable number, regard him as the arch-apostate. He is the Jehoiakim who burnt Jeremiah's roll of prophecies, he is their Judas Iscariot, a second Lucifer, son of the Morning. They call upon him to produce these prophecies, which she boldly asserts, and they implicitly believe, have all been fulfilled, and therefore would convince the world of the truth of her mission. In vain does Mr. Pomeroy answer that he has burnt these unhappy papers:—in an unhappy hour for himself did he burn them! day after day long letters are dispatched to him, sometimes from Joanna herself, sometimes from her brother, sometimes from one of her four-and-twenty elders, filled with exhortation, inductive, texts of scripture, and denunciations of the law in this world, and the devil in the next; and these letters the prophetess prints, for this very sufficient reason—that all her believers purchase them. Mr. Pomeroy sometimes treats them with

contempt, at other times he appeals to their compassion, and beseeches them, if they have any bowels of Christian charity, to have compassion on him and let him rest, and no longer add to the inconceivable and irreparable injuries which they have already occasioned him. If he is silent, no matter, on they go, printing copies of all which they write, and when he is worried into replying, his answers also serve to swell Joanna's books. In this manner is this poor man, because he has recovered his senses, persecuted by a crazy prophetess, and her four-and-twenty crazy elders, who seem determined not to desist, till, one way or other, they have made him as ripe for Bedlam as they are themselves.

The books which she sends into the world are written partly in prose, partly in rhyme, all the verse and the greater part of the prose being delivered in the character of the Almighty! It is not possible to convey an adequate idea of this unparalleled and unimaginable nonsense by any other means than literal transcript.* Her hand-writing was illegibly bad, so that at last she found it convenient to receive orders to throw away the pen and deliver her oracles orally; and the words flow from her faster than her scribes can write them down. This may be well believed, for they are words and nothing else: a mere rhapsody of texts, vulgar dreams and vulgar interpretations, vulgar types and vulgar applications:—the vilest string of words in the vilest doggerel verse, which has no other connection than what the vilest rhymes have suggested, she

* See the end of the letter.

vents, and her followers receive, as the dictates of immediate inspiration. A herd, however, was ready to devour this garbage as the bread of life. Credulity and Vanity are foul feeders.

The clergy in her own neighbourhood were invited by her, by private letters, to examine her claims, but they treated her invitation with contempt: the bishop also did not choose to interfere;—of what avail, indeed, would it have been to have examined her, when they had no power to silence her blasphemies! She found believers at a distance. Seven men came from different parts of the country to examine—that is—to believe in her; these were her seven stars; and when at another time seven more arrived upon the same wise errand, she observed, in allusion to one of those vulgar sayings from which all her allusions are drawn, that her seven stars were come to fourteen. Among these early believers were three clergymen, one of them a man of fashion, fortune, and noble family. It is not unlikely that the woman at first suspected the state of her own intellects: her letters appear to indicate this; they express a humble submission to wiser judgments than her own; and could she have breathed the first thoughts of delusion into the ear of some pious confessor, it is more than probable that she would have soon acknowledged her error at his feet, and the phrensy which has now infected thousands would have been cut off on its first appearance. But when she found that persons into whose society nothing else could have elevated her, listened to her with reverence, believed all her ravings, and supplied her with means and money to spread

them abroad, it is not to be wondered at if she went on more boldly;—the gainfulness of the trade soon silencing all doubts of the truth of her inspiration.

Some of her foremost adherents were veterans in credulity; they had been initiated in the mysteries of animal magnetism, had received spiritual circumcision from Brothers, and were thus doubly qualified for the part they were to act in this new drama of delusion. To accommodate them, Joanna confirmed the authenticity of this last fanatic's mission, and acknowledged him as King of the Hebrews,—but she dropt his whole mythology. Her heresy in its main part is not new. The opinion that redemption extended to men only and not to women, had been held by a Norman in the sixteenth century, as well as by the fair English heretic already mentioned. This man, in a book called *Virgo Veneta*, maintained that a female Redeemer was necessary for the daughters of Eve, and announced an old woman of Venice of his acquaintance as the Saviour of her sex. Bordonius, a century ago, broached even a worse heresy. In a work upon miracles, printed at Parma, he taught that women did not participate in the atonement, because they were of a different species from man, and were incapable of eternal life. Joanna and her followers are too ignorant to be acquainted with these her prototypes in blasphemy, and the whole merit of originality in her system must be allowed her, as indeed she has exceeded her forerunners in the audacity of her pretensions. She boldly asserts that she is the Woman in the Revelations, who has the moon under feet, and on her head
a crown

a crown of twelve stars; the twelve stars being her twelve apostles, who with the second dozen of believers make up her four-and-twenty elders. In her visitation it was told her, that the angels rejoiced at her birth, because she was born to deliver both men and angels from the insults of the devil. Let it be lawful for me to repeat these blasphemies, holding them up to merited abhorrence. The scheme of redemption, she says, is completed in her, and without her would be imperfect; by woman came the fall of man, by woman must come his redemption; woman plucked the evil fruit, and woman must pluck the good fruit; if the tree of knowledge was violated by Eve, the tree of life is reserved for Joanna. Eve was a bone from Adam, she is a bone from Christ the second Adam. She is the bride, the promised seed who is to bruise the serpent's head; she it is who claims the promise made at the creation, that woman should be the helpmate of man, and by her the Creator fulfils that promise, and acquits himself of the charge of having given to man the woman in vain. The evening star was placed in the firmament to be her type. While she arrogates so much to herself, she is proportionately liberal to her followers; they have been appointed to the four-and-twenty elderships: and to one of them, when he died, a higher character was more blasphemously attributed; she assured his relations that he was gone to plead the promises before the Lord: that to him was to be given the key of the bottomless pit, and that the time was at hand when he should be seen descending in the air,—for they knew not the meaning of our Saviour's words when he said, “Ye shall

see the Son of Man coming in the clouds, in power and great glory?”

The immediate object of her call is to destroy the devil: of this the devil was aware, and that it might not be said he had had foul play, a regular dispute of seven days was agreed on between him and Joanna, in which she was to be alone, and he to bring with him as many of the Powers of Darkness as he pleased: but he was not to appear visibly; for, as he did not choose to make his appearance on a former occasion when some of her elders went to give him the meeting, but had disappointed them, he was not to be permitted to manifest himself bodily now. The conditions were, that if she held out with argument against him for seven days, the woman should be freed and he fall; but if she yielded, Satan's kingdom was to stand, and a second fall of the human race would be the consequence. Accordingly, she went alone into a solitary house for this conference. Joanna was her own secretary upon this occasion, and the process-verbal of the conference has been printed, as literally taken down; for she was ordered to set down all his blasphemies, and show to the world what the language of hell is. It is by no means a polite language;—indeed the proficiency which Satan displays in the vulgar tongue is surprising.

Of all Joanna's books this is the most curious. Satan brought a friend with him, and they made up a story for themselves which has some ingenuity. “It is written,” said they, “Be still, and know that I am God;” this still-worship did not suit Satan; he was a lively cheerful spirit, full of mirth and gaiety, which the Lord could not bear, and therefore cast him out of heaven. This, according

according to Apollyon's account of heaven, could have been no great evil. "Thou knowest," he says, "it is written of God, he is a consuming fire, and who can dwell in everlasting burnings? Our backs are not brass, nor our sinews iron, to dwell with God in heaven." The heaven therefore which men mistakingly desire, is in its nature the very hell of which they are so much afraid; and it is sufficient proof of the truth of all this, that the devil invites them to make themselves happy and lead a gay life, agreeably to his own cheerful disposition, whereas religion enjoins self-denial, penitence, and all things which are contrary to our natural inclinations. Satan accounted to Joanna for her inspiration by this solution: an evil spirit had loved her from her youth up, he found there was no other access to her heart than by means of religion; and, being himself able to foresee future events, imparted this knowledge to her in the character of a good spirit. This spirit, he said, was one which she had been well acquainted with; it was that of one Mr. Follart, who had told her if she would not have him for a husband he should die for her sake, and accordingly he had died. But this deception had now been carried so far that Satan was angry, and threatened, unless she broke her seals and destroyed her writings, he would tear her in pieces.

The conference terminated like most theological disputes. Both parties grew warm. Apollyon interfered, and endeavoured to accommodate matters, but without effect, and Joanna talked Satan out of all patience. She gave him, as he truly complained, ten words for

one, and allowed him no time to speak. All men, he said, were tired of her tongue already, and now she had tired the devil. This was not unreasonable; but he proceeded to abuse the whole sex, which would have been ungracious in any one, and in him was ungrateful. He said no man could tame a woman's tongue—the sands of an hour-glass did not run faster—it was better to dispute with a thousand men than with one woman. After this dispute she fasted forty days; but this fast, which is regarded by her believers as so miraculous, was merely a catholic lent, in which she abstained from fish as well as flesh.

The moon which is under her feet in the Revelations, typifies the devil: for the moon, it seems, having power to give light by night but not by day, is Satan's kingdom, and his dwelling-place; he, I conclude, being the very person commonly called the man in the moon, a conjecture of my own, which, you must allow, is strongly confirmed by his horns. Once, when the Lord made her the same promise as Herod had done to Herodias, she requested that Satan might be cut off from the face of the earth, as John the Baptist had been. This petition she was instructed to write, and seal it with three seals, and carry it to the altar when she received the sacrament! and a promise was returned that it should be granted. Her dreams are usually of the devil. Once she saw him like a pig with his mouth tied, at another time skinned his face with her nails after a fierce battle; once she bit off his fingers, and thought the blood sweet,—and once she dreamt she had fairly killed him. But neither has the promise of his destruction

destruction been as yet fulfilled, nor the dream accomplished.

This phrensy would have been speedily cured in our country; bread and water, a solitary cell, and a little wholesome discipline, are specifics in such cases. Mark the difference in England. No bishop interferes; she therefore boldly asserts that she has the full consent of the bishops to declare that her call is from God, because, having been called upon to disprove it, they keep silent. She who was used to earn her daily bread by daily labour, is now taken into the houses of her wealthy believers, regarded as the most blessed among women, carried from one part of England to another, and treated every where with reverence little less than idolatry. Meantime dictating books as fast as her scribes can write them down, she publishes them as fast as they are written, and the Joannians buy them as fast as they are published. Nor is this her only trade. The seals in the Revelations furnished her with a happy hint. She calls upon all persons "to sign their names for Christ's glorious and peaceable kingdom, to be established and to come upon earth, and his will to be done on earth as it is done in heaven, and for Satan's kingdom to be destroyed, which is the prayer and desire of Joanna Southcott." They who sign this are to be sealed. Now if this temporal sealing, which is mentioned by St. John in the Revelations, had been understood before this time, men would have begun sealing themselves without the visitation of the Spirit; and if she had not understood it and explained it now, it would have been more fatal for herself and for all mankind than the fall of Eve was. The

mystery of sealing is this: whosoever signs his name receives a sealed letter containing these words: *The Sealed of the Lord, the Elect, Precious, Man's Redemption, to inherit the Tree of Life, to be made Heirs of God, and Joint-heirs with Jesus Christ.* Signed Joanna Southcott. I know not what the price of this initiation is; but she boasts of having sealed above eight thousand persons, so that the trade is a thriving one.

And these things are believed in England! in England, where Catholic Christians are so heartily despised for superstition; in England, where the people think themselves so highly enlightened,—in this country of reason and philosophy and free inquiry! It is curious to observe how this age in which we live is denominated by every writer, just as its temper accords with his own views: with the Infidel, it is the Age of Reason; with the Churchman, the Age of Infidelity; with the Chemist, the Age of Philosophy; with Rulers, the Age of Anarchy; with the People, the Age of Oppression,—every one beholding the prospect through a coloured glass, and giving it sunshine or shade, frost or verdure, according to his own fancy; none looking round him and seeing it fairly as it is. Yet surely if we consider the ignorance of the great majority of the English, the want of anchorage for their faith, the want of able directors for their souls, the rapidity with which novelties of any kind are circulated throughout the country, the eagerness with which the credulous listen to every new blasphemy, the contemptuous indifference of the clergy to any blasphemy, provided it does not immediately threaten themselves,

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the unlimited toleration shewn to Jews, Gentiles, and Heretics of every description,—above all if we remember that every person has the power of comparing these delusive books with the Bible. of which they are instructed to consider themselves competent expounders,—we must acknowledge that there never was any country so favourable to the success of imposture and the growth of superstition, as this very age and this very England.

I have to add concerning Joanna, that she prophecies how she and her believers are to be tried in the ensuing year, and that this awful trial will be only second to that of our blessed Lord at Pilate's bar! What new juggle is in preparation I pretend not to divine. Thus much is certain, that her believers are proof against conviction, and you will agree with me in thinking no further trial necessary to prove that she and her abettors ought either to be punished as impostors, or silenced as lunatics.

The translator has been curious enough to inquire the event of this trial, which may be related in few words. None but her believers assembled; they provided an attorney to give their proceedings some of the ceremonials of legality, examined witnesses to prove the good character of the prophetess, signed a profession in belief of her,—and afterwards published an account of all this folly under the title of *The Trial of Joanna Southcott*. Joanna had predicted that at this trial she was to be cast into a trance; not thinking this convenient when the time appointed came, she had a revelation to say, that if any of her judges required it, the Lord would still en-

trance her, but that it would certainly be her death: and thus throwing herself upon the mercy of her own accomplices, it will easily be guessed that none among them insisted upon the proof. One of the company inquired whether Satan knew he was cast by this trial; as, in that case, it was to be presumed he would rage against her and her friends with the utmost of his fury. This gentleman would have been a good subject for a night-mare.

D. Manuel might well say that nothing but literal transcript could convey an idea of this woman's vulgarity and nonsense; witness the passages which he has selected.—*Tr.*

So, learned men, no more contend,
Till you have seen all clear,
The Woman clothed with the Sun
A wonder to you here.
So, in amaze, you all may gaze,
As Adam did at first,
To see the bone to him unknown,
The woman there was placed.
The woe you see, she brought on he,
And the first woe for man;—
But how shall Satan now get free;
She casts her woe on man.—
Though 'twas not she, I must tell ye,
Did cast the woe on man;
The serpent was condemned by she,
And there her woe must come.

It is speaking within compass to say, that she has sent into the world above twenty thousand of such verses as these, as the dictates of the Spirit!

What follows is in the words of one of her chosen disciples:—"On Monday morning Joanna received a letter from Exeter, which informed her she would have Mr. Jones's answer about Mr. Pomeroy in the evening; and her fears for him flung her into a violent agitation; every nerve in her shook, and she fell

sick as though she would have fainted away. She could not keep in her bed, but laid herself on the floor in agonies, and said she knew not whether to pity or condemn him; but at last got up in a rage against the Devil, and said her revenge would be sweet to see the Devil chained down, and she should like, with a sharp sword, to cut him in pieces. She then got into bed, exclaiming against the clergy, and asked for a glass of wine; but she brought it up immediately. Soon after the bason was set upon the bed, she took it up and dashed it violently across the room,

and broke it to pieces. After that she had some lamb brought up for her dinner; she tried to swallow a mouthful but could not, but spit it into another bason, and said she could neither swallow the wine nor the lamb, but found the fury of the Lord break in upon her, and she dashed the second bason on the floor. She then said she felt herself happier and easier since she had broken both the basons; for so would the Lord, in his anger, break the clergy."

This is from a book with the following curious title :

MR. JOSEPH SOUTHCOTT,

THE BROTHER OF

JOANNA SOUTHCOTT,

WILL NOW COME FORWARD AS DINAH'S BRETHREN DID,

THAT THEY SHALL NOT DEAL WITH HIS SISTER

AS THEY WOULD WITH A HARLOT,

FOR SO THEY ARE NOW DEALING WITH HER.

AND HE WILL PROVE TO THE WORLD WHERE THE

ADULTERY IS COMMITTED, BY MEN WHO ARE

UNCIRCUMCISED IN HEART AND LIFE :

AND NOW HE WILL EXPEND ALL THAT HE HAS

IN THE WORLD, IF REQUIRED, IN THE HONEST

DEFENCE OF HER CHARACTER, TILL HE HAS SLAIN

THE UNCIRCUMCISED PHILISTINES,

AND ENTIRELY FREED HIS SISTER FROM THE

REPROACHES OF THEIR ADULTERY.

A few flowers of infernal eloquence should be added from The Dispute with the Powers of Darkness. Satan says to her, "Thou infamous b—ch! thou hast been flattering God that he may stand thy friend. Such low cunning art I despise.—Thou wheening devil! stop thy d—mn'd eternal tongue; thou runnest on so fast all the Devils in Hell cannot keep up with thee.—God hath done something to chuse a b—ch of a woman that will down-argue the Devil, and scarce give him

room to speak."—It may truly be said, in Joanna's own words, "*If the woman is not ashamed of herself, the Devil cannot shame her.*"

If the language of Joanna herself is grovelling in the very mud and mire of baseness and vulgarity, one of her elders has soared into the sublime of frenzy. The passage is long, but deserves insertion, as, perhaps, there does not exist elsewhere so complete a specimen of a prophet rampant. The gentleman begins in some plain prose reflections upon the Fall, and

gues

goes on addressing the Devil, till he has worked himself up, and begins thus to rave in rhythm.

“—Then where’s thy ground on earth? receive thy doom, the pit, there twist in flames, and there thy like deceive!—Then Cain receive thy doom from Abel’s blood. Then where is Paraoth and his host? Judge then, need Moses fear! Where is the Lion fallen! and the pit has oped its mouth,—the covering’s dropt;—the Lamb has nought to fear—then roar no more to shake the earth and sea. Where now’s the eagle and vultur’d host—thy wings are pluck’d on earth, she stands defenceless, the fatal net beneath—The Dove now has protection; she ranges earth and sea, and soars aloft unhurt, unfear’d, to carry peace to all.—The Ark is opened now, she brings the olive branch,—the floods are past, where’s now the giant race?—Who pressed on Lot? ’Twas thee the proud oppressor! Where art thou now?—Where is thy pride and city? Knowest thou the words, come out! come out! let Sodom feel its doom. Where now is Lot? At Zoar safe! Where is his wife? Is she not salt all?—The writing’s on the wall.—Thou lewdly revellest with the bowls of God.—Thy kingdom’s past away—Now see my Daniel rise—Who cast him in the den?—’Twas thee—Thou rolledst the stone, thou sealedst his doom—the roaring Lion thee! Then let the stone return, the seal be broke, and go thou in his stead. Where is the image gold and Bel? Where is proud Babel’s builder? Confusion is thy name: confusion is thy doom! Let Bel asunder burst! the pitch, and tar, and walls of wood expose thy make, deceit, and craft,—and pass in flames away. The God of Daniel stands—Daniel rise up!—

Six days are past—the seventh now is here—seven times refined and purified—in innocency come.—The emerald, unhurt in fire, displays great Judah’s son.—Let Urim’s light and Thummim shine in bright perfection’s day. The twelve men stand upon the plate—the fourth denotes great Judah’s son, who is the rightful heir. The stones denote old Jacob’s sons, their light and quality—they shine as stars in Jesus’ crown upon the Woman’s head.—The Sun unveil’d shall now arise—The Moon from scarlet shall emerge—The stars from darkness now appear to light the midnight hour—Then where art thou, O Satan! Where are thy heads, and horns, and dragon’s tail, which slew and hurt the living stars! Where are thy rays of fire—thy watery floods—behold they are past away—The woman’s fears of thee are o’er—the wilderness receives her child, whose iron rod now feel. The pit has oped its mouth—thou now art cast, shut up and sealed—the saints now judge the earth. The Omnipotent is here in power and spirit in the word—The sword, white horse, and King of Kings has drawn the flaming sword! Rejoice, ye saints, rejoice! The Beast and Dragon, mountain, tree, no more shall hurt, devour, becloud, the saint, the gold, and vine. The gold and gems appear—The mighty earthquake now displays the hidden Son of God. The rod and smitten rock gush forth, and smite and slay, and make alive, now saves and now destroys. The cloud and glory, Jonah’s sign, display the virtues of the word, the light and darkness shews. The Gospel brings the light, and life, and death—and death as men obey or mock. The six denotes the suffering time to shew the Son of Man—The sign within the

the sun—The fowls now feast on thee! Then where's thy former reign? Beneath the rod of Moses see thy fall from Heaven's height. Son of the Morning, Lucifer, no more oppress—be thou a fallen star! Great Gog and Agag, where are ye? The walls of Jericho art thou; fall flat! Joshua's ram's horns, the seven and twelve, pass Jordan's stream.—Where is the Lion, Bear, Goliath huge, but in the center thee. David appears, a stripling youth, now tears, and slays, and slings the stone, and smites thy dragon's head. Now see great David's reign—The temple's stones, unhewed by man in those days, unite, the King of Peace amidst the seven in oil unite, and in a stone with seven eyes appears. The stately fabric now is laid, founded and topped with gems of every hue. The ark of Moses now is built—The words, the laws, the sceptre, all unite, and Aaron's budding rod—He now is chosen; eat the bread, prepare the sacrifice. John eats the book which sweet and bitter is—He prophesies; the temple metes, and stands before the Lamb. The temple measures, and anoints, and Moses' tabernacle. The witnesses, Matthew and John, as olive trees appear—The broken stones of Moses now uplift, renewed in books arise from death—The Lord's anointed reigns—The rods, or laws, of Ephraim ten, unite in one and hold by Judah's skirt—The Son of Man o'er Israel reigns—The dry bones now arise—Here ends thy earthly reign—The bond of union now is come—The marriage ring appears—The bride is come—The bridegroom now receives the marriage seal—The Law and Gospel now unite—The Moon

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and Sun appear—Caleb and Joshua pass the stream in triumph to restore. Where now thou Canaanite art thou? Where all thy maddened crew?

“Hittites, be gone! no more appear to hurt, or to annoy;
Now Israel's sons in peace succeed, and Canaan's land enjoy.
Behold from Edom I appear with garments dipt in blood;
My sons are freed and saved, and wash'd amidst the purple flood.
The law, or moon, imperfect was to save—
But now the star points dead men to the grave.

“Mercy benign appears—The Gospel Sun embraces all—The Spirit and the Bride invite, and offer wine and milk—but not to mockers here. Infinity of love and grace! Gentiles and Jews unite, no more from love to part. Six days are past—Peter, and James, and John, behold my glory in my word.

“The Law and Prophets now are seen with Jesus' word to shine,
But what hast thou, thou serpent here, to do with love benign?

“Tremble and flee, 'tis done. The seals are burst—the vials pour and end thy destiny.

“These are a small part of the thoughts of the judgments of God pronounced on Satan,” concludes the writer, who is a gentleman of vast respectability.

One of her books has the title printed on the last page, because it was ordered that the book should contain neither more nor less than forty-eight pages.—Another has a seal in the middle of it bearing the letters J. C.—the J., it is said, being meant for Jesus and Joanna!!

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Keswick,

Keswick, and its Lake.—Lodore Waterfall.—Ascent of Skiddaw. From the same, Vol. II.

From Penrith to Keswick is four leagues and a half ; and as we were told there was no place where we could breakfast upon the way, we lay in bed till a later hour than would otherwise have beseeemed pedestrians. The views were uninteresting after such scenery as we had lately passed, yet as we were returning to the mountainous country, they improved as we advanced. Our road laid under one very fine mountain called Saddleback, and from every little eminence we beheld before us in the distance the great boundaries of the vale of Keswick. At length, after walking five hours, we ascended the last hill, and saw the vale below us with its lake and town, girt round with mountains even more varied in their outline, and more remarkably grouped than any which we had left behind. It was beginning to rain, and to confess the truth we derived more satisfaction from the sight of the town, than from the wonders around it. Joyfully we reached the inn to which our trunks had been directed from Ambleside, but our joy was in no slight degree damped by the unwelcome intelligence that the house was full. Was there another inn ?—that was full also ; the town was crowded with company :—but if we would walk in they would endeavour to procure us beds. In a few minutes word was brought us that they had procured one bed, if we had no objection to sleep together,—and if we had it seemed there was no alternative. We were assured for our comfort that strangers had some-

times slept in their carriages. Accordingly we were conducted to our apartment, which proved to be at the house of the barber.

The barber in England is not the important personage he is in our country ; he meddles with no surgical instruments, and the few who draw teeth practise exclusively among the poor, and are considered as degrading the profession ;—still the barber is a person of importance every where. Our host was as attentively civil as a man could be, and partly out of compliment to him, partly from a fancy to be shaved in the English fashion, I submitted my chin to him. Barbers-basons it seems are as obsolete here as helmets, and Don Quixote must in this country have found some other pretext for attacking a poor shaver. Instead of rubbing the soap upon the face, he used a brush ; this mode of operating is not so cleanly as our own, but it is more expeditious. We find him of great use in directing our movements here. He has been a sailor ; was in the famous action against the Comte de Grasse, and after having been in all parts of the world, returned at last to his native place, to pass the remainder of his days in this humbler but more gainful employment. His wife was as active as himself in serving us ; our trunks were presently brought up, —the table laid,—dinner brought from the inn ;—and though we might have wished for a larger apartment, which was not to serve for bed-room as well, yet the behaviour of these people was so unlike that of inn waiters, and had so much the appearance of real hospitality, that the gratification of seeing it was worth some little inconvenience.

venience. The room is very neat, and bears marks of industrious frugality ;—it has a carpet composed of shreds of list of different colours, and over the chimney-piece is the portrait of one of the admirals under whom our host had served.

It rained all night, and we were congratulated upon this, because the waterfall of Lodore, the most famous in all this country, would be in perfection. As soon as we had breakfasted a boat was ready for us, and we embarked on the lake, about half a mile from the town. A taste for the picturesque, if I may so far flatter myself as to reason upon it from self observation, differs from a taste for the arts in this remarkable point,—that instead of making us fastidious, it produces a disposition to receive delight, and teaches us to feel more pleasure in discovering beauty, than connoisseurs enjoy in detecting a fault. I have oftentimes been satiated with works of art ; a collection of pictures fatigues me, and I have regarded them at last rather as a task than as a pleasure. Here, on the contrary, the repetition of such scenes as these heightens the enjoyment of them. Every thing grows upon me. I become daily more and more sensible of the height of the mountains, observe their forms with a more discriminating eye, and watch with increased pleasure the wonderful changes they assume under the effect of clouds or of sunshine.

The Lake of Keswick has this decided advantage over the others which we have seen, that it immediately appears to be what it is. Winandermere and Ulswater might be mistaken for great rivers, nor indeed can the whole extent of either

be seen at once ; here you are on a land-locked bason of water, a league in length, and about half as broad,—you do not wish it to be larger, the mirror is in perfect proportion to its frame. Skiddaw, the highest and most famous of the English mountains, forms its northern boundary, and seems to rise almost immediately from its shore, though it is at the nearest point half a league distant, and the town intervenes. One long mountain, along which the road forms a fine terrace, reaches nearly along the whole of its western side ; and through the space between this and the next mountain, which in many points of view appears like the lower segment of a prodigious circle, a lovely vale is seen which runs up among the hills. But the pride of the Lake of Keswick is the head, where the mountains of Borrowdale bound the prospect, in a wilder and grander manner than words can adequately describe. The cataract of Lodore thunders down its eastern side through a chasm in the rocks, which are wooded with birch and ash trees. It is a little river, flowing from a small lake upon the mountains about a league distant. The water, though there had been heavy rains, was not adequate to the channel ; indeed it would require a river of considerable magnitude to fill it,—yet it is at once the finest work and instrument of rock and water that I have ever seen or heard. At a little public-house near where the key of the entrance is kept, they have a cannon to display the echo ; it was discharged for us, and we heard the sound rolling round from hill to hill,—but for this we pay four shillings,—which are very nearly a peso duro. So that En-

glish echoes appear to be the most expensive luxuries in which a traveller can indulge. It is true there was an inferior one which would have cost only two shillings and sixpence; but when one buys an echo, who would be content for the sake of saving eighteen pence, to put up with the second best, instead of ordering at once the super-extra-double-superfine?

We walked once more at evening to the Lake side. Immediately opposite the quay is a little island with a dwelling house upon it. A few years ago it was hideously disfigured with forts and batteries, a sham church, and a new drudical temple, and except a few fir-trees the whole was bare. The present owner has done all which a man of taste could do in removing these deformities: the church is converted into a toll-house, the forts demolished, the batteries dismantled, the stones of the drudical temple employed in forming a bank, and the whole island planted. There is something in this place more like the scenes of enchantment in the books of chivalry than like any thing in our ordinary world,—a building the exterior of which promised all the conveniences and elegancies of life, surrounded with all ornamental trees, in a little island the whole of which is one garden, and that in this lovely lake, girt round on every side with these awful mountains. Immediately behind it is the long dark western mountain called Brandelow: the contrast between this and the island which seemed to be the palace and garden of the lady of the lake, produced the same sort of pleasure that a tale of enchantment excites, and we beheld it under circumstances which heightened its wonders, and gave

the scene something like the unreality of a dream. It was a bright evening, the sun shining, and a few white clouds hanging motionless in the sky. There was not a breath of air stirring, not a wave,—a ripple or wrinkle on the lake, so that it became like a great mirror, and represented the shores, mountains, sky and clouds so vividly, that there was not the slightest appearance of water. The great mountain-opening being reversed in the shadow became a huge arch, and through that magnificent portal the long vale was seen between mountains and bounded by mountain beyond mountain, all this in the water, the distance perfect as in the actual scene,—the single houses standing far up in the vale, the smoke from their chimneys—every thing the same, the shadow and the substance joining at their bases, so that it was impossible to distinguish where the reality ended and the image began. As we stood on the shore, heaven and the clouds and the sun seemed lying under us; we were looking down into a sky, as heavenly and as beautiful as that overhead, and the range of mountains, having one line of summit under our feet and another above us, were suspended between two firmaments.

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This morning we inquired as anxiously about the weather as if we had been on shipboard, for the destined business of the day was to ascend the great Skiddaw. After suffering hopes and fears, as sunshine or cloud seemed to predominate, off we set with a boy to guide us. The foot of the mountain lies about a mile from the town; the way for the first stage is along a green path of gradual and uninterrupted

rupted ascent, on the side of a green declivity. At the northern end of the vale there is another lake called Bassenthwaite closed in like a wedge between two mountains, and bounding the view ; the vale with both its lakes opened upon us as we ascended. The second stage was infinitely more laborious, being so steep, though still perfectly safe, that we were many times forced to halt for breath, and so long that before we had completed it the first ascent seemed almost levelled with the vale. Having conquered this, the summit appeared before us, but an intervening plain, about a mile across, formed the third stage of the journey ; this was easy travelling over turf and moss. The last part was a ruder ascent over loose stones with gray moss growing between them,—on the immediate summit there is no vegetation. We sat down on a rude seat formed by a pile of the stones, and enjoyed a boundless prospect,—that is, one which extended as far as the reach of the human eye, but the distance was dim and indistinct. We saw the sea through a hazy atmosphere, and the smoke of some towns upon the coast about six leagues off ; when we were directed where to look for them : the Scotch mountains appeared beyond like clouds, and the Isle of Man, we were told, would have been visible had the weather been clearer. The home scene of mountains was more impressive, and in particular the lake of Bassenthwaite lying under a precipice beneath us. They who visit the summit usually scratch their names upon one of the loose stones which form the back to this rude seat. We felt how natural and how vain it was to leave behind us these rude memorials, which

so few could possibly see, and of those few in all human probability none would recognise,—yet we followed the example of our predecessors. There are three such seats upon the three points of the mountain ; all which we visited. It is oftentimes piercingly cold here, when the weather is temperate in the vale. This inconvenience we did not perceive, for the wind was in the south,—but it brought on rain as we were descending, and thoroughly wetted us before we reached home.

After dinner, as the rain still continued, and we could not go further from home, we went to see an exhibition of pictures of the lakes, a few doors distant. There were several views of one called Waswater, which is so little visited that our book of directions is silent concerning it. It seemed to us however to be of so striking a character, and so different from all which we have yet seen, that we consulted with our host concerning the distance and the best mode of getting there, and have accordingly planned a route which is to include it, and which we shall commence to-morrow.

The people here wear shoes with wooden soles. D., who had never seen any thing of the kind before, was inclined to infer from this that the inhabitants were behind the rest of England in improvement ; till I asked him whether in a country so subject to rain as by experience we knew this to be, a custom which kept the feet dry ought not to be imputed to experience of its utility rather than to ignorance ; and if, instead of their following the fashions of the south of England, the other peasantry would not do wisely in imitating them.

POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1806.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. *Poet-Laureat.*

WHEN ardent zeal for virtuous fame,
 When virtuous honour's holy flame,
 Sit on the gen'rous warrior's sword,
 Weak is the loudest lay the Muse can sing;
 His deeds of valour to record ;
 And weak the boldest flight of Fancy's wing :--
 Far above her high career,
 Upborne by worth th' immortal chief shall rise,
 And to the lay-enraptur'd ear
 Of seraphs, list'ning from th' empyreal sphere,
 Glory, her hymn divine, shall carol through the skies.

For though the Muse in all unequal strain*
 Sung of the wreaths that Albion's warriors bore
 From ev'ry region and from ev'ry shore,
 The naval triumphs of her George's reign—
 Triumphs by many a valiant son
 From Gaul, Iberia, and Batavia won ;
 Or by St. Vincent's rocky mound,
 Or sluggish Texel's shoaly sound ;
 Or Haffnia's† hyperborean wave,
 Or where Canopus' billows lave
 Th' Egyptian coast, while Albion's genius guides
 Her dauntless hero through the fav'ring tides,
 Where rocks, nor sands, nor tempests' roar,
 Nor batteries thund'ring from the shore,

* Alluding to a poem called *Naucratia*, written by the author, and dedicated by permission to his majesty.

† Copenhagen.

Arrest the fury of his naval war,
 When Glory shines the leading star ;
 Still higher deeds the lay recording claim,
 Still rise Britannia's sons to more exalted fame.

The fervid source of heat and light,
 Descending through the western skies,
 Though veil'd awhile from mortal sight,
 Emerging soon with golden beam shall rise,
 In orient climes with brighter radiance shine,
 And sow th' ethereal plains with flame divine.
 So, damp'd by Peace's transient smile,
 If Britain's glory seem to fade awhile,
 Yet, when occasion's kindling rays
 Relumine valour's gen'rous blaze,
 Higher the radiant flames aspire,
 And shine with clearer light, and glow with fiercer fire.

From Europe's shores th' insidious train,
 Eluding Britain's watchful eye,
 Rapid across th' Atlantic fly
 To Isles that stud the western main ;
 There proud their conqu'ring banners seem to rise,
 And fann'd by shadowy triumphs, flout the skies :
 But, lo ! th' avenging Pow'r appears,
 His victor flag immortal Nelson rears ;
 Swift as the raven's ominous race,
 Fly the strong eagle o'er th' ethereal space,
 The Gallic barks the billowy deep divide,
 Their conquests lost in air, o'erwhelm'd in shame their pride.

The hour of vengeance comes—by Gades' tow'rs,
 By high Trafalgar's ever-trophied shore,
 The godlike warrior on the adverse Pow'rs
 Leads his resistless fleet with daring prone.
 Terrific as th' electric bolt that flies
 With fatal shock athwart the thund'ring skies,
 By the mysterious will of Heaven
 On man's presuming offspring driven,
 Full on the scatter'd foe he hurls his fires,
 Performs the dread behest, and in the flash expires—

But not his fame—While chiefs who bleed
 For sacred duty's holy meed,
 With glory's amaranthine wreath,
 By weeping Victory crown'd in death,

In History's awful page shall stand
 Foremost amid th' heroic band ;
 Nelson ! so long thy hallow'd name
 Thy country's gratitude shall claim ;
 And while a people's Pæans raise
 To thee the choral hymn of praise,
 And while a patriot Monarch's tear
 Bedews and sanctifies thy bier,
 Each youth of martial hopes shall feel
 True valour's animating zeal ;
 With emulative wish thy trophies see,
 And heroes, yet unborn, shall Britain owe to thee.

ODE FOR THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

LONG did chill Winter's dreary reign
 Usurp the promis'd hours of Spring ;
 Long Eurus o'er the russet plain
 Malignant wav'd his noisome wing.
 O'er April's variegated day
 The frolic zephyrs fear'd to play ;
 Th' alternate change of suns and showers
 Call'd not to life her silken flowers ;
 But arm'd with whirlwind, frost, and hail,
 Winter's ungenial blasts prevail,
 And check her vernal powers.

But o'er the renovated plain
 See Maia lead her smiling train
 Of halcyon hours along ;
 While burst from every echoing grove
 Loud strains of harmony and love,
 Preluding to the choral song,
 Which opening June shall votive pour
 To hail with proud acclaim our Monarch's natal hour.

Still must that day, to Britain dear,
 To Britons joy impart ;
 Cloudy or bright, that day shall wear
 The sunshine of the heart.
 And as before the fervid ray
 That genial glows in summer skies,
 Each cloud that veil'd the beam of day
 Far from the azure welkin flies :

So may each cheerless mist that seems
 Awhile to cloud our prospects fair,
 Dispell'd by Hope's enlivening beams,
 Our brightening ether fly, and melt away in air.

Awhile though Fortune adverse frown—
 By timid friends their cause betray'd,
 With bosom firm and undismay'd,
 On force depending all their own,
 A living rampire round their parent Lord,
 The British warriors grasp th' avenging sword ;
 While youths of royal hope demand the fight,
 To assert a Monarch and a Father's right.
 United in one patriot band,
 From Albion's, Erin's, Caledonia's land,
 Elate in arms indignant shine
 The kindred heroes of the Briton line,
 To whelm invasion 'neath our circling flood,
 Or stain our verdant fields with Gallia's hostile blood.

THE LAST MINSTREL.

(From the Lay of the Last Minstrel).

By WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

THE way was long, the wind was cold,
 The Minstrel was infirm and old ;
 His withered cheek, and tresses gray,
 Seemed to have known a better day ;
 The harp his sole remaining joy
 Was carried by an orphan boy ;
 The last of all the Bards was he,
 Who sung of Border chivalry.
 For well-a-day ! their date was fled,
 His tuneful brethren all were dead ;
 And he neglected and oppressed,
 Wished to be with them, and at rest.
 No more, on prancing palfrey borne,
 He carolled, light as lark at morn ;
 No longer courted and caressed,
 High placed in hall, a welcome guest,
 He poured, to lord and lady gay,
 The unpremeditated lay ;
 Old times were changed, old manners gone,
 A stranger filled the Stuarts' throne ;

The

The bigots of the iron time
 Had called his harmless art a crime.
 A wandering Harper, scorned and poor,
 He begged his bread from door to door;
 And tuned, to please a peasant's ear,
 The harp, a king had loved to hear.

He passed where Newark's stately tower
 Looks out from Yarrow's birchen bower :
 The Minstrel gazed with wishful eye—
 No humbler resting-place was nigh.
 With hesitating step, at last,
 The embattled portal-arch he passed,
 Whose ponderous grate and massy bar
 Had oft rolled back the tide of war,
 But never closed the iron door
 Against the desolate and poor.
 The duchess* marked his weary pace,
 His timid mein, and reverend face,
 And bade her page the menials tell,
 That they should tend the old man well :
 For she had known adversity,
 Though born in such a high degree ;
 In pride of power, in beauty's bloom,
 Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb !

When kindness had his wants supplied,
 And the old man was gratified,
 Began to rise his minstrel pride :
 And he began to talk anon,
 Of good earl Francis†, dead and gone,
 And of earl Walter‡, rest him God !
 A braver ne'er to battle rode :
 And how, full many a tale he knew,
 Of the old warriors of Buccleuch ;
 And, would the noble duchess deign
 To listen to an old man's strain,
 Though stiff his hand, his voice though weak,
 He thought even yet, the sooth to speak,
 That, if she loved the harp to hear,
 He could make music to her ear.

* Anne, duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, representative of the ancient lords of Buccleuch, and widow of the unfortunate James, duke of Monmouth, who was beheaded in 1685.

† Francis Scott, earl of Buccleuch, father of the duchess.

‡ Walter, earl of Buccleuch, grandfather of the duchess, and a celebrated warrior.

The humble boon was soon obtained ;
 The aged minstrel audience gained.
 But, when he reached the room of state,
 Where she, with all her ladies, sate,
 Perchance he wished his boon denied :
 For, when to tune his harp he tried,
 His trembling hand had lost the ease,
 Which marks security to please ;
 And scenes, long past, of joy and pain,
 Came wildering o'er his aged brain—
 He tried to tune his harp in vain.
 The pitying duchess praised its chime,
 And gave him heart, and gave him time,
 Till every string's according glee
 Was blended into harmony.
 And then, he said, he would full fain
 He could recal an ancient strain,
 He never thought to sing again.
 It was not framed for village churls,
 But for high dames and mighty earls ;
 He had played it to King Charles the Good,
 When he kept court in Holyrood ;
 And much he wished, yet feared, to try
 The long forgotten melody.

Amid the strings his fingers strayed,
 And an uncertain warbling made,
 And oft he shook his hoary head.
 But when he caught the measure wild,
 The old man raised his face, and smiled ;
 And lightened up his faded eye,
 With all a poet's extasy !
 In varying cadence, soft or strong,
 He swept the sounding chords along :
 The present scene, the future lot,
 His toils, his wants, were all forgot :
 Cold diffidence, and age's frost,
 In the full tide of song were lost ;
 Each blank, in faithless memory void,
 The poet's glowing thought supplied ;
 And, while his harp responsive rung,
 'Twas thus the Latest Minstrel sung.

* * * * *

MELROSE ABBEY AND THE CHARM OF THE WIZARD,

MICHAEL SCOTT.

(From the same.)

I.

IF thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,
 Go visit it by the pale moon-light;
 For the gay beams of lightsome day
 Gild, but to flout, the ruins gray.
 When the broken arches are black in night,
 And each shafted oriel glimmers white;
 When the cold light's uncertain shower
 Streams on the ruined central tower;
 When buttress and buttress, alternately,
 Seem framed of ebony and ivory;
 When silver edges the imagery,
 And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
 When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
 And the owlet to hoot o'er the dead man's grave,
 Then go—but go alone the while—
 Then view St. David's ruined pile;
 And, home returning, soothly swear,
 Was never scene so sad and fair!

II.

Short halt did Deloraine make there;
 Little recked he of the scene so fair.
 With dagger's hilt, on the wicket strong,
 He struck full loud, and struck full long.
 The porter hurried to the gate—
 “Who knocks so loud, and knocks so late?”
 “From Branksome I,” the warrior cried;
 And strait the wicket opened wide:
 For Branksome's chiefs had in battle stood,
 To fence the rights of fair Melrose;
 And lands and livings, many a rood,
 Had gifted the shrine for their souls' repose.

III.

Bold Deloraine his errand said;
 The porter bent his humble head;
 With torch in hand, and feet unshod,
 And noiseless step, the path he trode:
 The arched cloisters, far and wide,
 Rang to the warrior's clanking stride;
 Till, stooping low his lofty crest,
 He entered the cell of the ancient priest, And

And lifted his barred aventayle,*
To hail the monk of St Mary's aisle.

IV.

"The ladye of Branksome greets thee by me ;
Says, that the fated hour is come,
And that to-night I shall watch with thee,
To win the treasure of the tomb."—
From sackcloth couch the monk arose,
With toil his stiffened limbs he reared ;
A hundred years had flung their snows
On his thin lock and floating beard.

V.

And strangely on the knight looked he,
And his blue eyes gleamed wild and wide ;
"And, dar'st thou, warrior ! seek to see
What heaven and hell alike would hide ?
My breast, in belt of iron pent,
With shirt of hair and scourge of thorn ;
For threescore years, in penance spent,
My knees those flinty stones have worn ;
Yet all too little to atone
For knowing what should ne'er be known :
Would'st thou thy every future year
In ceaseless prayer and penance dree,
Yet wait thy latter end with fear—
Then, daring warrior, follow me !"—

VI.

"Penance, father, will I none ;
Prayer know I hardly one ;
For mass or prayer can I rarely tarry,
Save to patter an Ave Mary,
When I ride on a Border foray ;
Other prayer can I none ;
So speed me my errand, and let me begone."—

VII.

Again on the knight looked the churchman old,
And again he sighed heavily ;
For he had himself been a warrior bold,
And fought in Spain and Italy,
And he thought on the days that were long since by,
When his limbs were strong, and his courage was high :—

* *Aventayle*, visor of the helmet.

Now,

Now, slow and faint, he led the way,
 Where, cloistered round, the garden lay;
 The pillared arches were over their head,
 And beneath their feet were the bones of the dead.

VIII.

Spreading herbs, and flowerets bright,
 Glistened with the dew of night;
 Nor herb, nor floweret, glistened there,
 But was carved in the cloister-arches as fair.
 The monk gazed long on the lovely moon,
 Then into the night he looked forth;
 And red and bright the streamers light
 Were dancing in the glowing north.
 So had he seen, in fair Castile,
 The youth in glittering squadrons start;
 Sudden the flying jennet wheel,
 And hurl the unexpected dart.
 He knew, by the streamers that shot so bright,
 That spirits were riding the northern light.

IX.

By a steel-clenched postern door,
 They entered now the chancel tall;
 The darkened roof rose high aloof
 On pillars lofty, and light, and small;
 The key-stone, that locked each ribbed aisle,
 Was a fleur-de-lys, or a quatre-feuille;
 The corbells * were carved grotesque and grim;
 And the pillars with clustered shafts so trim,
 With base and with capital flourished around,
 Seemed bundles of lances which garlands had bound.

X.

Full many a scutcheon and banner, riven,
 Shook to the cold night-wind of heaven,
 Around the screened altar's pale;
 And there the dying lamps did burn,
 Before thy low and lonely urn,
 O gallant chief of Otterburne,
 And thine, dark knight of Liddesdale!
 O fading honours of the dead!
 O high ambition, lowly laid!

* *Corbells*, the projections from which the arches spring, usually cut in a fantastic face, or mask.

XI.

The moon on the east oriel shone,
Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
By foliated tracery combined ;
Thou woudst have thought some fairy's hand
'Twixt poplars straight the ozier wand,
In many a freakish knot, had twined ;
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow wreaths to stone.
The silver light so pale and faint,
Shewed many a prophet, and many a saint,
Whose image on the glass was dyed ;
Full in the midst, his cross of red
Triumphant Michael brandished,
And trampled the apostate's pride.
The moon-beam kissed the holy pane,
And threw on the pavement a bloody stain.

XII.

They sate them down on a marble stone,
A Scottish monarch slept below ;
Thus spoke the monk, in solemn tone :—
“ I was not always a man of woe ;
For Paynim countries I have trod,
And fought beneath the Cross of God ;
Now, strange to mine eyes thine arms appear,
And their iron clang sounds strange to my ear.

XIII.

“ In these far climes, it was my lot
To meet the wond'rous Michael Scott ;
A wizard of such dreaded fame,
That when, in Salamanca's cave,
Him listed his magic wand to wave,
The bells would ring in Notre Dame !
Some of his skill he taught to me ;
And, warrior, I could say to thee
The words that cleft Eildon hills in three,
And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone :
But to speak them were a deadly sin ;
And for having but thought them my heart within,
A treble penance must be done.

XIV.

“ When Michael lay on his dying bed,
His conscience was awakened ;

He bethought him of his sinful deed,
 And he gave me a sign to come with speed :
 I was in Spain when the morning rose,
 But I stood by his bed ere evening close.
 The words may not again be said,
 That he spoke to me, on death-bed laid ;
 They would rend this abbaye's massy nave,
 And pile it in heaps above his grave.

XV.

" I swore to bury his Mighty Book,
 That never mortal might therein look ;
 And never to tell where it was hid,
 Save at his chief of Branksome's need ;
 And when that need was past and o'er,
 Again the volume to restore.
 I buried him on St. Michael's night,
 When the bell tolled one, and the moon was bright ;
 And I dug his chamber among the dead,
 When the floor of the chancel was stained red,
 That his patron's cross might over him wave,
 And scare the fiends from the wizard's grave.

XVI.

" It was a night of woe and dread,
 When Michael in the tomb I laid !
 Strange sounds along the chancel past,
 The banners waved without a blast,"—
 —Still spoke the monk, when the bell tolled One !—
 I tell you, that a braver man
 Than William of Deloraine, good at need,
 Against a foe ne'er spurred a steed ;
 Yet somewhat was he chilled with dread,
 And his hair did bristle upon his head.

XVII.

" Lo, warrior ! now, the Cross of Red
 Points to the grave of the mighty dead ;
 Within it burns a wonderous light,
 To chase the spirits that love the night :
 That lamp shall burn unquenchably,
 Until the eternal doom shall be."—
 Slow mov'd the monk to the broad flag-stone,
 Which the bloody Cross was traced upon :
 He pointed to a secret nook ;
 An iron bar the warrior took ;
 And the monk made a sign with his withered hand,
 The grave's huge portal to expand.

XVIII.

With beating heart to the task he went ;
 His sinewy frame o'er the grave-stone bent ;
 With bar of iron heaved amain,
 Till the toil-drops fell from his brows, like rain.
 It was by dint of passing strength,
 That he moved the massy stone at length.
 I would you had been there, to see
 How the light broke forth so gloriously,
 Streamed upward to the chancel roof,
 And through the galleries far aloof !
 No earthly flame blazed e'er so bright ;
 It shone like heaven's own blessed light,
 And issuing from the tomb,
 Shewed the monk's cowl, and visage pale,
 Danced on the dark-brow'd warrior's mail,
 And kissed his waving plume.

XIX.

Before their eyes the wizard lay,
 As if he had not been dead a day.
 His hoary beard in silver rolled,
 He seemed some seventy winters old ;
 A palmer's amice wrapped him round,
 With a wrought Spanish baldric bound,
 Like a pilgrim from beyond the sea :
 His left hand held his Book of Might ;
 A silver cross was in his right ;
 The lamp was placed beside his knee :
 High and majestic was his look,
 At which the fellest fiends had shook,
 And all unruffled was his face :—
 They trusted his soul had gotten grace.

XX.

Often had William of Deloraine
 Rode through the battle's bloody plain,
 And trampled down the warriors slain,
 And neither known remorse or awe ;
 Yet now remorse and awe he own'd ;
 His breath came thick, his head swam round,
 When this strange scene of death he saw.
 Bewilder'd and unnerv'd he stood,
 And the priest prayed fervently, and loud :
 With eyes averted prayed he ;
 He might not endure the sight to see,
 Of the man he had loved so brotherly.

XXI.

And when the priest his death-prayer had prayed,
 Thus unto Deloraine he said :—
 “ Now, speed thee what thou hast to do,
 Or, warrior, we may dearly rue ;
 For those thou may’st not look upon,
 Are gathering fast round the yawning stone !”—
 Then Deloraine, in terror, took
 From the cold hand the Mighty Book,
 With iron clasped, and with iron bound :
 He thought as he took it the dead man frowned ;
 But the glare of the sepulchral light,
 Perchance had dazzled the warrior’s sight.

XXII.

When the huge stone sunk o’er the tomb,
 The night returned, in double gloom ;
 For the moon had gone down, and the stars were few ;
 And, as the knight and the priest withdrew,
 With wavering steps and dizzy brain,
 They hardly might the postern gain.
 ’Tis said, as through the aisles they passed,
 They heard strange noises on the blast ;
 And through the cloister-galleries small,
 Which at mid-height thread the chancel wall,
 Loud sobs, and laughter louder, ran,
 And voices unlike the voice of man ;
 As if the fiends kept holiday,
 Because these spells were brought to day.
 I cannot tell how the truth may be ;
 I say the tale as ’twas said to me.

FORCE OF LOVE.

(*From the Same.*)

I.

AND said I that my limbs were old ;
 And said I that my blood was cold,
 And that my kindly fire was fled,
 And my poor withered heart was dead,
 And that I might not sing of love ?—
 How could I to the dearest theme,
 That ever warmed a minstrel’s dream,
 So foul, so false, a recreant prove !
 How could I name love’s very name,
 Nor wake my heart to notes of flame !

II.

In peace, Love tunes the shepherd's reed ;
 In war, he mounts the warrior's steed ;
 In halls, in gay attire is seen ;
 In hamlets, dances on the green.
 Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
 And men below, and saints above ;
 For love is heaven, and heaven is love.

THE TWA CORBIES.

From the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

By WALTER SCOTT.

AS I was walking all alane,
 I heard twa corbies making a mane,
 The tane unto the t'other say,
 "Where sall we gang and dine to-day ?

"In behint yon auld fail * dykē,
 I wot there lies a new slain knight ;
 And nae body kens that he lies there,
 But his hawk, his hound, and lady fair.

"His hound is to the hunting gane,
 His hawk to fetch the wild fowl hame,
 His lady is ta'en another mate,
 So we may mak our dinner sweet.

"Ye'll sit on his white hause bane,
 And I'll pike out his bonny blue een :
 Wi' ae lock o' his gowden hair,
 We'll theek † our nest when it grows bare.

"Mony a one for him makes mane,
 But nane sall ken where he is gane :
 O'er his white banes, when they are bare,
 The wind sall blaw for evermair."

* Fail—Turf.

† Theek—Thatch.

THE DOUGLAS TRAGEDY.

(From the Same.)

“ **R**ISE up, rise up, now, lord Douglas,” she says,
 “ And put on your armour so bright,
 Let it never be said, that a daughter of thine
 Was married to a lord under night.

“ Rise up, rise up, my seven bold sons,
 And put on your armour so bright,
 And take better care of your youngest sister,
 For your eldest’s awa the last night.”

He’s mounted her on a milk white steed,
 And himself on a dapple grey,
 With a bugelet horn hung down by his side,
 And lightly they rode away.

Lord William look it o’er his left shoulder,
 To see what he could see,
 And there he spy’d her seven brethren bold
 Come riding over the lee.

“ Light down, light down, lady Marg’ret,” he said,
 And hold my steed in your hand,
 Until that against your seven brethren bold,
 And your father, I mak a stand.”

She held his steed in her milk-white hand,
 And never shed one tear,
 Until that she saw her seven brethren fa’,
 And her father hard fighting, who lov’d her so dear.

“ O hold your hand, lord William !” she said,
 “ For your strokes they are wond’rous sair;
 True lovers I can get many a ane,
 But a father I can never get mair.”

O she’s ta’en out her handkerchief,
 It was o’ the Holland sae fine,
 And ay she dighted her father’s bloody wounds,
 That were redder than the wine.

“ O chuse,

“ O chuse, O chuse, lady Marg’ret,” he said,
 “ O whether will ye gang or bide ?”
 “ I’ll gang, I’ll gang, lord William,” she said,
 “ For ye have left me no other guide.”

He’s lifted her on a milk-white steed,
 And himself on a dapple grey,
 With a bugelet horn hung down by his side,
 And slowly they baith rade away.

O they rade on, and on they rade,
 And a’ by the light of the moon,
 Until they came to yon wan water,
 And there they lighted down.

They lighted down to tak a drink,
 Of the spring that ran sae clear ;
 And down the stream ran his gude heart’s blood,
 And sair she gan to fear.

“ Hold up, hold up, lord William,” she says,
 “ For I fear that you are slain !”
 “ ’Tis naething but the shadow of my scarlet cloak,
 That shines in the water sae plain.”

O they rade on, and on they rade,
 And a’ by the light of the moon,
 Until they cam’ to his mother’s ha’ door,
 And there they lighted down.

“ Get up, get up, lady mother,” he says,
 “ Get up, and let me in !—
 Get up, get up, lady mother,” he says,
 “ For this night my fair lady I’ve win.

“ O mak my bed, lady mother,” he says,
 “ O mak it braid and deep !
 And lay lady Marg’ret close at my back,
 And the sounder I will sleep.”

Lord William was dead lang ere midnight,
 Lady Marg’ret lang ere day—
 And all true lovers that go thegither,
 May they have mair luck than they !

Lord William was buried in St. Marie's kirk,
 Lady Margaret in Mary's quire,
 Out o' the lady's grave grew a bonny red rose,
 And out o' the knight's a briar.

And they twa met, and they twa plat,
 And fain they wad be near;
 And a' the warld might ken right weel,
 They were twa lovers dear.

But bye and rade the Black Douglas,
 And wow but he was rough!
 For he pull'd up the bonny brier,
 And flang'd in St. Mary's loch.

YOUNG BENJIE.

(From the Same.)

OF a' the maids o' fair Scotland,
 The fairest was Marjorie;
 And young Benjie was her ae true love,
 And a dear true love was he.

And wow! but they were lovers dear,
 And loved fu' constantlie;
 But ay the mair when they fell out,
 The sairer was their plea*.

And they hae quarrelled on a day,
 Till Marjorie's heart grew wae,
 And she said she'd chuse another luvie,
 And let young Benjie gae.

And he was stout†, and proud-hearted,
 And thought o't bitterlie,
 And he's ga'en by the wan moon-light,
 To meet his Marjorie.

“ O open, open, my true love,
 O open and let me in!”

“ I dare na open, young Benjie,
 My three brothers are within.”

* *Plea*—Used obliquely for dispute.

† *Stout*—Through this whole ballad, signifies haughty.

“ Ye lied, ye lied, ye bonny burd,
 Sae loud’s I hear ye lie;
 As I came by the Lowden banks,
 They bade gude e’en to me.

“ But fare ye weel, my ae fause love,
 That I hae loved sae lang!
 It sets *ye chuse another love,
 And let young Benjie gang.”

Then Marjorie turned her round about,
 The tear blinding her ee,
 “ I dare na, dare na, let thee in,
 But I’ll come down to thee.”

Then saft she smiled, and said to him,
 “ O what ill hae I done?”
 He took her in his armis twa,
 And threw her o’er the lint.

The stream was strang, the maid was stout,
 And laith laith to be dang †,
 But, ere she wan the Lowden banks,
 Her fair colour was wan.

Then up bespak her eldest brother,
 “ O see na ye what I see?”
 And out then spak her second brother,
 “ Its our sister Marjorie!”

Out then spak her eldest brother,
 “ O how shall we her ken?”
 And out then spak her youngest brother,
 “ There’s a honey-mark on her chin.”

Then they’ve ta’en up the comely corpse,
 And laid it on the grund—
 “ O wha has killed our ae sister,
 And how can he be found?

“ The night it is her low lykewake,
 The morn her burial day,
 And we maun watch at mirk midnight,
 And hear what she will say.”

* Sets ye—Becomes you—ironical.

† Dang—defeated.

Wi' doors ajar, and candle light,
 And torches burning clear,
 The streikit corpse, till still midnight,
 They waked, but naething hear.

About the middle o' the night,
 The cocks began to crow,
 And at the dead hour o' the night,
 The corpse began to thraw.

" O wha has done thee wrang, sister,
 Or dared the deadly sin ?
 Wha was sae stout, and feared nae dout,
 As thraw ye o'er the linn ?"

" Young Benjie was the first ae man,
 I laid my love upon ;
 He was sae stout and proud-hearted,
 He threw me o'er the linn."

" Sall we young Benjie head, sister,
 Sall we young Benjie hang,
 Or, sall we pike out his twa grey een,
 And punish him ere he gang ?

" Ye mauna Benjie head, brothers,
 Ye mauna Benjie hang,
 But ye maun pike out his twa grey e'en,
 And punish him e'er he gang.

" Tie a green gravat round his neck,
 And lead him out and in,
 And the best ae servant about your house,
 To wait young Benjie on.

" And ay, at every seven year's end,
 Ye'll tak him to the linn ;
 For that's the penance he maun drie,
 To scug* his deadly sin."

* *Scug*—shelter or expiate.

APOLOGY

For the irregular Drama, by Don Felix de Vega Carpio, with a Translation by Henry-Richard Lord Holland.

MANDANME, ingenios nobles, flor de España,
 Que en esta junta y academia insigne
 En breve tiempo excederéis no solo
 A las de Italia, que, envidiando á Grecia,
 Ilustró Cicerón del mismo nombre
 Junto al averno lago, sino á Athenas
 A donde en su Platonico lyceo
 Se vió tan alta junta de philosophos,—
 Que un arte de comedias os escriba
 Que al estilo del vulgo se reciba.
 Facil parece este sujeto,—y facil
 Fuera para qualquiera de vosotros
 Que ha escrito ménos dellas, y mas sabe
 Del arte de escribirlas, y de todo,
 Que lo que á mi me daña en esta parte
 Es haberlas escrito sin el arte ;
 No por que yo ignorasse los preceptos,
 Gracias á Dios, que, ya tyrón gramático,
 Passé los libros que trataban desto
 Antes que huviesse visto al sol diez veces
 Discurrir des de el aries á los peces ;
 Mas porque en fin hallé que las comedias
 Estaban en España en aquel tiempo
 No como sus primeros inventores
 Pensáron que en el mundo se escribieran,
 Mas como las tratáron muchos barbaros
 Que enseñaron el vulgo á sus rudezas,
 Y assi se introduxéron de tal modo
 Que quien con arte ahora las escriba
 Muere sin fama y galardón ; que puede
 Entre los que carecen de su lumbré
 Mas que razón y fuerza la costumbre
 Verdad es que yo he escrito algunas veces
 Siguiendo el arte que conocen pocos ;
 Mas luego que salir por otra parte
 Veo los monstros de apariencias llenos ;
 A donde acude el vulgo y las mugeres,
 Que este triste exercicio canónizan,
 A aquel hábito bárbaro me vuelvo ;
 E quando he de escribir una comedia.
 Encierro los preceptos con seis llaves ;
 Saco á Terencio y Plauto de mi estudio

Para

Para que no me den voces, que suele
 Dar gritos la verdad en libros mudos ;
 Y escribo por el arte que inventaron,
 Los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron,
 Porque como los paga el vulgo, es justo
 Hablarle en necio para darle gusto.

Bright flow'rs of Spain, whose young academy
 Ere long shall that by Tully nam'd outvie,
 And match th' Athenian porch where Plato taught,
 Whose sacred shades such throngs of sages sought,—
 You bid me tell the art of writing plays
 Such as the crowd would please, and you might praise.
 The work seems easy—easy it might be
 To you who write not much, but not to me :
 For how can I the rules of art impart,
 Who for myself ne'er dreamt of rule or art ?
 Not but I studied all the ancient rules :
 Yes, God be praised ! long since, in grammar-schools,
 Scarce ten years old, with all the patience due,
 The books that subject treat I waded through :
 My case was simple.—In these latter days,
 The truant authors of our Spanish plays
 So wide had wander'd from the narrow road
 Which the strict fathers of the drama trod,
 I found the stage with barbarous pieces stor' :—
 The critics censur'd ; but the crowd ador'd.
 Nay more ; these sad corrupters of the stage
 So blinded taste, and so debauch'd the age,
 Who writes by rule must please himself alone,
 Be damn'd without remorse, and die unknown.
 Such force has habit—for the untaught fools,
 Trusting their own, despise the ancient rules.
 Yet, true it is, I too have written plays,
 The wiser few, who judge with skill, might praise :
 But when I see how show, and nonsense, draws
 The crowd's, and, more than all, the fair's applause,
 Who still are forward with indulgent rage
 To sanction every monster of the stage,
 I, doom'd to write, the public taste to hit,
 Resume the barbarous dress 'twas vain to quit :
 I lock up every rule before I write,
 Plautus and Terence drive from out my sight,
 Lest rage should teach these injur'd wits to join,
 And their dumb books cry shame on works like mine.
 To vulgar standards then I square my play,
 Writing at ease ; for, since the public pay,
 'Tis just, methinks, we by their compass steer,
 And write the nonsense that they love to hear.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT

From the Corona Trajica, a Poem on Mary Queen of Scots, with a Translation. By the same.

GRACIAS os debo dar, nobles varones,
 Por esta nueva aventura dixo ;
 Aunque terrible de sufrir lastima,
 Esta porcion mortal que el alma anima.

Confesso ingenuamente que si fuera
 En Francia ó en Escocia con mi esposo,
 Aunque en extrema edad, la nueva oyera,
 Me diera horror el caso lastimoso.

Mas cinco lustros de una carcel fiera,
 Donde solo escuchaba el temeroso
 Ruido de las armas circunstantes
 Y el miedo de la muerte por instantes.

Que genero de pena puede darla
 Mas pena que las penas en que vive
 A quien solo pudiera consolarla
 La muerte que la vida apercibe ?
 La muerte es menos pena que esperarla ;
 Una vez quien la sufre la recibe ;
 Pero por mucho que en valor se extreme
 Muchas veces le passa quien la teme.

Que noche en mi aposento recogida
 No vi la muerte en su silencio oscuro ?
 Que aurora amaneci6 de luz vestida
 Que el alma no assaltasse el flaco muro
 En que sustento no perdí la vida ?
 Que lugar para mi dexo seguro
 Naturaleza, sin ponerme luego
 Veneno al labio, ó á la torre fuego.

Ahora que ya ves á luz tan clara
 Llegar mi fin, carissimos amigos,
 Donde la vida en solo un golpe para
 Y de mi fe tendre tantos testigos
 Mi firme aspecto lo interior declara
 Y libre de asechanzas y enemigos
 La muerte esperaré, mejor dixera
 Que esperaré la vida quando muera.

Thanks for your news, illustrious lords, she cried ;
 I greet the doom that must my griefs decide :
 Sad though it be, though sense must shriek from pain,
 Yet the immortal soul the trial shall sustain.

But had the fatal sentence reach'd my ears
 In France, in Scotland, with my husband crown'd,
 Not age itself could have allayed my fears,
 And my poor heart had shudder'd at the sound.
 But now immur'd for twenty tedious years,
 Where nought my listening cares can catch around
 But fearful noise of danger and alarms,
 The frequent threat of death, and constant din of arms,

Ah ! what have I in dying to bemoan ?
 What punishment in death can they devise
 For her who living only lives to groan,
 And see continual death before her eyes ?
 Comfort's in death, where 'tis in life unknown ;
 Who death expects feels more than he who dies :—
 Though too much valour may our fortune try,
 To live in fear of death is many times to die.

Where have I e'er repos'd in silent night,
 But death's stern image stalk'd around my bed ?
 What morning e'er arose on me with light,
 But on my health some sad disaster bred ?
 Did fortune ever aid my war or flight,
 Or grant a refuge for my hapless head ?
 Still at my life some fearful phantom aim'd,
 My draughts with poison drugg'd, my towers with treachery flamed.

And now with fatal certainty I know
 Is come the hour that my sad being ends,
 Where life must perish with a single blow ;
 Then mark her death whom steadfast faith attends :
 My cheeks unchang'd, my inward calm shall show,
 While free from foes, serene, my generous friends,
 I meet my death—or rather I should say,
 Meet my eternal life, my everlasting day.

LOVE

LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT,

BY THE SAME,

Translated by the same.

N Odigan que es menester
 Mucho tiempo para amar ;
 Que el amor què ha de matar
 De un golpe ha de ser.
 Amor que comienza ingrato
 Y el trato le da valor,
 No se ha de llamar amor
 Sino costumbre de trato.
 El que vió quiso y mató
 Esse es amor verdadero,
 Y mas quando es el primero
 Como el que te tengo yo.
 Mirar, escribir, y hablar
 Años un galan y dama,
 Es hacer amor con ama
 Que se lo han dado á criar.
 Hombre ha de nacer Amor,
 Luego andar, y ser galan ;
 Que el Amor que no es Adan
 No ha de tener valor.

Marques de las Navas.

Let no one say that there is need
 Of time for love to grow ;
 Ah no ! the love that kills indeed
 Dispatches at a blow.

The spark which but by slow degrees
 Is nursed into a flame,
 Is habit, friendship, what you please ;
 But love is not its name.

For love to be completely true,
 It death at sight should deal,
 Should be the first one ever knew,
 In short, be that I feel.

To write, to sigh, and to converse,
 For years to play the fool ;
 'Tis to put passion out to nurse,
 And send one's heart to school.

Love,

Love, all at once, should from the earth
 Start up full grown and tall ;
 If not an Adam at his birth
 He is no love at all.

ON THE BIRTH DAY OF A LADY,

HAPPENING THE 20TH OF JANUARY,

BY JOHN PRINCE SMITH.

WINTER, parent of the year,
 Smooths his wonted aspect dear ;
 Piercing blasts no longer blow,
 Frozen streams begin to flow ;
 Hills, of late with snows opprest,
 To genial zephyrs bare the breast ;
 Sol revives his languid ray,
 To welcome Laura's natal day.

Spring no longer boast thy flowers,
 Balmy gales, and scented bowers,
 Evening walks and shady groves,
 Warbling songs of nestled love.
 Summer tell not of thy sweets,
 Sunny banks and cool retreats ;
 Streams that sweetly murm'ring glide.
 Freshness wafting with their tide ;
 Fragrance that from flow'ry beds,
 Zephyr breathes, and kindly spreads ;
 The boasted bloom that decks thy rose,
 But with Laura's blushes glows ;
 And thy lily's snowy dress,
 Her purer soul would ill express.

What if riper Autumn pours,
 In Plenty's lap his lavish stores ?
 All his fruits and stores I'd give,
 With love and Laura blest to live.
 Laura absent, honied spring,
 In vain to me would pleasure bring ;
 Mournful echos fill the grove,
 Frequented not by her I love.
 Me summer gales can ne'er rejoice,
 When they waft not Laura's voice ;
 And tho' her presence round diffuse,
 Sweeter scents and brighter hues ;

'Tis

P O E T R Y.

'Tis she alone shall glad my sight,
Whose absence leaves me no delight.

Laura Winter's gloom can charm,
And his piercing blast disarm ;
Hence, stern parent of the year,
I love thy solemn season drear ;
If thy snows deform the earth,
Thou, Winter, gav'st my Laura birth.

TO FANCY,

AN ODE, BY THE SAME.

RAPTUROUS Fancy! lend thy lyre,
Touch me with thy hallow'd fire,
Aptly to strike the deep-ton'd shell,
And bid its trembling echos swell,
Resounding far, in living lays,
Thee, goddess, and thy wand'ring ways.

Untaught by thee, what Poet woos,
Or woos to win the wayward Muse ?
By thee unaided in his flight,
How dares attempt Parnassus' height ?
But should the child of rapture view,
Thee rob'd in light of varying hue ;
Led by the flight, his course he wings,
To gain the verse inspiring springs,
Of Hippocrene or Arethuse,
Belov'd and welcom'd by the Muse ;
Nor ever thither dares to stray,
When thou disdain'st to mark the way.

Twas when the steed th' Aonian mount
First struck, and op'd the sacred fount,
Whence Hippocrene's clear waters ran,
Thy sway o'er mortals first began ;
As issuing from th' enchanted stream,
Thy magic influence 'gan to beam.
Rapt the tuneful nine admire,
How thy voice improves the lyre ;
Fairer flowers adorn the ground ;
Sweeter notes re-echo round ;
The streams in softer murmurs run ;
Their waves reflect a brighter sun.

Fear

Fear, while he trembles at the strain,
 Half thrill'd with joy, half pierc'd with pain,
 Won with thy song will call thee bride;
 But Hope enchanted lures aside,
 And bids thee wave thy rosy hand,
 With jocund mien and gesture bland;
 To hail the joyous coming year,
 With Hope in prospect ever near;
 Or snatch the rip'ning harvest's store,
 E'er dreary Winter's glooms be o'er.
 Now link'd with moping Melancholy,
 Musing, nymph, demure in folly;
 To glades and gloomy grottos running.
 Thou art joy and day-light shunning.
 Now wand'ring wild with mad Remorse,
 Giant Terror tracks thy course;
 To shake the murderer's anxious breast,
 And rob his tortur'd soul of rest.
 In vain Night's opiate dews are shed.
 Where Guilt with spectres haunts the bed,
 And Fancy lifts the bleeding steel,
 And bids the knell of death to peal;
 Or bodied in terrific form,
 Thro' lurid flashings of the storm,
 Shows the pale cheek and bleeding side,
 Mouthing its wounds, and gaping wide;
 With gory gouts and clotted hair,
 With piteous gaze, or vengeful glare.

Now frolic Fancy rides the breeze,
 That blasts the heath and waves the trees;
 Where drivelling crones, o'er Christmas ale,
 Repeat, the hundredth time, the tale,
 To watch and while away the night;
 How hellish fiends, or fairy sprite,
 Have stuck with pins the faithless breast
 Of maids, by lazy night-mare press'd.
 How christian knights, by love enthral'd,
 The paynim giant ne'er appall'd;
 How wizard vapours oft mislead,
 O'er swamps, the traveller and his steed;
 Or how the wild self-murderer's ghost,
 Who lies beneath yon cross-way post,
 At midnight quits th' unhallow'd ground,
 And sadly stalks his grave around.
 The winds blow loud, his form appears,
 And Fancy wakes a thousand fears;

The gossips shriek and hide their eyes,
Now dare to look—the phantom flies.

By haunted stream in upland glade,
Thro' vale of mist or darkling shade,
Stretch'd at their length, in tartan wrapt,
'Tis Fancy brings the vision apt ;
To pining youth and aged seers,
That fill the hardy Scot with fears.

To Love she adds a thousand charms—
Brings absent Laura to my arms ;
With dreams of rapture glads the night,
And thrills my breast with fond delight.
Best boon by heav'n bestow'd on man,
She lengthens Life's contracted span :
Bound nor by Space, nor ling'ring Time,
Bids Thought range wild from clime to clime ;
Now roam along vast Ganges' course,
Now wand'ring up the Nile's dark source ;
E'en fly beyond the solar light,
To pierce the void of endless Night :
Fast friend of Virtue, cheers her days,
And strews with pleasure all her ways ;
Spreads for Content the genial board,
That seems with lavish plenty stor'd ;
Lust, Envy, Hate, Revenge, enchains,
And racks them with redoubling pains.

To thee devote my boy-hood past,
May thy blest reign, O Fancy ! last ;
Still cheer me e'en through care and strife,
Nor let me feel the ills of life.

EPITAPH ON MR. PITT.

By Mr. Cumberland.

TO thee, great orator, whose early mind
Broke forth with splendour, that amaz'd mankind ;
To thee, whose lips with eloquence were fraught,
By which the aged and the learn'd were taught ;
To thee, the wonder of Britannia's isle,
A grateful senate rears this marble pile ;
Convinc'd that after-ages must approve
This pious token of a nation's love.

Here, tho' the sculptor simply grave thy name,
 It gives thy titles and records thy fame ;
 Thy great endowments had we aim'd to trace,
 The swelling catalogue had wanted space,
 Tho' vast the range of thine expansive soul;
 Thy God and country occupied the whole ;
 In that dread hour when ev'ry heart is tried,
 The Christian triumph'd while the mortal died ;
 In the last gasp of thine expiring breath,
 The pray'r yet quiver'd on the lip of death :
 Hear this, ye Britons, and to God be true,
 For know that dying pray'r was breath'd for you.

SONNETS DEDICATED TO LIBERTY.

From Wordsworth's Poems, Vol I.

ON THE EXTINCTION OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC.

ONCE did She hold the gorgeous East in fee ;
 And was the safeguard of the West : the worth
 Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
 Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty.
 She was a Maiden City, bright and free ;
 No guile seduced, no force could violate ;
 And when She took unto herself a Mate
 She must espouse the everlasting Sea.
 And what if she had seen those glories fade,
 Those titles vanish, and that strength decay,
 Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
 When her long life hath reach'd its final day :
 Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
 Of that which once was great is pass'd away.

THE KING OF SWEDEN.

THE Voice of Song from distant lands shall call
 To that great King ; shall hail the crowned Youth
 Who, taking counsel of unbending Truth,
 By one example hath set forth to all
 How they with dignity may stand ; or fall,
 If fall they must. Now, whither doth it tend ?
 And what to him and his shall be the end ?
 That thought is one which neither can appal
 Nor cheer him ; for the illustrious Swede hath done
 The thing which ought to be : He stands *above*

All

All consequences : work he hath begun
 Of fortitude, and piety, and love,
 Which all his glorious ancestors approve :
 The Heroes bless him, him their rightful Son.

TO TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

TOUSSAINT, the most unhappy Man of Men !
 Whether the rural Milk-maid by her Cow
 Sing in thy hearing, or thou liest now
 Alone in some deep dungeon's earless den,
 O miserable chieftain ! where and when
 Wilt thou find patience ? Yet die not ; do thou
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow :
 Though fallen Thyself, never to rise again,
 Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
 Powers that will work for thee ; air, earth, and skies ;
 There's not a breathing of the common wind
 That will forget thee ; thou hast great allies ;
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
 And love, and Man's unconquerable mind.

THE AFFLICTION OF MARGARET—— OF ——

From the same.

WHERE art thou, my beloved Son,
 Where art thou, worse to me than dead ?
 Oh find me prosperous or undone !
 Or if the grave be now thy bed,
 Why am I ignorant of the same
 That I may rest ; and neither blame,
 Nor sorrow may attend thy name ?

Seven years, alas, to have receiv'd
 No tidings of an only child ;
 To have despair'd and have believ'd,
 And be for evermore beguil'd,
 Sometimes with thoughts of very bliss !
 I catch at them, and then I miss ;
 Was ever darkness like to this ?

He was among the prime in worth,
 An object beauteous to behold ;
 Well born, well bred ; I sent him forth
 Ingenuous, innocent, and bold :

If things ensued that wanted grace,
As hath been said, they were not base ;
And never blush was on my face.

Ah ! little doth the young one dream,
When full of play and childish cares,
What power hath even his wildest scream,
Heard by his mother unawares !
He knows it not, he cannot guess :
Years to a mother brings distress ;
But do not make her love the less.

Neglect me ! no I suffer'd long
From that ill thought ; and being blind,
Said, " Pride shall help me in my wrong :
Kind mother have I been, as kind
As ever breathed : " and that is true ;
I've wet my path with tears like dew,
Weeping for him when no one knew.

My son, if thou be humbled, poor,
Hopeless of honour and of gain,
Oh ! do not dread thy mother's door ;
Think not of me with grief and pain ;
I now can see with better eyes ;
And worldly grandeur I despise,
And fortune with her gifts and lies.

Alas ! the fowls of Heaven have wings,
And blasts of Heaven will aid their flight ;
They mount, how short a voyage brings
The wanderers back to their delight !
Chains tie us down by land and sea ;
And wishes, vain as mine, may be
All that is left to comfort thee.

Perhaps some dungeon hears thee groan,
Maim'd, mangled by inhuman men ;
Or thou upon a desert thrown
Inheritest the lion's den ;
Or hast been summoned to the deep,
Thou, thou and all thy mates, to keep
An incommunicable sleep.

I look for ghosts ; but none will force
Their way to me ; 'tis falsely said
That there was ever intercourse
Betwixt the living and the dead

For surely, then I should have sight
Of him I wait for day and night,
With love and longings infinite.

My apprehensions come in crowds ;
I dread the rustling of the grass ;
The very shadows of the clouds
Have power to shake me as they pass :
I question things, and do not find
One that will answer to my mind ;
And all the world appears unkind.

Beyond participation lie
My troubles, and beyond relief :
If any chance to heave a sigh
They pity me, and not my grief.
Then come to me, my Son, or send
Some tidings that my woes may end ;
I have no other earthly friend.

THE BEGGARS.

From the same.

SHE had a tall man's height, or more ;
No bonnet screen'd her from the heat ;
A long drab-colour'd cloak she wore,
A mantle reaching to her feet :
What other dress she had I could not know ;
Only she wore a cap that was as white as snow.

In all my walks, through field or town,
Such figure had I never seen :
Her face was of Egyptian brown :
Fit person was she for a queen,
To head those ancient Amazonian files :
Or ruling Bandit's wife, among the Grecian Isles.

Before me begging did she stand,
Pouring out sorrows like a sea ;
Grief after grief :—on English land
Such woes I knew could never be ;
And yet a boon I gave her ; for the creature
Was beautiful to see ; a weed of glorious feature !

I left her and pursued my way ;
And soon before me did espy
A pair of little boys, at play,
Chasing a crimson butterfly ;

The taller follow'd with his hat in hand,
Wreath'd round with yellow flow'rs, the gayest of the land.

The other wore a rimless crown,
With leaves of laurel stuck about :
And they both follow'd up and down,
Each whooping with a merry shout ;
Two brothers seem'd they, eight and ten years old ;
And like that woman's face as gold is like to gold.

They bolted on me thus, and lo !
Each ready with plaintive whine ;
Said I, " Not half an hour ago
Your mother has had alms of mine."
" That cannot be," one answer'd, " She is dead."
" Nay but I gave her pence, and she will buy you bread."

" She has been dead, Sir, many a day."
" Sweet boys, you're telling me a lie ;
" It was your mother, as I say—"
And in the twinkling of an eye,
" Come, come !" cried one ; and, without more ado.
Off to some other play they both together flew.

LITTLE THINGS ARE BEST.

A JEU D'ESPRIT.

Addressed to Miss Cresswell, a *little, short* Lady. By Old Nick.

Satis parva res est. Amphitruo. Act 2, sc. 2.

WHEN any thing abounds, we find
That nobody will have it,
But when there's *little* of the kind,
Don't all the people crave it ?

If wives are evils, as 'tis known
And woefully confess'd,
The man who's wise will surely own
A *little* one is best*.

The god of Love's a *little* wight,
But beautiful as thought ;
Thou too art *little*, fair as light,
And ev'ry thing—in *short* †!

* See *Josephus de Uxoribus*—a very ancient and *serious* jest.

† *Nulla voluptas longa est. Seneca.*

O, happy girl! I think thee so;
 For mark the poets'* song—
 " *Man* wants but *little* here below,
 " Nor wants that *little long*!"

THE MAID WITH BOSOM COLD,

FROM ENGLISH LYRICS.

By William Smyth.

OF me they cry, I'm often told—
 " See there the Maid with bosom cold!
 Indifference o'er her heart presides,
 And love and lovers she derides;
 Their idle darts, unmeaning chains,
 Fantastic whims and silly pains:
 In pride secure, in reason bold,
 See there the Maid with Bosom Cold."

Ah! ever be they thus deceiv'd!
 Still be my bosom cold believ'd,
 And never may enquiring eyes
 Pierce thro' unhappy love's disguise:
 Yet could they all my bosom share,
 And see each painful tumult there,
 Ah! never should I then be told
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

A fate severe, my suffering mind
 To endless struggles has consign'd,
 I feel a flame I must not own,
 I love, yet every hope is flown;
 Too strong to let my passion sway,
 Too weak to teach it to obey,
 I agonize, and then am told
 That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

The joy o'er all my looks express
 Conceals a bosom ill at rest;
 To balls and routs I haste away,
 But only imitate the gay:
 I jest at love and mock his power,
 Yet feel his triumph every hour;

* Drs. Goldsmith and Young.

And lost to every bliss am told
That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

Unable from myself to fly,
I catch each word, I read each eye :
Antonio comes—I die with fear
Lest others mark my faltering air ;
My eye perhaps too fondly gaz'd,
My tongue too much—too little prais'd :
Suspicion's trembling slave—I'm told
That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold.

With anxious toil, with ceaseless care,
Content and careless I appear ;
All mirth beneath another's eye,
Alone I heave the helpless sigh,
Hang musing o'er his image dear,
Feel on my cheek th' unbidden tear,
And think, ah ! why should I be told
That I'm the Maid with Bosom Cold ?

The flower may wave its foliage gay,
And flaunt it to the garish day,
Unseen the while a canker's pow'r
May haste its honours to devour ;
And thus, while vainly round me play
Youth's zephyr-breath, and pleasure's ray,
My fate unknown, my tale untold,
Thus sinks the Maid with Bosom Cold.

ELEGY I. TO WISDOM.

From the same.

O WISDOM ! not to thee the song of praise
I wake triumphant, or the votive strain ;
My spirit sinks—my strength, my life decays—
To thee my heart would sorrow and complain.

Didst thou not win my childhood's giddy years,
'Till well the horn-book task, the sacred lay,
The tale, I learn'd by others conn'd with tears,
And right could spell the column's long array.

'Till 'mid her rosy school the learned dame
Call'd me in favour near her wheel to stand ;
Oft shared her sway, as earlier evenings came,
And bade me lisping teach her lisping band.

Didst thou not charm my step, with kindest smile,
New worlds of growing labour to explore ;
Teach me on cyphers high to pile,
Wake my young pride, and lure me to thy lore.

My boyish mind in trance enraptur'd hold
'Mid heroes—giants—all, that won'drous seem'd,
The hermit sailor and the outlaw bold,
While eastern genii thro' my slumbers gleam'd.

And rude I deem'd, and all unfit to please,
Each thoughtless pastime of the youthful day ;
To guide the skiff, and lean along the breeze,
The gleaming corey's whirring flight to stay ;

With hound and horn to cheer the woodland's side,
And catch each bliss to bounding vigor known,
Or skim with mimic fly the mountain tide,
That silvery eddies round the hoary stone.

E'en 'mid my school-mates on the sunny plain,
Oft, when their earnest sports I seemed to share,
How have I learn'd with meditating pain,
The morrow's task in secret to prepare.

Did'st thou not touch with fire my graver mind,
And nature's mysteries promise to unfold ;
And cheer me while I toil'd, to thee resign'd,
Thro' all the sage had taught, the scholar told ?

Didst thou not whisper dreams of deathless fame,
Of matchless bliss bestow'd by thee alone ;
Of grateful ages and the loud acclaim
Of friends, who in my triumphs felt their own ?—

Oh ! with what rapture, as thy guidance led
Thro' thy fresh landscapes, did my steps pursue ;
Bright flowers and prospects fair before me spread,
And still I onward press'd, still ardent flew.

Why, Wisdom, dimmer glows thy angel form,
Less beauteous why thy flowers and landscapes all ;
Less gay thy prospects, and thy skies less warm,
And why these chilling glooms that round me fall ?
Where

Where is thy bliss—thy fame—thy mysteries where ?
 —Thee while I follow, Time already, see,
 Has touch'd with blighting hand my auburn hair,
 And smiles contemptuous when I point to thee.

—Oh carol as thou goest, thou village hind !
 And whistle, as thou break'st the furrow'd plain ;
 Gay is thy heart, for vacant is thy mind,
 Not thine the thoughts that labouring mourn in vain.

Ye, too, who sport in pleasure's rosy ray,
 Who mock the student, and his griefs despise,
 To me all maniac seem'd your frolics gay ;
 Yet blest your madness, and your folly wise.

Can learning's toil th' eternal cause reveal,
 Say, why thus mix'd our virtues and our doom,
 Teach, what the powers within that think and feel,
 Or tell the shuddering secrets of the tomb ?

These splendid wonders, and these mysteries high,
 Are these for reasoning man too poor a theme ?
 Can helpless nature cast on these her eye,
 And long not, sigh not, for a brighter beam ?

Ye glittering stars, that while to heaven I raise
 My thoughts, in wilder'd musings lost—destroy'd—
 Ye glittering stars, that meet my lonely gaze,
 In careless grandeur scatter'd o'er the void ;

Ye Worlds on Worlds, that silent and serene,
 Seem nought of trouble or of pain to know ;
 Oh dwells there aught within your distant scene,
 Aught that can think and feel, like man below ?

Ye spirits that secure from earthly woes,
 Far thro' yon azure realms in rapture speed ;
 Or, soar where full the living glory flows,
 And hymn at heav'n's high throne th' ecstatic meed ;

By heaven's own influence blest, inform'd, inspir'd,
 On human reasonings darkened and forlorn,
 On minds, like mine, by endless mazes tir'd,
 Oh look ye down in pity or in scorn ?

ternal Being ; thou that 'midst the blaze
 Of seraph hosts—what sudden tremors chill ?
 Oh ! lift not up, my soul, thy venturous gaze,
 Down—sink into thyself—be mute—be still.

ELEGY II.

T O W I S D O M.

From the Same.

BESIDE this russet heath, this forest drear,
 That strews with yellow leaves the moistened plain ;
 Here, where the green path winds, ah Wisdom ! here,
 Did once my daring lyre to thee complain.

Soft was the midnight air that sooth'd my frame,
 In thought severe had pass'd the studious day :
 Cold paus'd the spirits, and th' ethereal flame
 In dim and languid musings di'd away.

Calm, silent, all—I seemed with step forlorn
 Singly to wander on a desert world ;
 I started when the bird first hail'd the morn,
 That wide had now his reddening clouds unfurl'd.

Returning seasons since have pass'd away ;
 Oft has the spring with violets deck'd the vale ;
 The bee oft humm'd along the summer day,
 And the lake darken'd in the wintry gale.

In youth's bright morn how boldly on the mind,
 Rise the wild forms of thought in colours new ;
 'Tis Time, and Time alone, whose skill refin'd
 The picture slowly gives to nature true.

Thee, Wisdom, could I chide, thy gifts decry ?
 Turn from thy bliss by restless ardor fired ?
 —How like these idle leaves that withered lie,
 Seem now the fancies that my soul inspired !

Who smile at fortune, and who conquer pain ?
 Whose is the world in fame's bright visions shewn ?
 Who wake th' unconscious mind, the barren plain,
 And wield great nature's strength from reason's throne ?

If thy blest votaries mourn, oh where shall end
 Man's wayward sorrows, and his wishes blind ;
 If from thy sacred paths his steps he bend,
 What rest, what refuge shall his wanderings find.

Not like the sage my daring mind I wing
 Aloft to bear the ensigns of thy power;
 Yet Wisdom come, and all thy pleasures bring
 To bless the silence of my lonely hour.

Come, to my chasten'd mind thy realms reveal,
 (The glimmering path, the thorny maze I leave)
 Calm realms, where life a modest bliss may steal,
 Nor reason toil in vain nor hope deceive.

Scare thou the finer dreams that idly please;
 Oh let not studious pride its strength abuse;
 Nor lofty indolence in selfish ease,
 In passive thought, the golden moments lose.

When roams the mind to worlds in darkness closed,
 When sinks the humbled heart, and sighs to thee;
 Tell thou of manly faith on God reposed,
 And hope shall picture what thou can'st not see.

FOLLY.

From the Same.

A WAY, ye grave—I war declare,
 For I the praise of Folly sing;
 She gives my looks their careless air,
 She gives my thoughts eternal wing;
 She gives me bliss—can you do more?
 Oh! never gave ye such a treasure,
 Be wisdom your's—I'll not deplore,
 Be Folly mine—and all her pleasure.

Ah! what were life, of Folly left?
 A world which no kind sun could warm;
 A child, to step-dame reason left;
 No sweet to please—no toy to charm;
 Where, mirth, were then thy frolic gleams;
 Where, wit, thy whims and gay effusions,
 And where, O hope! thy golden dreams,
 Enchanting smiles, and dear delusions.

How, think you, would poor friendship fare,
 Did Folly never friendship blind,
 And had not love found Folly there,
 How soon had love the world resign'd;
 And is it not at honey moon,
 That Hymen laughs at melancholy?
 And would he mournful look so soon,
 If still he kept on terms with Folly.

What soldier would consent to fight,
 What tar be to the bottom hurl'd,
 What poet sing—what scholar write,
 Were Folly banish'd from the world?
 Tell me whom most this goddess rules,
 Is it the patients or physicians?
 Whom shall we call the greatest fools,
 The people or the politicians?

With charms in opera, ball, or play,
 Did Folly not the scene attend,
 How poor the rich, how sad the gay,
 Were Folly not their truest friend;
 How ever should we hope to find,
 Pleased with itself each happy creature,
 If all were wise and none were blind,
 And Folly never succour'd nature.

For once be wise, ye grave one's hear,
 Why need I more my theme pursue,
 If all alike such fools appear,
 Let me with smiles be pardon'd too;
 Wisdom you love—and so do I—
 Am no derider—no despiser,
 But I of fools the grave ones fly,
 And think the merry fools the wiser.

EPIGRAM ON A DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT.

From Travelling Recreations,

BY W. PARSONS:

JOHN calls his wife his *better half*,
 His place so oft is fill'd by Ralph,
 But *half* of her he has, 'tis true;
 The house and carriage John supplies,
 Ralph nothing pays—for which the wise
 Think John's the *worst half* of the two!

EPIGRAM

ON A PURSE-PROUD INSOLENT MAN, WHO HAD MADE
 A LARGE FORTUNE IN THE EAST INDIES.

POMPOSO still boasts of his *lacks* of rupees:
 When he swaggers with airs of importance, 'tis fit,
 Other *lacks* be allowed him in union with these,
 Vast *lacks* of good-breeding, discernment and wit!

ON THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

From the Same.

DEAR Seward! ever since this earth
 And all its strange contents had birth,
 Philosophers have tried their skill
 To trace the origin of ill,
 And tell why Vice and Woe prevail,
 Till trite their subject is, and stale.

For this, the learn'd of diff'rent nations
 Surprize us with such odd narrations,
 For this, the Grecian sage unlocks /
 The mischiefs of Pandora's box,
 While Typhon fills th' Egyptian strain,
 And Runic bards of Lok complain.

But I, whate'er may be their boast,
 Applaud the Syrian system most,
 By which the first man—and his wife,
 In the *fourth* heav'n* began their life,
 And there amid those blissful plains,
 No vices knew; and felt no pains.

In these sad times a modern sinner,
 Without some trouble gets no dinner.
 He first, alas! must buy his meat,
 Nor then, without a cook, can eat.
 But cares like these ne'er broke their quiet,
 Ambrosia was their constant diet,
 Pure food, which needs no human aid,
 Nor e'er unseemly ordure made,
 But through the skin, as sages say,
 In od'rous dews exhales away!

So pass'd their days, in full delight,
 Till some gross viand met their sight,
 As Jews and Christians both believe
 An apple first corrupted Eve:
 Too curious, then, and gluttons grown,
 Sudden they siez'd—and gulp'd it down.

Scarce had they gratified their sense
 Ere came the dreadful consequence:
 Sharp pangs, unfelt before, they tell ye,
 Usurp'd the region of the belly,
 While the strange food, in durance pent,
 Roar'd loud and struggled for a vent.

* The Apostle Paul mentions the *third* heaven; but how the Syrians discovered a *fourth* the author is not informed.

Vex'd with complaints so dire, so new,
What then could our first parents do?
For dar'd they with pollution vile,
The bright empyreal seats defile?

At length some angel saw their grief,
And, pitying, brought the wish'd relief.
Said he—"To yon small planet run,
Which crab-like sidles round the sun,
That is than all the rest much worse,
The jakes of this vast universe!"

Here, then, they came—but now polluted,
This place their alter'd nature suited;
So here remained the foolish elves,
And soon got children—like themselves*.

* These verses will be understood as intended to ridicule profound inquiries into subjects above human comprehension, and also to convey a moral lesson for human pride.

Account of Books for 1806.

Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, written by Himself, containing an Account of his Life and Writings, interspersed with Anecdotes and Characters of several of the most distinguished Persons of his Time, with whom he had Intercourse and Connexion.

BIOGRAPHY affords, perhaps, the most universal delight of any species of literary composition; and if it be true that "the proper study of mankind is man," there is nothing which can more effectually advance this study than the delineation of character, the actual portrait of human nature, which are presented to us by the true and impartial history of men, celebrated for their talents or their virtues, their useful labours or their splendid achievements.

Two things only are wanting to complete the purpose of biography; that its portraits should be drawn from interesting characters, and that they should be sketched with a correct and faithful pencil. In general, the lives of literary men are thought to be devoid of that interest which is supposed pre-eminently to belong to the active characters of the great world, to those who have conquered in the field, or negotiated for the fate of kingdoms in the cabinet.

If the reader looks only for novelty of adventure, for "hair breadth 'scapes" and "imminent dangers," he must not seek them in the lives of authors; but if he is desirous of acquainting himself with the progress of the human mind, of the steps by which it advances to improvement, of its nascent energies and its cultivated powers, these he will trace successfully in the biography of men of letters. If they have moved in an extensive circle their history may be interspersed with anecdotes of their contemporaries, and their lives are no longer single portraits of the mind of one man, but groupings of various characters, to display the men and manners of their age and country. And this is never better done than when the authors have delineated their own characters.

In all history, in all biography, the grand requisite is truth, and from the nature of human affairs, it is, unfortunately, too seldom to be found. Science can only be improved by experiment, by induction from facts and conclusions founded upon known truths or undisputed axioms. History can only be useful from the actual knowledge which it affords of past occurrences; and biography, in like manner, for the true exhibition of the

the modes and motives of human conduct.

But how little of this have we reason to expect in the best histories that are extant?

Gazettes and chronicles record the battles, the state negociations, the public events of every country; and who reigned and who succeeded; who fought and who was beaten; who proposed terms of peace, and who made cession of territory, may accurately be known. But descend into particulars, inquire into motive, search deeply into causes, apply events to the only purposes for which we could wish them to be recorded, and all is obscurity and error. Fiction is substituted for truth, and imagination is made to supply the place of judgment. We no longer reason from what we know, but from what we conjecture, and from what we are told by those who sometimes conjecture and sometimes deceive. Histories, therefore are, in general, little better than historical romances, a species of composition which is, perhaps unintentionally, the best satire upon the fanciful narratives and unfounded deductions of the professed writers of that which is, with little justice, called true history and real biography. We have, however, upon some occasions, faithful memoirs of statesmen, which are invaluable, as they develop the secret histories of courts; and lay open the intricacies of public affairs.

We have also had writers, who, conscious of their own importance, or to gratify the curiosity of their cotemporaries, have published their own histories, and laid open, or pretended to lay open, the secret thoughts and private transactions of

their lives. To whatever cause we owe them, whether to the workings of vanity, or the consciousness of utility, we must peruse them with the satisfaction that by their means we are advanced so much the nearer to the sources of truth. We no longer take facts from second hand narration; we place the penitent in his confessional, or the witness in the box from which he is to give his testimony, and we may safely put that reliance upon his statements, to which, from his character, and the manner of his narrative he is entitled.

We need say nothing more to recommend the life of a celebrated author, by himself, as a subject of much curiosity. The present memoir was undertaken towards the end of a long career of laborious employment as a dramatic writer, a moral essayist, a poet on moral and religious subjects, a writer of many successful novels. It is not written to gratify idle curiosity, or to satisfy absurd vanity; but at the suggestion of the booksellers, who offered him 500*l.* for the work. It is the means of contributing to the comfortable sustenance of an aged man of letters, who has served his country as an author of much celebrity, as a faithful servant in some official situations, and as an honest but unsuccessful negociator, upon one occasion of particular importance.

In the last instance, he was, we think, most cruelly treated by his employers, and perhaps there are many who read his life that will feel with us, that the man who has devoted his literary talents to fame and to the world, and who has injured his fortune to serve his country, ought not to remain without a pension, and to be found at the

age of 74, entirely dependent upon the exercise of his declining talents for the support of his age. We shall extract from these memoirs some interesting passages, relative to the private life of Dr. Richard Bentley, Mr. Cumberland's maternal grandfather, whose character has been misrepresented by Pope and the wits of his day, and part of a narrative of his journey through Spain, at the conclusion of a negociation in which he was employed to bring about a separate peace with that country, in 1780, but in which he failed.

We shall make no comments upon what we may think the occasional imbecilities of an aged writer whom we respect, but our readers will judge whether his age is not yet green and vigorous, as far as it respects his literary talents, and his powers of pleasing and instructing by the narrative of past times, concerning which it is the part of age to be somewhat garrulous.

“ Of doctor Richard Bentley, my maternal grandfather, I shall next take leave to speak. Of him I have perfect recollection. His person, his dignity, his language, and his love, fixed my early attention, and stamped both his image and his words upon my memory. His literary works are known to all, his private character is still misunderstood by many; to that I shall confine myself, and, putting aside the enthusiasm of a descendant, I can assert with the veracity of a biographer, that he was neither cynical, as some have represented him, nor overbearing and fastidious in the degree as he has been described by many. Swift, when he foisted him into his vulgar *Battle of the Books*, neither lowers Bentley's fame nor

elevates his own; and the petulant poet, who thought he had hit his manner, when he made him haughtily call to *Walker* for his *hat*, gave a copy as little like the character of Bentley, as his translation is like the original of Homer. That doctor Walker, vice-master of Trinity-College, was the friend of my grandfather, and a frequent guest at his table, is true; but it was not in doctor Bentley's nature, to treat him with contempt, nor did his harmless character inspire it. As for the *hat*, I must acknowledge it was of formidable dimensions, yet I was accustomed to treat it with great familiarity, and if it had ever been further from the hand of its owner, than the peg upon the back of his great arm-chair, I might have been dispatched to fetch it, for he was disabled by the palsy in his latter days; but the *hat* never strayed from its place, and Pope found an office for Walker, that I can well believe he was never commissioned to in his life.

“ I had a sister somewhat elder than myself. Had there been any of that sternness in my grandfather, which is so falsely imputed to him, it may well be supposed we should have been awed into silence in his presence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be further from the truth; he was the unweari'd patron and promoter of all our childish sports and sallies; at all times ready to detach himself from any topic of conversation to take an interest and bear his part in our amusements. The eager curiosity natural to our age, and the questions it gave birth to, so teasing to many parents, he, on the contrary, attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reason never

to be evaded or abused ; strongly recommending, that to all such enquiries answer should be given according to the strictest truth, and information dealt to us in the clearest terms, as a sacred duty never to be departed from. I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of study, when he would put his book aside, ring his hand-bell for his servant, and be led to his shelves to take down a picture book for my amusement. I do not say that his good nature always gained its object, as the pictures which his books generally supplied me with were anatomical drawings of dissected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight ; but he had nothing better to produce ; and surely such an effort on his part, however unsuccessful, was no feature of a cynic : a cynic *should be made of sterner stuff*. I have had from him, at times, whilst standing at his elbow, a complete and entertaining narrative of his school-boy days, with the characters of his different masters very humourously displayed, and the punishments described, which they at times would wrongfully inflict upon him for seeming to be idle and regardless of his task, “ When the dunces,” he would say, “ could not discover that I was pondering it in my mind, and fixing it more firmly in my memory, than if I had been bauling it out amongst the rest of my school-fellows.”

“ Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a most outrageous noise in the room over his library and disturbing him in his studies ; I had no apprehension of anger from him, and confidently answered that I could not help it, as I had been at

battledore and shuttlecock with master Gooch, the bishop of Ely's son. "And I have been at this sport with his father," he replied; "but thine has been the more amusing game; so there's no harm done."

“ These are puerile anecdotes, but my history itself is only in its nonage ; and even these will serve in some degree to establish what I affirmed, and present his character in those mild and unimposing lights, which may prevail with those who know him only as a critic and controversialist.

As slashing Bentley with his desperate hook,

to reform and soften their opinions
of him.

“ He recommended it as a very essential duty in parents to be particularly attentive to the first dawning of reason in their children ; and his own practice was the best illustration of his doctrine ; for he was the most patient hearer and most favourable interpreter of first attempts at argument and meaning that I ever knew. When I was rallied by my mother, for roundly asserting that I *never slept*, I remember full well his calling on me to account for it ; and when I explained it by saying I never knew myself to be asleep, and therefore supposed I never slept at all, he gave me credit for my defence, and said to my mother, “ Leave your boy in possession of his opinion ; he has as clear a conception of sleep, and at least as comfortable an one, as the philosophers who puzzle their brains about it, and do not rest so well.”

“ Though bishop Lowth, in the
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slippancy of controversy, called the author of *The Philoleutherus Lipsiensis* and detector of Phalaris aut *Coprimulgus aut fossor*, his genius has produced those living witnesses that must for ever put that charge to shame and silence. Against such idle ill considered words, now dead as the language they were conveyed in, the appeal is near at hand: it lies no further off than to his works, and they are upon every reading man's shelves; but those would have looked into his heart, should have stepped into his house, and seen him in his private and domestic hours; therefore it is that I adduce these little anecdotes and trifling incidents, which describe the man, but leave the author to defend himself.

“ His ordinary style of conversation was naturally lofty, and his frequent use of *thou* and *thee* with his familiars, carried with it a kind of dictatorial tone, that savoured more of the closet than the court; this is readily admitted, and this on first approaches might mislead a stranger; but the native candour and inherent tenderness of his heart could not long be veiled from observation, for his feelings and affections were at once too impulsive to be long repressed, and he was too careless of concealment to attempt at qualifying them. Such was his sensibility towards human sufferings, that it became a duty with his family to divert the conversation from all topics of that sort; and if he touched upon them himself he was betrayed into agitations, which if the reader ascribes to paralytic weakness, he will very greatly mistake a man, who to the last hour of his life possessed his faculties firm and in their fullest vigour; I, there-

fore, bar all such misinterpretations as may attempt to set the mark of infirmity upon those emotions, which had no other source or origin but in the natural and pure benevolence of his heart.

“ He was communicative to all without distinction, that sought information, or resorted to him for assistance; fond of his college almost to enthusiasm, and ever zealous for the honour of the purple gown of Trinity. When he held examinations for fellowships, and the modest candidate exhibited marks of agitation and alarm, he never failed to interpret candidly of such symptoms; and on those occasions he was never known to press the hesitating and embarrassed examinant, but oftentimes on the contrary, would take all the pains of expounding on himself, and credit the exonerated candidate for answers and interpretations of his own suggesting. If this was not rigid justice, it was, at least in my conception of it, something better and more amiable; and how liable he was to deviate from the strict line of justice, by his partiality to the side of mercy, appears from the anecdote of the thief, who robbed him of his plate, and was seized and brought before him with the very articles upon him: the natural process in this man's case pointed out the road to prison; my grandfather's process was more summary, but not quite so legal. While commissary Greaves, who was then present, and of counsel for the college *ex officio*, was expatiating on the crime, and prescribing the measures obviously to be taken with the offender, doctor Bentley interposed, saying, “ Why tell the man he is a thief? he knows that well enough, without thy in-

formation

formation Greaves.—Harkye, fellow, thou seest the trade which thou has taken up is an unprofitable trade, therefore get thee gone, lay aside an occupation by which thou canst gain nothing but a halter, and follow that by which thou mayest earn an honest livelihood." Having said this, he ordered him to be set at liberty, against the remonstrances of the bye-standers, and insisting upon it that the fellow was duly penitent for his offence, bade him go his way and never steal again.

"I leave it with those, who consider mercy as one of man's best attributes, to suggest a plea for the informality of this proceeding, and to such I will communicate one other anecdote, which I do not deliver upon my own knowledge, though, from unexceptionable authority, and this is, that when Collins had fallen into decay of circumstances, doctor Bentley, suspecting he had written him out of credit by his *Philoleutherus Lipsiensis*, secretly contrived to administer to the necessities of his baffled opponent, in a manner that did no less credit to his delicacy than to his liberality.

"A morose and over-bearing man will find himself a solitary being in creation; doctor Bentley, on the contrary, had many intimates; judicious in forming his friendships, he was faithful in adhering to them. With sir Isaac Newton, doctor Mead, doctor Wallace, of Stamford, baron Spanheim, the lamented Roger Cotes, and several other distinguished and illustrious contemporaries, he lived on terms of uninterrupted harmony, and I have good authority for saying, that it is to his

interest and importunity with sir Isaac Newton, that the inestimable publication of the *Principia* was ever resolved upon by that truly great and luminous philosopher. Newton's portrait, by sir James Thornhill, and those of baron Spanheim and my grandfather, by the same hand, now hanging in the master's lodge of Trinity, were the bequest of doctor Bentley. I was possessed of letters in sir Isaac's own hand to my grandfather, which, together with the corrected volume of bishop Cumberland's *Laws of Nature*, I lately gave to the library of that flourishing and illustrious college.

"The irreparable loss of Roger Cotes in early life, of whom Newton had pronounced—*Now the world will know something*, doctor Bentley never mentioned but with the deepest regret; he had formed the highest expectations of new lights and discoveries in philosophy, from the penetrating force of his extraordinary genius, and on the tablet devoted to his memory in the chapel of Trinity College, doctor Bentley has recorded his sorrows and those of the whole learned world, in the following beautiful and pathetic epitaph:

H. S. E.

"Rogerus Roberti filius Cotes,
Hujus Collegii S. Trinitatis Socius,
Et Astronomiæ et experimentalis
Philosophiæ Professor Plumianus:
Qui immatura morte præreptus,
Pauca quidem ingenii sui
Pignora reliquit,
Sed egregia, sed admiranda,
Ex intimis Matheseos penetralibus,
Felicis Solertiâ tum primum eruta;
Post magnum illum Newtonum

3 Z 3

Societatis

(Societatis hujus spes altera

Et decus gemellum;

Cui ad summam doctrinæ laudem,

Omnes morum virtutumque dotes

In cumulum accesserunt;

Ne magis spectabiles amabilesque,

Quod in formoso corpore

Gratiores venirent.

Natus Burbagii

In agro Leicestriensi.

Jul. x. MDCLXXXII.

Obiit. Jun. v. MDCCXVI."

"His domestic habits, when I knew him, were still those of unabated study; he slept in the room adjoining to his library, and was never with his family till the hour of dinner; at these times he seemed to have detached himself most completely from his studies; never appearing thoughtful and abstracted, but social, gay, and possessing perfect serenity of mind and equability of temper. He never dictated topics of conversation to the company he was with, but took them up as they came in his way, and was a patient listener to other people's discourse, however trivial or uninteresting it might be. When *The Spectator's* were in publication, I have heard my mother say he took a great delight in hearing them read to him, and was so particularly amused by the character of sir Roger de Coverley, that he took his literary deace most seriously to heart. She also told me, that, when in conversation with him on the subject of his works, she found occasion to lament that he had bestowed so great a portion of his time and talents upon criticism, instead of employing them upon original composition, he acknowledged the justice of her regret, with extreme sensibi-

lity, and remained for a considerable time thoughtful, and seemingly embarrassed by the nature of her remark; at last recollecting himself he said—"Child, I am sensible I have not always turned my talents to the proper use for which I should presume they were given to me: yet I have done something for the honour of my God and the edification of my fellow creatures; but the wit and genius of those old heathens beguiled me, and as I despaired of raising myself up to their standard upon fair ground, I thought the only chance I had of looking over their heads was to get upon their shoulders."

"Of his pecuniary affairs he took no account; he had no use for money, and dismissed it entirely from his thoughts: his establishment in the mean time was respectable, and his table abundantly and hospitably served. All these matters were conducted and arranged in the best manner possible, by one of the best women living; for such, by the testimony of all who knew her, was Mrs. Bentley, daughter of sir John Bernard, of Brampton, in Huntingdoushire, a family of great opulence and respectability, allied to the Cromwells and Saint Johns, and by intermarriages connected with other great and noble houses. I have perfect recollection of the person of my grandmother, and a full impression of her manners and habits, which, though in some degree tinged with hereditary reserve and the primitive cast of character, were entirely free from the hypocritical cant and affected sanctity of the Oliverians. Her whole life was modelled on the purest principles of piety, benevolence, and

and Christian charity; and in her dying moments, my mother being present, and voucher of the fact, she breathed out her soul in a kind of ecstatic vision, exclaiming in rapture as she expired—*It is all bright, it is all glorious !*"

Account of the Tiranna.

"Count Pietra Santa, lieutenant colonel of the Italian band of body-guards, was my most dear and intimate friend; by that name in its truest and most appropriate sense, I must ever remember him, (for he is now no more) and though the days that I passed with him in Spain did not out-number those of a single year, yet in every one of these I had the happiness to enjoy so many hours of his society, that in his case, as in that of the good old abbe Curtis, whilst we were but young in acquaintance, we might be fairly said to be old in friendship. It is ever matter of delight to me, when I can see the world disposed to pay tribute to those modest, unassuming characters, who exact no tribute, but in plain and pure simplicity of heart recommend themselves to our affections, and borrowing nothing from the charms of wit, or the display of genius, exhibit virtue—in itself how lovely. Such was my deceased friend, a man, whom every body with unanimous assent denominated the good Pietra Santa, whom every body loved, for he that ran could read him, and who together with the truest courage of a soldier and the highest principles of honour, combined such moral virtues with such gentle manners and so sweet a temper, that he seemed destined to give the rare example of a human creature, in whom no fault could be discovered.

"In this society I could not fail

to pass my hours of relaxation very much to my satisfaction, without resorting to public places or assemblies, in which species of amusement Madrid was very scantily provided, for there was but one theatre for plays, no opera, and a most unsocial gloomy style of living seemed to characterise the whole body of the nobles and grandees. I was not often tempted to the theatre, which was small, dark, ill-furnished, and ill-attended, yet when the celebrated tragic actress, known by the title of the Tiranna, played, it was a treat, which I should suppose no other stage then in Europe could compare with. That extraordinary woman, whose real name I do not remember, and whose real origin cannot be traced, till it is settled from what particular nation or people we are to derive the butcast race of gipsies, was not less formed to strike beholders with the beauty and commanding majesty of her person, than to astonish all that heard her by the powers that nature and art had combined to give her. My friend, count Pietra Santa, who had honourable access to this great stage heroine, intimated to her the very high expectation I had formed of her performances, and the eager desire I had to see her in one of her capital characters, telling her at the same time that I had been a writer for the stage in my own country: in consequence of this intimation she sent me word that I should have notice from her when she wished me to come to the theatre, till when, she desired I would not present myself in my box upon any night, though her name might be in the bill, for it was only when she liked her part, and was in the humour to play well, that she wished me to be present.

“ In obedience to her message, I waited several days, and at last received the looked-for summons; I had not been many minutes in the theatre before she sent a mandate to me to go home, for that she was in no disposition that evening for playing well, and should neither do justice to her own talents nor to my expectations. I instantly obeyed this whimsical injunction, knowing it to be so perfectly in character with the capricious humour of her tribe. When something more than a week had passed, I was again invited to the theatre, and permitted to sit out the whole representation. I had not then enough of the language to understand much more than the incidents and action of the play, which was of the deepest cast of tragedy, for, in the course of the plot she murdered her infant children, and exhibited them dead on the stage, lying on each side of her, whilst she, sitting on the bare floor between them, (her attitude, action, features, tones, defying all description) presented such a high-wrought picture of hysteric phrensy, *laughing wild amidst severest woe*, as placed her, in my judgment, at the very summit of her art; in fact I have no conception that the powers of acting can be carried higher, and such was the effect upon the audience, that whilst the spectators in the pit, having caught a kind of sympathetic phrenzy from the scene, were rising up in a tumultuous manner, the word was given out by authority for letting fall the curtain, and a catastrophe, probably too strong for exhibition, was not allowed to be completed.

“ A few minutes had passed, when this wonderful creature, led in by Pietra Santa, entered my box;

the artificial paleness of her cheeks, her eyes, which she had dyed of a bright vermillion round the edges of the lids, her fine arms bare to the shoulders, the wild magnificence of her attire, and the profusion of her dishevelled locks, glossy black as the plumage of the raven, gave her the appearance of something so more than human, such a Sybil, such an imaginary being, so awful, so impressive, that my blood chilled as she approached me, not to ask but to claim my applause, demanding of me if I had ever seen any actress, that could be compared with her in my own or any other country. ‘ I was determined,’ she said, ‘ to exert myself for you this night; and if the sensibility of the audience would have suffered me to have concluded the scene, I should have convinced you that I do not boast of my own performances without reason.’

“ The allowances which the Spanish theatre could afford to make to its performers, were so very moderate, that I should doubt if the whole year’s salary of the Tiranna would have more than paid for the magnificent dress in which she then appeared; but this and all other charges appertaining to her establishment, were defrayed from the coffers of the duke of Osuna, a grandee of the first class, and commander of the Spanish Guards. This noble person found it indispensably necessary for his honour to have the finest woman in Spain upon his pension, but by no means necessary to be acquainted with her, and at the very time of which I am now speaking, Pietra Santa seriously assured me, that his excellency had, indeed, paid large sums to her order, but had never once visited or
even

even seen her. He told me at the same time that he had very lately taken upon himself to remonstrate upon this want of curiosity, and having suggested to his excellency how possible it was for him to order his equipage to the door, and permit him to introduce him to this fair creature, whom he knew only by report, and the bills she had drawn upon his treasurer, the duke graciously consented to my friend's proposal, and actually set out with him for the gallant purpose of taking a cup of chocolate with his hitherto invisible mistress, who had notice given her of the intended visit. The distance from the house of the grandee to the apartments of the gipsy was not great, but the lulling motion of the huge state-coach, and the softness of the velvet cushions, had rocked his excellency into so sound a nap, that when his equipage stopped at the lady's door, there was not one of his retinue bold enough to undertake the invidious task of troubling his repose. The consequence was, that after a proper time was passed upon the halt for this brave commander to have waked, had nature so ordained it, the coach wheeled round, and his excellency having slept away his curiosity, had not at the time when I left Madrid, ever cast his eyes upon the person of the incomparable Tiranna. I take for granted my friend Pietra Santa drank the chocolate, and his excellency enjoyed the nap. I will only add, in confirmation of my anecdote, that the good abbe Curtis, who had the honour of having educated this illustrious sleeper, verified the fact."

Journey from Madrid.

"Madrid, which may be considered as the capital of Spain,

though it is not a city, disappoints you if you expect to find suburbs, or villas, or even gardens, when you have passed the gates, being almost as closely environed with a desert, as Palmyra is in its present state of ruin. The Spaniards themselves have no great taste for cultivation, and the attachment to the chace, which seems to be the reigning passion of the Spanish sovereigns, conspires with the indolence of the people in suffering every royal residence to be surrounded by a savage and unseemly wilderness. The lands which should contribute to supply the markets, being thus delivered over to waste and barrenness, are considered only as *preserves* for game of various sorts, which includes every thing the gun can slay, and these are as much *res sacræ* as the altars, or the monks who serve them. This *solitudo ante ostium* did not contribute to support our spirits, neither did the incessant jingling of the mules' bells relieve the tedium of the road to Guadarama, where we are agreeably surprised by the counts Kaunitz and Pietra Santa, who passed that night in our company, and next morning, with many friendly adieus, departed for Madrid, never to meet again—

*Animas quæ candidiores
Nusquam terra tulit—*

"The next day we passed the mountains of Guadarama by a magnificent causeway, and entered Old Castile. Here the country began to change for the better: the town of Villa Castin presents a very agreeable spectacle, being new and flourishing, with a handsome house belonging to the marchioness of Torre-Manzanares, who is in part proprietor of the town. This illustrious

Iustrious lady was just now under a temporary cloud, for having been party in a frolic with the young and animated duchess of Alva, who had ventured to exhibit her fair person on the public parade, in the character of postilion to her own equipage; whilst Torre-Manzanares mounted the box as coachman, and other gallant spirits took their stations behind as footmen, all habited in the splendid blue and silver liveries of the house of Alva.—In some countries a whimlike this would have passed off with éclat, in many with impunity, but in Spain, under the government of a moral and decorous monarch, it was regarded in so grave a light, that, although the great lady postilion escaped with a reprimand, the lady coachman was sent to her castle at a distance from the capital, and doomed to do penance in solitude and obscurity.

“ We were now in the country for the Spanish wool, and this place being a considerable mart for that valuable article, is furnished with a very large and commodious shearing house.—We slept at a poor little village called San Chidrian; and being obliged to change our quarters on account of other travellers, who had been before-hand with us, we were fain to put up with the wretched accommodations of a very wretched posada.

“ The third day's journey presented to us a fine champaign country, abounding in corn and well peopled. Leaving the town of Arebelo, which made a respectable appearance on our right, we proceeded to Almedo, a very remarkable place, being surrounded with a Moorish wall and towers, in very tolerable preservation; Almedo

also has a fine convent and a handsome church.

“ The fourth day's journey, being March the 27th, still led us through a fair country, rich in corn and wine. The river Adaga runs through a grove of pines, in a deep channel, very romantic, wandering through a large tract of vineyards without fences. The weather was serene and fresh, and gave us spirits to enjoy the scenery, which was new and striking. We dined at Valdestillas, a mean little town, and in the evening reached Valladolid, where bigotry may be said to have established its head-quarters. The gate of the city, which is of modern construction, consists of three arches of equal span, and that very narrow; the centre of these is elevated with a tribune, and upon that is placed a pedestrian statue of Carlos III. This gate delivers you into a spacious square, surrounded by convents and churches, and passing this, which offers nothing attractive to delay you, you enter the old gate of the city, newly painted in bad fresco, and ornamented with an equestrian statue of the reigning king, with a Latin inscription, very just to his virtues, but very little to the honour of the writer of it. You now find yourself in one of the most gloomy, desolate, and dirty towns that can be conceived, the great square much resembling that of the Plaza-mayor, in Madrid, the houses painted in grotesque fresco, despicably executed, and the whole in miserable condition. I was informed that the convents amount to between thirty and forty.—There is both an English and a Scottish college; the former under the government of doctor Shepherd, a man of very agreeable

agreeable, cheerful, natural manners: I became acquainted with him at Madrid, through the introduction of my friend doctor Geddes, late principal of the latter college, but since bishop of Mancecos, missionary and vicar-general at Aberdeen. I had an introductory letter to the intendant, but my stay was too short to avail myself of it; and I visited no church but the great cathedral of the Benedictines, where mass was celebrating, and the altars and whole edifice were arrayed in all their splendour.—The fathers were extremely polite, and allowed me to enter the Sacristy, where I saw some valuable old paintings of the early Spanish masters, some of a later date, and a series of Benedictine saints, who, if they are not the most rigid, are indisputably the richest order of religious in Spain.

“ Our next day’s journey advanced us only six short leagues, and set us down in the ruinous town of Duenas, which, like Olmedo, is surrounded by a Moorish fortification, the gate of which is entire. The Calasseros, obstinate as their mules, accord to you in nothing, but in admitting indiscriminately a load of baggage, that would almost revolt a waggon, and this is indispensable, as you must carry beds, provisions, cooking vessels, and every article for rest and sustenance, not excepting bread, for in this country an inn means a hovel in which you may light a fire, if you can defend your right to it, and find a dunghill, called a bed, if you can submit to lie down in it.

“ Our sixth day’s stage brought us to the banks of the Douro, which we skirted and kept in sight during the whole day, from Duenas through Torrequemara to Villa Ro-

drigo. The stone bridge at Torrequemara is a noble edifice of eight and twenty arches. The windings of this beautiful river and its rocky banks, of which one side is always very steep, are romantic, and present fine shapes of nature, to which nothing is wanting but trees, and they not always. The vale through which it flows, inclosed within these rocky cliffs, is luxuriant in corn and wine; the soil in general of a fine loam mixed with gravel, and the fallows remarkably clean; they deposit their wine in caves hollowed out of the rocks. In the mean time it is to the bounty of nature rather than to the care and industry of man, that the inhabitant, squalid and loathsome in his person, is beholden for that produce, which invites exertions, that he never makes, and points to comforts that he never tastes. In the midst of all these scenes of plenty you encounter human misery in its worst attire, and ruined villages amongst luxuriant vineyards. Such a bountiful provider is God, and so improvident a steward is his vicegerent in this realm.

“ It should seem, that in this valley, on the banks of the fertilising Douro, would be the proper scite for the capital of Spain; whereas Madrid is seated on a barren soil, beside a meagre stream, which scarce suffices to supply the washer-women, who make their troughs in the shallow current, which only has the appearance of a river, when the snow melts upon the mountains, and turns the petty Manzanares, that just trickles through the sand, into a roaring and impetuous torrent. Of the environs of Madrid I have already spoken, and the climate on the northern side of the

Guada-

Guadaramas is of a much superior and more salubrious quality; being not so subject to the dangerous extremes of heat and cold, and much oftener refreshed with showers, the great desideratum, for which the monks of Madrid so frequently importune their poor helpless saint Isidore, and make him feel their vengeance, whilst for months together the unrelenting clouds will not credit him with a single drop of rain.

“ Upon our road this day we purchased three lambs, at the price of two pisettes (shillings) apiece, and, little as it was, we hardly could be said to have had value for our money. Our worthy Marchetti, being an excellent engineer, roasted them whole with surprising expedition and address in a kitchen and at a fire, which would have puzzled all the resources of a French cook and which no English scullion would have approached in her very worst apparel.—A crew of Catalonian carriers, at Torrequemara, disputed our exclusive title to the fire, and with their *arroz a la Valenciana* would soon have ruined our roast, if our gallant provider had not put aside his capa, and displayed his two epaulets, to which military insignia the sturdy interlopers instantly deferred.

“ There is excellent morality to be learnt in a journey of this sort. A supper at Villa Rodrigo is a better corrective for fastidiousness and false delicacy, than all that Seneca or Epictetus can administer, and if a traveller in Spain will carry justice and fortitude about him, the Calasseros will teach him patience, and the Posadas will enure him to temperance; having these four cardinal virtues in possession, he has

the whole: all Tully's offices cannot find a fifth.

“ On the seventh day of our travel we kept the pleasant Douro still in sight. Surely this river plays his natural sovereign a slippery trick; rises in Gallicia, is nourished and maintained in his course through Spain, and as soon as he is become mature in depth and size for trade and navigation, deserts, and throws himself into the service of Portugal. This is the case with the Tagus also: this river affords the Catholic King a little angling for small fry at Aranjuez, and at Lisbon becomes a magnificent harbour to give wealth and splendour to a kingdom. The Oporto wines, that grow upon the banks of the Douro in its renegade course, find a ready and most profitable vent in England, whilst the vineyards of Castile languish from want of a purchaser, and in some years are absolutely cast away, as not paying for the labour of making them into wine.

“ The city and castle of Burgos are well situated on the banks of the river Relancon. Two fine stone bridges are thrown over that stream; and several plantations of young trees line the road as you approach it. The country is well watered, and the heights furnish excellent pasture for sheep, being of a light downy soil. The cathedral church of Burgos deserves the notice and admiration of every traveller, and it was with sincere regret I found myself at leisure to devote no more than one hour to an edifice, that requires a day to examine it within side and without. It is of that order of Gothic, which is most profusely ornamented and enriched; the towers are crowned with spires of pierced stone-work, raised upon
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arches,

arches, and laced all through with open-work like filigree: the windows and doors are embellished with innumerable figures, admirably carved in stone, and in perfect preservation; the dome over the nave is superb, and behind the grand altar there is a spacious and beautiful chapel, erected by a duke of Frejas, who lies entombed with his duchess within a stately monument, recumbent with their heads resting upon cushions, in their robes and coronets, well sculptured in most exquisite marble of the purest white. The bas-relieves at the back of the grand altar representing passages in the life and actions of our saviour, are wonderful samples of sculpture, and the carrying of the cross in particular is expressed with all the delicacy of Raphael's famous *Pasma de Sicilia*. The stalls of the choir in brown oak are finely executed and exhibit an innumerable groupe of figures: whilst the seats are ludicrously inlaid with grotesque representations of fauns and satyrs unaccountably contrasted with the sacred history of the carved work, that encloses them. The altars, chapels, sacristy and cloisters are equally to be admired, nor are there wanting some fine paintings, though not profusely bestowed. The priests conducted me through every part of the cathedral with the kindest attention and politeness, though mass was then in high celebration.

“When I was on my departure, and my carriages were in waiting, a parcel of British seamen, who had been prisoners of war, most importunately besought me, that I would ask their liberation of the bishop of Burgos, and allow them to make their way out of the country under my protection. This good bishop,

in his zeal for making converts, had taken these fellows upon their word into his list of pensioners, as true proselytes, and allowed them to establish themselves in various occupations and callings, which they now professed themselves most heartily disposed to abandon, and doubted not but I should find him as willing to release them, as they were to be set free. Though I gave little credit to their assertions, I did not refuse to make the experiment, and wrote to the bishop in their behalf, promising to obtain the release of the like number of Spanish prisoners, if he would allow me to take these men away with me. To my great surprise I instantly received his free consent and permit under his hand and seal to dispose of them as I saw fit. This I accordingly did, and by occasional reliefs upon the braces of my carriages marched my party of renegadoes entire into Bayonne, where I got leave upon certain conditions to embark them on board a neutral ship bound to Lisbon, and consigned them to commander Johnstone, or the commanding officer for the time being, to be put on board, and exchanged for the like number of Spanish prisoners, which accordingly was done with the exception of one or two, who turned aside by the way. I have reason to believe the good bishop was thoroughly sick of his converts, and I encountered no opposition from the ladies, whom two or three of them had taken to wife.

“We pursued our eighth day's journey over a deep rich soil, with mountains in sight covered with snow, which had fallen two days before. There was now a scene of more wood, and the face of the country much resembled parts of England.

England. We advanced but seven leagues, the river Relancon accompanying us for the last three, where our road was cut out of the side of a steep cliff, very narrow, and so ill defended, that in many places the precipice, considering the mode, in which the Spanish Calasseros drive, was seriously alarming. The wild woman of San Andero, who nursed my infant, during this day's journey was at high words with the witches, who twice pulled off her redeceilla, and otherwise annoyed her in a very provoking manner till we arrived at Breviesca, a tolerable good Spanish town, where they allowed her to repose, and we heard no more of them.

“ From Breviesca we travelled through a fine pictursque country of a rich soil to Pancorvo at the foot of a steep range of rocky mountains, and passing through a most romantic fissure in the rock, a work of great art and labour, we reached river Ebro, which forms the boundary of Old Castile. Upon this river stands the town of Miranda, which is approached over a new bridge of seven stone arches, and we lodged ourselves for the night in the posada at the foot of it; a house of the worst reception we had met in Spain, which is giving it as ill a name as I can well bestow upon any house whatever.

“ A short stage brought us from Breviesca to the town of Vittoria, the capital of Alaba, which is one portion of the delightful province of Biscay. We are now for the first time lodged with some degree of comfort. We shewed our passport at the custom-house, and the administrator of the post-office having desired to have immediate notice of our arrival, I requested

my friend Marchetti to go to him, and in the mean time poor Smith passed a very anxious interval of suspense, fearing that he might be stopped by order of government in this place, (a suspicion I confess not out of the range of probabilities) but it proved to be only a punctilio of the sub-minister Campo, who had written to this gentleman to be particular in his attentions to us, inclosing his card, as if in person present to take leave; this mark of politeness on his part produced a present from the administrator of some fine asparagus, and excellent sweetmeats, the produce of the country, with the further favour of a visit from the donor, a gentleman of great good manners and much respectability.

“ The marquis Legarda, governor of Vittoria, to whom I had a letter from count D'Yranda, the marquis D'Allamada, and other gentlemen of the place, did us the honour to visit us, and were extremely polite. We were invited by the Dominicans to their convent, and saw some very exquisite paintings of Ribeira and Murillo. At noon we took our departure for Mondragone, passing through a country of undescribable beauty. The scale is vast, the heights are lofty without being tremendous, the cultivation is of various sorts, and to be traced in every spot, where the hand of industry can reach: a profusion of fruit trees in blossom coloured the landscape with such vivid and luxuriant tints, that we had new charms to admire upon every shift and winding of the road. The people are laborious, and the fields being full of men and women at their work (for here both sexes make common task) nothing could

could be more animated than the scenery; 'twas not in human nature to present a stronger contrast to the gloomy character and squalid indolence of the Castilians. And what is it, which constitutes this marked distinction between such near neighbours, subjects of the same king, and separated from each other only by a narrow stream? It is because the regal power, which in Castile is arbitrary, is limited by local laws in Catalonia, and gives passage for one ray of liberty to visit that happier and more enlightened country.

"From Mondragone we went to Villa Franca, where we dined, and finished our twelfth day's journey at Tolosa; the country still presented a succession of the most enchanting scenery, but I was now become insensible to its beauties, being so extremely ill, that it was not without much difficulty, so excruciating were my pains, that I reached Tolosa. Here I staid three days, and when I found my fever would not yield to James's powder, I resolved to attempt getting to Bayonne, where I might hope to find medical assistance, and better accommodation.

"On the seventeenth day, after suffering tortures from the roughness of the roads, I reached Bayonne, and immediately put myself under the care of doctor Vidal, a Huguenot physician. Here I passed three miserable weeks, and though in a state of almost continual delirium throughout the whole of this time, I can yet recollect that under providence it is only owing to the unwearied care and tender attentions of my ever-watchful wife, (assisted by her faithful servant Mary Samson) that I was kept alive; from her hands I consented to receive

sustenance and medicine; and to her alone in the disorder of my senses I was uniformly obedient.

"It was at this period of time that the aggravating news arrived of my bills being stopped, and my person subjected to arrest. I was not sensible to the extent of my danger, for death hung over me, and threatened to supersede all arrests but of a lifeless corpse: the kind heart however of Marchetti had compassion for my disconsolate condition, and he found means to supply me with five hundred pounds, as I have already related. It pleased God to preserve my life, and this seasonable act of friendship preserved my liberty. The early fruits of the season, and the balmy temperature of the air in that delicious climate, aided the exertions of my physician, and I was at length enabled to resume my journey, taking a day's rest in the magnificent town of Bourdeaux, from whence through Tours, Blois and Orleans I proceeded to Paris, which however I entered in a state as yet but doubtfully convalescent, emaciated to a skeleton, the bones of my back and elbows still bare and staring through my skin.

"I had both Florida Blanca's and count Montmorin's passports, but my applications for post-horses were in vain, and here I should in all probability have ended my career, as I felt myself relapsing apace, had I not at length obtained the long-withheld permission to pass onwards. They had pounded the king of Spain's horses also for the space of a whole month, but these were liberated when I got my freedom, and I embarked them at Ostend, from whence I took my passage to Margate, and arrived at
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my house in Portland-Place, destined to experience treatment, which I had not merited; and encounter losses, I have never overcome.

“ I will here simply relate an incident without attempting to draw any conjectures from it, which is that whilst I laid ill at Bayonne, insensible, and as it was supposed at the point of death, the very monk, who had been so troublesome to me at Elvas, found his way into my chamber, and upon the alarm given by my wife, who perfectly recognized his person, was only driven out of it by force. Again when I was in Paris, and about to sit down to dinner, a salad was brought to me by the lacquey, who waited on me which was given to him for me by a red-haired Dominican, whose person according to his description exactly tallied with that of the aforesaid monk; I dispatched my servant Camis in pursuit of him, but he had escaped, and my suspicion of the salad being poisoned was confirmed by experiment on a dog.

“ I shall only add that somewhere in Castile, I forget the place, but it was between Valladolid and Burgos, as I was sitting on a bench at the door of a house, where my Calasceros were giving water to the mules, I tendered my snuff box to a grave elderly man, who seemed of the better sort of Castilians, and who appeared to have thrown himself in my way, sitting down beside me as one who invited conversation. The stranger looking steadily in my face, and after a pause put his fingers in my box, and, taking a very small portion of my snuff between them, said to me—“ I am not afraid, sir, of trusting myself to you, whom I know to be an Englishman, and a person, in whose honour I may per-

fectly repose. But there is death concealed in many a man's snuff box, and I would seriously advise you on no account to take a single pinch from the box of any stranger, who may offer it to you; and if you have done that already, I sincerely hope no such consequences as I allude to will result from your want of caution.” I continued in conversation with this stranger for some time; I told him I had never before been apprised of the practices he had spoken of, and, being perfectly without suspicion, I might, or might not have exposed myself to the danger, he was now so kind as to apprise me of, but I observed to him that however prudent it might be to guard myself against such evil practices in other countries, I should not expect to meet them in Castile, where the Spanish point of honour most decidedly prevailed. “ Ah, senor,” he replied, “ they may not all be Spaniards, whom you have chanced upon, or shall hereafter chance upon, in Castile.” When I asked him how this snuff operated on those who took it, his answer was, as I expected—“ on the brain.” I was not curious to enquire who this stranger was, as I paid little attention to his information at the time, though I confess it occurred to me, when after a few days I was seized with such agonies in my head, as deprived me of my senses; I merely give this anecdote, as it occurred; I draw no inferences from it.

“ I have now done with Spain, and if the detail, which I have truly given of my proceedings, whilst I was there in trust, may serve to justify me in the opinion of those, who read these memoirs, I will not tire their patience with a dull recital of
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my unprofitable efforts to obtain a just and equitable indemnification for my expences according to agreement. The evidences indeed are in my hands, and the production of them would be highly discreditable to the memory of some, who are now no more; but redress is out of my reach; the time for that is long since gone by, and has carried me on so far towards the hour, which must extinguish all human feelings, that there can be little left for me to do but to employ the remaining pages of this history in the best manner I can devise, consistently with strict veracity, for the satisfaction of those, who may condescend to peruse them, and to whom I should be above measure sorry to appear in the character of a querulous, discontented and resentful old man; I rather hope that when I shall have laid before them a detail of literary labours, such as few have executed within a period of the like extent, they will credit me for my industry at least and allow me to possess some claim upon the favour of posterity as a man, who in honest pride of conscience has not let his spirit sink under oppression or neglect, nor suffered his good will to mankind, or his zeal for his country's service and the honour of his God, to experience intermission or abatement, nor made old age a plea for indolence, or an apology for ill humour.

“ Nevertheless as I have charged my employers with a direct breach of faith, it seems necessary for my more perfect vindication, to support that charge by an official document, and this consideration will I trust be sufficient apology for inserting the following statement of my claim—

VOL. XLVIII.

“ To the Right Honourable Lord North. &c. &c. &c.

“ The humble Memorial of Richard Cumberland,

“ Sheweth,

“ That your memorialist in April 1780 received his majesty's most secret and confidential orders and instructions to set out for the court of Spain in company with the Abbe Hussey, one of his catholic majesty's chaplains, for the purpose of negotiating a separate peace with that court.

“ That to render the object of this commission more secret, your memorialist was directed to take his family with him to Lisbon, under the pretence of recovering the health of one of his daughters, which he accordingly did, and having sent the Abbe Hussey before him to the court of Spain, agreeably to the king's instructions, your memorialist and his family soon after repaired to Aranjuez, where his catholic majesty then kept his court.

“ That your memorialist upon setting out on this important undertaking received by the hands of John Robinson esq. one of the secretaries of the treasury, the sum of one thousand pounds on account, with directions how he should draw, through the channel of Portugal, upon his banker in England for such further sums as might be necessary, (particularly for a large discretionary sum to be employed, as occasion might require, in secret services) and your memorialist was directed to accompany his drafts by a separate letter to Mr. secretary Robinson. advising him what sum or sums he had given order for, that the same might be replaced to your memorialist's credit with the bank

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of Messieurs Crofts and Co. in Pall Mall.

“ That your memorialist in the execution of this commission, for the space of nearly fourteen months, defrayed the expences of Abbe Hussey's separate journey into Spain, paid all charges incurred by him during four months residence there, and supplied him with money for his return to England, no part of which has been repaid to your memorialist.

“ That your memorialist with his family took two very long and expensive journies, (the one by way of Lisbon and the other through France) no consideration for which has been granted to him.

“ That your memorialist, during his residence in Spain, was obliged to follow the removals of the court to Aranjuez, San Ildefonso the Escorial and Madrid, besides frequent visits to the Pardo; in all which places, except the Pardo, he was obliged to lodge himself, the expence of which can only be known to those, who in the service of their court have incurred it.

“ That every article of necessary expence, being inordinately high in Madrid, your memorialist, without assuming any vain appearance of a minister, and with as much domestic frugality as possible, incurred a very heavy charge.

“ That your memorialist having no courier with him, nor any cypher, was obliged to employ his own servant in that trust, and the servant of Abbe Hussey, at his own proper cost, no part of which has been repaid to him.

“ That your memorialist did at considerable charge obtain papers and documents, containing information of a very important na-

ture, which need not here be enumerated; of which charge so incurred no part has been repaid.

“ That upon the capture of the East and West India ships by the enemy, your memorialist was addressed by many of the British prisoners, some of whom he relieved with money, and in all cases obtained the prayer of their memorials. Your memorialist also, through the favour of the bishop of Burgos, took with him out of Spain some valuable British seamen, and restored them to his majesty's fleet; and this also he did at his own cost.

“ That your memorialist during his residence in Spain was indispensably obliged to cover these his unavoidable expences by several drafts upon his banker to the amount of 4500*l.* of which not one single bill has been replaced, nor one farthing issued to his support during fourteen months expensive and laborious duty in the king's immediate and most confidential service; the consequence of which unparalleled treatment was, that your memorialist was stopped and arrested at Bayonne by order from his remittancers at Madrid; in this agonizing situation your memorialist, being then in the height of a most violent fever, surrounded by a family of helpless women in an enemy's country, and abandoned by his employers, on whose faith he had relied, found himself incapable of proceeding on his journey, and destitute of means for subsisting where he was: under this accumulated distress he must have sunk and expired, had not the generosity of an officer in the Spanish service, who had accompanied him into France, supplied his necessities with the loan of five hundred pounds

pounds, and passed the king of Great Britain's bankrupt servant into his own country, for which humane action this friendly officer, (Marchetti by name) was arrested at Paris, and by the count D'Aran-da remanded back to Madrid, there to take his chance for what the influence of France may find occasion to devise against him.

"Your memorialist, since his return to England, having, after innumerable attempts, gained one only admittance to your lordship's person for the space of more than ten months, and not one answer to the frequent and humble suit he has made to you by letter, presumes now for the last time to solicit your consideration of his case, and as he is persuaded it is not, and cannot be, in your lordship's heart to devote and abandon to unmerited ruin an old and faithful servant of the crown, who has been the father of four sons, (one of whom has lately died, and three are now carrying arms in the service of their king) your memorialist humbly prays, that you will give order for him to be relieved in such manner, as to your lordship's wisdom shall seem meet.

All which is humbly submitted by

Your lordship's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

Richard Cumberland.'

"This memorial, which is, perhaps, too long and loaded, I am persuaded lord North never took the pains to read, for I am unwilling to suppose, that, if he had, he would have treated it with absolute neglect. He was upon the point of quitting office when I gave it in, and being my last effort, I was de-

sirous of summing up the circumstances of my case so, that if he had thought fit to grant me a compensation, this statement might have been a justification to his successor for the issue; but it produced no compensation, though I should presume it proved enough to have touched the feelings of one of the best tempered men living, if he would have devoted a very few minutes to the perusal of it.

"It is not possible for me to call to mind a character in all essential points so amiable as that of this departed minister, and not wish to find some palliation for his oversights; but if I were now to say that I acquit him of injustice to me, it would be affectation and hypocrisy; at the same time I must think, that Mr. secretary Robinson, who was the vehicle of the promise, was more immediately bound to solicit and obtain the fulfilment of it, and this I am persuaded was completely in his power to do: to him, therefore, I addressed such remonstrances, and enforced them in such terms as no manly spirit ought to have put up with; but anger and high words make all things worse; and language, which a man has not courage to resent, he never will have candour to forgive."

Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, by Henry Richard Lord Holland.

We have already given an account of Lope de Vega, extracted from this interesting work, and in the poetical part of the Register are some specimens of his

lordship's skill as a translator of poetry. We cannot quit our task without further noticing, that in an Appendix his lordship gives the following account of a memorial to the Royal Academy of History, on the games, spectacles, and public diversions of that country, which, at the moment we are writing, affords to all Europe the affecting spectacle of a people breaking the bonds of slavery, and rising against their foreign oppressors, to avenge the injured honour of their monarchy, and the insulted dignity of their nation. At such a time, therefore, even this fragment which illustrates the character of their late government, deserves the attention of all who feel for the sufferings of a people whose honour is proverbial.

“ *Informe dado à la Real Academia de Historia, sobre Juegos, Espectaculos, y Diversiones Publicas.*

“ This treatise is the work of don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, late minister of grace and justice in Spain: a man, who, after having devoted the labours, and even the amusements, of his useful life, to the improvement and happiness of his fellow countrymen, is now languishing in the dungeons of Palma; imprisoned without an accusation, and condemned without the form of a trial.

“ The paper on the games, exhibitions, and public diversions of Spain, was undertaken at the request of the Royal Academy at Madrid, and completed in 1790, during his retirement at Gijon; at a time when the displeasure of a minister did not necessarily imply the ruin, persecution and imprisonment of its

object. It has never been printed, probably owing to the fastidious severity with which this excellent author has generally viewed his own productions. As he is, however, the only person who is dissatisfied with them, copies of the treatise in MS. are not difficult to be obtained in Madrid.

“ After a rapid historical sketch of the Roman exhibitions in Spain, and a short account of the diversions introduced by the northern barbarians and their descendants, he describes the state of the Spanish theatre, from its first regular appearance in Ferdinand and Isabella's time, to the commencement of the present reign. He takes a view of the controversies to which it has given rise; and though he condemns such scandalous abuses of theatrical representations as have occasionally prevailed in Spain, he vindicates the use of that rational diversion, from the imputations of the clergy, with his usual eloquence and success. The latter part of the work is devoted to the exposition of plans for the revival of ancient exercises and diversions, and to the suggestion of expedients for refining the character of the drama, exalting the profession of players, and animating the exertions of poets. Here it must be acknowledged that he allows his zeal for letters, and an anxiety to direct them to beneficial purposes, to divert him from conclusions to which his own principles would more naturally conduct him; and he somewhat inconsistently expects from such regulations, more than any interference of governments or academies was ever yet able to produce. His aversion to the bull feasts induces him also

to

to under-rate their popularity, and to exaggerate the evil consequences produced by that barbarous but not unmanly amusement. But even where his reasoning is least conclusive, one is fascinated by the beauties of his style, which always seem to arise from the discussion, and to be as much the result of the sincerity of his conviction, and the benevolence of his views, as of an enlightened education, and a correct taste in composition and language. Such, indeed, is the character of all his writings, though it may possibly excite surprize, that a dissertation on games and exhibitions should afford any room for displaying it. Jovellanos has, however, contrived, even on such a topic, to throw into the compass of a few pages, much curious information, and sound philosophical reflexion, without wandering from the subject, or betraying any disposition to pedantry or affectation.

“To justify the above commendations of his work, I subjoin a passage, which may serve also to illustrate a remark in the text, and to shew that the gloomy appearance, so often objected to Spaniards, is to be ascribed to the perverse spirit of their municipal laws, and not to the natural disposition of that high-spirited and warm-hearted people.

“The labouring class of society require diversions, but not exhibitions; the government is not called upon to divert them, but to permit them to divert themselves. For the few days, the short moments, which they can devote to recreation and entertainment, they will naturally seek, and easily find amusement for themselves. Let them merely be unmolested, and protected in the enjoyment of them. A bright sky

and fine weather, on a holiday, which will leave them at liberty to walk, run, throw the bar, to play at ball, coits, or skittles, or to junket, drink, dance, and caper on the grass, will fill all their desires, and yield them complete gratification and contentment. At so cheap a rate may a whole people, however numerous, be delighted and amused.

“How happens it then, that the majority of the people of Spain have no diversion at all? For every one who has travelled through our provinces must have made this melancholy remark. Even on the greatest festivals, instead of that boisterous merriment and noise which should bespeak the joy of the inhabitants, there reigns throughout the market-places and streets, a slothful inactivity, a gloomy stillness, which cannot be remarked without the mingled emotions of surprise and pity. The few persons who leave their houses, seem to be driven from them by listlessness, and dragged as far as the threshold, the market, or the church-door. There, muffled in their cloaks, leaning against some corner, seated on some bench, or lounging backwards and forwards, without object, aim, or purpose, they pass their hours, ay, I may say their whole evenings, without mirth, recreation, or amusement. When you add to this picture, the dreariness and filth of the villages, the poor and slovenly dress of the inhabitants, the gloominess and silence of their air, the laziness, the want of concert and union so striking every where, who but would be astonished; who but would be afflicted by so mournful a phænomenon? This is not indeed the place to expose the errors which

conspire to produce it; but whatever those errors may be, one point is clear—that they are all to be found in the laws. Without wandering from my subject, I may be permitted to observe, that the chief mistake lies in the faulty police of our villages. Many magistrates are misled by an ill-judged zeal, to suppose that the perfection of municipal government consists in the subjection of the people; they imagine that the great object of subordination is accomplished, if the inhabitants tremble at the voice of Justice, and no one ventures to move, or even to breathe, at the very sound of her name. Hence any mob, any noise, or disturbance, is termed a riot or a tumult; and every little dispute or scuffle becomes the subject of a criminal proceeding, involving in its consequences examinations and arrests, imprisonments and fines, with all the train of legal persecutions and vexations. Under such an oppressive police, the people grow dispirited and disheartened; and sacrificing their inclinations to their security, they abjure diversions, which, though public and innocent, are replete with embarrassments, and have recourse to solitude and inaction, dull and painful indeed to their feelings, but at least unmolested by law, and unattended with danger.

“The same system has occasioned numberless regulations of police, not only injurious to the liberties, but prejudicial to the welfare and prosperity of the villages, yet not less harshly or less rigorously en-

forced on that account. There are some places where music and ringing of bells*, others where balls and marriage suppers are prohibited. In one village the inhabitants must retire to their houses at the *curfew*, in another they must not appear in the streets without a light; they must not loiter about the corners, or stop in the porches; and in all they are subject to similar restraints and privations.

“The rage for governing, in some cases perhaps the avarice of the magistrates has extended to the most miserable hamlets, regulations which would hardly be necessary in all the confusion of a metropolis; and the wretched husbandman who has watered the earth with the sweat of his brow, and slept on the ground throughout the week, cannot on Saturday night bawl at his will in the streets of his village, or chaunt his ballad at the door of his sweetheart.

“Even the province in which I live (Asturias), remarkable for the natural cheerfulness and innocent manners of its inhabitants, is not exempt from the hardship of similar regulations. Indeed the discontent which they produce, and which I have frequently witnessed, has suggested many of these reflections on the subject. The dispersion of its population fortunately prevents that municipal police, which has been contrived for regular villages and towns; the cottagers assemble for their diversions at a sort of a wake, called *Romerias*, or Pilgrimages. And there it is that the regulations of the police pursue and molest them. Sticks, which are used more

* There is a custom in Spanish villages of parading the streets on holiday nights with the bells taken from the mules and wethers. The rude kind of music they produce is called *cencerrada*.

on account of the inequality of the country, than as a precaution for self-defence, are prohibited in these wakes. Men dances are forbidden; those of women must close early in the evening; and the wakes themselves, the sole diversion of these innocent and laborious villagers, must break up at the hour of evening prayer. How can they reconcile themselves with any cheerfulness to such vexatious interference? It may indeed be said "*they bear it all.*" Yes, it is true, they do bear it all; but they bear it with an ill will; and who is blind to the consequences of long and reluctant submission? The state of freedom is a state of peace and cheerfulness; a state of subjection is a state of uneasiness and discontent. The former then is permanent and durable, the latter unstable and changeable.

"All, therefore, is not accomplished when the people are quiet; they should also be contented; and it is only a heart devoid of feeling, or a head unacquainted with the principles of government, that can harbour a notion of securing the first of these objects without obtaining the second. They who disregard it, either do not see the necessary connexion between liberty and prosperity; or, if they see it, they neglect it. The error in either case is equally mischievous. For surely this connexion deserves the attention of every just and mild government. A free and cheerful people are always active and laborious; and an active and laborious people are always attentive to morals, and observant of the laws. The greater their enjoyments, the more they love the government under which they live, the better they obey

it, and the more cheerfully and willingly do they contribute to its maintenance and support. The greater their enjoyments, the more they have to lose; and the more therefore they fear any disturbance, and the more they respect the authorities intended to repress it. Such a people feel more anxiety to enrich themselves, because they must be conscious that the increase of their pleasures will keep pace with the improvement of their fortunes. In a word, they strive more ardently to better their condition, because they are certain of enjoying the fruits of their exertion. If such then be one of the chief objects of a good government, why is it so disregarded among us? Even public prosperity, as it is called, if it be any thing but the aggregate of individual happiness, depends upon the attainment of the object in question? for the power and strength of a state do not consist entirely in multitudes or riches, but in the moral character of its inhabitants. In point of act, can any nation be strong whose subjects are weak, corrupt, harsh, unfeeling, and strangers to all sentiments of public spirit and patriotism? On the other hand, a people who meet often, and in security, in public, for the purposes of diversion, must necessarily become an united and affectionate people; they can feel what a common interest is, and are consequently less likely to sacrifice it to their own personal views and individual advantage. They have a higher spirit, because they are freer; a consciousness of which improves their notions of rectitude, and exalts their sentiments of honour and courage. Every individual respects his own class in such a society, because he respects himself:

and he respects that of others, as the best mode of ensuring respect for his own. If once the people respect the government, and the subordination established by law, they regulate their conduct by it, they grow attached to the institutions of their country, and defend them with spirit; because in so doing, they are convinced that they are defending themselves. So clear is it that freedom and cheerfulness are greater enemies of disorder than subjection and melancholy.

“Let me not, however, be suspected of considering a magistracy or police, appointed to preserve the public peace, as in itself either useless or oppressive. On the contrary, it is my firm persuasion, that without such an institution, without its unremitting vigilance, neither tranquillity nor subordination can be preserved. I am well aware that license hovers on the very confines of liberty, and that some restraint must be devised to keep in those who would pass the limits. This is indeed the most delicate point in civil jurisprudence; and it is this, that so many injudicious magistrates mistake, by confounding vigilance with oppression. Hence, at every festival, at every public diversion, or harmless amusement, they obtrude upon the people the insignia of magistracy and power. To judge by appearances, one should suppose that their aim was to build their authority on the fears of the subject, and to purchase their own convenience at the expence of the freedom and pleasure of the public. In every other view, such precautions are idle. For the people never divert themselves without complete exemption from restraint in their diversions. Freedom is scared away

by watchmen and patrols, constables and soldiers; and at the sight of staves and bayonets, harmless and timorous mirth takes the alarm, and disappears. This is surely not the method of accomplishing the purposes for which magistracy was established; whose vigilance, if I may be permitted so awful a comparison, should resemble that of the Supreme Being, should be perpetual and certain, but invisible; should be acknowledged by every body, but seen by nobody; should watch license, in order to repress it, and liberty, in order to protect it. In one word, it should operate as a restraint on the bad, as a shield and protection to the good. The awful insignia of justice are otherwise the mere symbols of oppression and tyranny; and the police, in direct opposition to the views of its institution, only vexes and molests the persons whom it is bound to shelter, comfort, and protect.

“Such are my ideas upon popular diversions. There is neither province nor district, town nor village, but has particular usages in its amusements, practised either habitually, or at particular periods of the year; various exercises of strength, for instance, or feats of agility; balls too, and junketings, walks, holidays, disguises, maskings, and mummeries. Whatever their diversions may be, if they are public they must be innocent. It is the duty then of the good magistrate to protect the people in these simple pastimes, to lay out and keep in order the places destined for them, to remove all obstacles, and to leave the inhabitants at full liberty to abandon themselves to their boisterous merriment, their rude but harmless effusions of joy. If he appear
sometimes

sometimes among them, it should be to encourage, not to intimidate them; it should be like a father, gratified at the mirth of his children; not like a tyrant, envious of the gaiety of his slaves.

"In short, to return to our former remark, the people do not call upon the government to divert them, but merely to permit them to divert themselves."

Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, Representative of the County of Nottingham in the long Parliament, and of the town of Nottingham in the first Parliament of Charles II. &c. with original Anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his Contemporaries, and a summary Review of Public Affairs: written by his Widow Lucy, Daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Now first published from the original Manuscript by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, &c. &c. To which is prefixed the Life of Mrs. Hutchinson, written by Herself, A Fragment.

This is really a curious work, as will be seen from the title-page. It is the history of a puritan in the time of Cromwell, written by his wife in a style that does high honour to her age, and which has remained unpublished till the present period.

The following account of the MSS. is given by the editor.

The Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson had been seen by many persons, as well as the editor, in the possession of the late Thomas Hutchinson, esq. of Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire, and of Hatfield Woodhall, in Hertfordshire; and he had been frequently solicited to permit

them to be published, particularly by the late Mrs. Catharine Maccaulay, but had uniformly refused. This gentleman dying without issue, the editor, his nephew, inherited some part of his estates which were left unsold, including his mansion-house of Hatfield Woodhall. In the library he found the following books, written by Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson. 1st. The Life of Col. Hutchinson. 2d. A book without a title, but which appears to have been a kind of diary made use of when she came to write the life of col. Hutchinson. 3d. A Fragment, giving an account of the early part of her own life. This book clearly appears to have been Mrs. Hutchinson's first essay at composition, and contains, besides the story of her life and family, several short copies of verses, some finished, some unfinished, many of which are above mediocrity. And, 4th. Two Books treating entirely of religious subjects; in which, although the fancy may be rather too much indulged, the judgment still maintains the ascendancy, and sentiments of exalted piety, liberality and benevolence are delivered in terms apposite, dignified, and perspicuous.

These works had all been read, and marked in several places with his initials, by Julius Hutchinson, esq. of Owthorpe, the father of the late Thomas Hutchinson, esq. just mentioned, and son of Charles Hutchinson, esq. of Owthorpe, only son of sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife, the lady Catharine Stanhope. Lady Catharine Hutchinson lived to the age of 102, and is reported to have retained her faculties to the end of her life. Some remarks made by the above-mentioned Julius Hutchinson, are declared by him to have been communicated

municated by his grand-mother lady Catharine; and as this lady dwelt in splendor at Nottingham, and had ample means of information; as there is only one instance wherein the veracity of the biographer is at all called in question, and even in this, it does not appear to the editor, and probably may not to the reader, that there was sufficient ground for objection; the opposition and the acquiescence of her grandson and herself seem alike to confirm the authenticity and faithfulness of the narrative.

There will be found annexed a pedigree of the family of Hutchinson, taken from a very handsome emblazoned genealogy in the possession of the editor, originally traced by Henry St. George, king of arms, and continued and embellished by Thomas Brand, esq. his majesty's writer and embellisher of letters to the eastern princess, anno 1712.

This pedigree shews that col. Hutchinson left four sons, of which the youngest only, John, left issue two sons; and there is a tradition in the family, that these two last descendants of col. Hutchinson emigrated, the one to the West Indies or America, the other to Russia; the latter is said to have gone out with the command of a ship of war given by queen Anne to the czar Peter, and to have been lost at sea. One of the female descendants of the former the editor once met with by accident at Portsmouth, and she spoke with great warmth of the veneration in which his descendants in the new world held the memory of their ancestor col. Hutchinson. Of the daughters little more is known than that Mrs. Hutchinson, addressing one of her books of devotion to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, ascertains that one of them was mar-

ried to a gentleman of that name.

The family of Mr. George Hutchinson likewise became extinct in the second generation.

Charles Hutchinson, only son of sir Thomas Hutchinson by lady Catharine Stanhope, married one of the daughters and coheiresses of sir Francis Boteler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts; which family being zealous royalists, and he solicitous to gain their favour, (which he did so effectually, as in the end to obtain nearly their whole inheritance,) it is probable that he gave small encouragement or assistance to the elder branch of the family while they suffered for their republican sentiments; on the contrary, it is certain that he purchased of Mrs. Hutchinson and her son, after the death of col. Hutchinson, their estate at Owthorpe, which, joined to what his father had given him, and what he obtained by his marriage, raised him to more opulence than his father had ever possessed; and he seems not to have fallen short of him in popularity, for he represented the town of Nottingham in parliament from the year 1690, (being the first general election after the accession of king William,) till his death.

His son Julius returned into that line of conduct and connections which was most natural for one of his descent, for he married Betty Norton, descended by the father's side from the patriotic family of that name in Hampshire, and by the mother's from the Fiennes's. He seems to have bestowed a very rational and well-deserved attention upon the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and there is a tradition in the family, that although he had many children of his own, he treated with kindness and liberality the last descendants

cendants of his uncle, and assisted them with money to fit them out for their emigration. The editor has seen a written memorandum of his, expressing his regret at hearing no more of them after their departure.

“From the circumstance of these, the only grandchildren of colonel Hutchinson, standing in need of this pecuniary assistance, from the mention Mrs. Hutchinson makes of her husband's debts, and from an expression contained in that book which she addresses to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, desiring her not to despise her advice though she sees her in adversity, it is highly probable that, even after selling her husband's estates, the sum to be divided left each member of the family in strait circumstances.

“The affection and well-merited esteem with which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of her brother sir Allen Apsley, will excite an interest in the reader to know what became of him and his posterity; the short pedigree subjoined will shew, that by two marriages, and by the death of his grandson in his minority, the family of Apsley entirely merged in the noble family of Bathurst, who have adopted the name Apsley as their second title; there are five or six of the family of Apsley entombed in Wesminster Abbey, near to the entrance of Henry the seventh's chapel.”

The editor then enters into an apology for the republican, as well as puritanical sentiments of the writer, and adds :

“So much having been said for the purpose of obviating misapprehension as to the effect of this work, it may be further expected that some merit or utility should be shewn, to justify the editor in presenting it to the

public notice. Being not the child of his brain and fancy, but of his adoption and judgment, he may be supposed to view it with so much the less partiality, and allowed to speak of it with so much the more freedom.

“The only ends for which any book can reasonably be published are to inform, to amuse, or to improve : but unless many persons of highly reputed judgment are mistaken as well as ourselves, this work will be found to attain all three of them. In point of amusement, perhaps novelty or curiosity holds the foremost rank; and surely we risque little in saying that a history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago by a lady, of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them, is a literary curiosity of no mean sort.

“As to information, although there are many histories of the same period, there is not one that is generally considered satisfactory; most of them carry evident marks of prejudice or partiality; nor were any of those which are now read, written at, or near the time, or by persons who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with what was passing, except that of Clarendon. But any one who should take the pains, which the editor has done, to examine Clarendon's state papers, would find therein documents much better calculated to support Mrs. Hutchinson's representation of affairs than that which he himself has given. Mrs. Hutchinson writing from a motive which will very seldom

dom be found to induce any one to take so much trouble, that of giving her children, and especially her eldest son, then about to enter on the stage of life, a true notion of those eventful scenes which had just been passing before her eyes, and which she well judged must be followed by others not less interesting to the same cause and persons, will surely be thought to have possessed both the means and the inclination to paint with truth and correctness: in effect she will be seen to exhibit such a faithful, natural, and lively picture of the public mind and manners, taken sometimes in larger, sometimes in smaller groupes, as will give a more satisfactory idea to an observant reader than he will any where else discover. He will be further pleased to see avoided the most common error of historians, that of displaying the paradoxical and the marvellous, both in persons and things. But surely the use of history being to instruct the present and future ages by the experience of the past, nothing can be more absurd than a wish to excite and leave the reader in astonishment, which instead of assisting, can only confound his judgment. Mrs. Hutchinson, on the contrary, has made it her business, and that very successfully, to account by common and easy causes for many of those actions and effects which others have left unaccounted for, and only to be gazed at in unmeaning wonder; or, in attempting to account for them, have employed vain subtilty or groundless conjecture. She has likewise not merely described the parties in the state by their general character, but delineated them in *their minute ramifications*, and thus enabled us to trace the springs, and

discover the reasonableness, of many of those proceedings which had hitherto seemed incongruous and inconsistent."

As a specimen of the style and manner of this extraordinary work, which adds much to the stock of historical knowledge, which we derive from Clarendon and Rushworth, and the other original writers of the time, we shall extract the life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, (the author) written by herself.

"The almighty author of all beings, in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no lesse wisdom and goodnesse then he manifests power and greatnesse in their creation, but such is the stupidity of blind mortals that instead of employing their studies in these admirable bookes of providence, wherein God dayly exhibitts to us glorious characters of his love, kindnesse, wisdom, and iustice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderfull operations of the greate God the common accidents of humane life, specially if they be such as are usuall, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldome employ any reflexion; for in things greate and extraordinary some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forgett or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the haire of their heads.

"Finding myselfe in some kind guilty of this generall neglect, I thought it might be a meannes to stirre up my thankfulness for things past; and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected, as much as I have heard or can remember

member, of the passages of my youth, and the generall and particular providences exercis'd to me, both in the entrance and progresse of my life. Herein I meeete with so many speciall indulgences as require a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my emprovement for God's glory. The parents by whom I receiv'd my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a wittnesse of God's wonderfull workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I receiv'd in my person, each of them carries along with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodnesse, so I cannot reflect on them without deepe humiliation for the small emprovement I have made of so rich a stock ; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder : and first, as farre as I have since learnt, sett downe the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our lord 1619-20, that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the English Isle ; I was about four of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was sr. Allen Apsley, leiftenant of the Tower of London ; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a sonne and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sonnes, I

being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of king James) if that quietnesse may be called a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose dark womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.

“ Whosoever considers England, will find itt no small favour of God to have bene made one of its natives, both upon spirituall and outward accounts. The happinesse of the soyle and ayre contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they receiv'd a mention in history, conferrs some honor upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimitie and virtue, which hath fam'd this island, and rays'd her head in glory, higher then the greate kingdomes of the neighbouring continent. Brittain hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever forreigne countries yield to encrease admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forced to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and bene reckoned, allmost in all ages, as valiant warriours as any part of the world sent forth : insomuch that the greatest Roman captaines thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and tooke greate glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse,

repulse, and 'twas 200 yeares before the land could be reduced into a Roman province, which att length was done, and such of the nation, then called Picts, as scorned servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remained a perpetual trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Brittaines that thought it better to worke for their conquerors in a good land, then to have the freedom to sterve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetcht away, and wasted in the civil broyles of these Roman lords, till the land, almost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forc'd to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out againe, nor perswaded to lett their hosts inhabite with them, for they drove the Brittaines into the mountaines of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries which from the new masters received a new name, and ever since retained it, being called England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various successe, but after about 2 or 300 yeares vaine contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and losse, and the Saxon Heptarchie melted into a monarchie, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastitie, left an emptie throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it againe for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falshood, layd here the foundation of his monarchie, in the people's blood, in which it hath

sworn about 500 yeares, till the flood that bore it was plow'd into such deepe furrows as had almost sunke the proud vessell. Of those Saxons that remained subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's famely descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutual marriages, that the distinction remained but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their vallour grewe terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely quitted themselves in their owne defence, but have shewed abroad, how easily they could subdue the world, if they did not preferre the quiett enioyment of their owne part above the conquest of the whole.

“ Better lawes and a happier constitution of governement no nation ever enioy'd, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocratie, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those formes, tyranny, faction, and confusion; yett is it not possible for man to devize such iust and excellent bounds, as will keepe in wild ambition, when prince's flatterers encourage that beast to breake his fence, which it hath often done with miserable consequences both to the prince and people: but could never in any age so tread downe popular liberty, but that it rose againe with renewed vigor, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the iust bounds wherein our kings were so well hedg'd in, the surrounding princes have with terror sene the reproofe of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves then

then subjects, and are only served for feare, but not for love ; whereas this people have ever bene as affectionate to good as unpliant to bad soveraignes.

“ Nor is it only valour and generosity that renowne this nation ; in arts wee have advanc’d equall to our neighbors, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yeilded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnisht. Agriculture is as ingeniously practised : the English archery were the terror of Christendome, and their clothes the ornament : but these low things bounded not their greate spiritts, in all ages it hath yeilded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

“ And to compleate the crowne of all their glorie, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, valour, witt, learning, iustice, wealth, and bounty, their pietie and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people here, out of the wast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the Brittish king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that received the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdom : Henrie the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoake of from his owne and his subjects necks. Here it was that the first christian emperor received his crowne : here began the early dawne of gospell light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God rays’d up after the black and horrid midnight of anti-

christianisme, and a more plentiful harvest of devout confessors, constant martirs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not growne in any field of the church, throughout all ages, then those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospell by. Yett hath not this wheate bene without its tares, God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradise, so, to compleate the parallell, the serpent hath in all times, bene busy to seduce, and not unsuccessfull, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

“ No sooner was the faith of Christ embrac’d in this nation ; but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent christians, and slaughtered multitudes of them ; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to opose the name of Christ with open hostillity ; then the subtile serpent putt of his owne horrid appearance, and comes out in a christian dresse, to persecute Christ in his poore prophetts, that bore witness against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrell hath bene more successfull to the devill, and more afflictive to the church then all open warres, and, I feare, will never happily be decided, till the prince of peace come to conclude the controversie, which att the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shar’d many perills, many feares, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

“ From the place of my birth shall only desire to remember the good.

goodnesse of the lord who hath caused my lott to fall in a good ground; who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture where the wellsprings of life flow to all that desire to drinke of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poore people perish among the heathen, where they never heare the name of Christ; how many poore christians spring up in countries enslaved by Turkish and antichristian tyrants, whose soules and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knowes what mercy it is to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not considered the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely it is too universall a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land, are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately past over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnifie God's loving-kindnesse and his speciall favor to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater returne of duty from us then from all other people of the world.

"Nor is the place only, but the time of my coming into the world a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of poperie, nor in the dawne of the gospell's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguisht, but when the sun of truth was exalted in his progresse and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the priviledge of beholding the admirable growth of gospell light in my dayes: and oh! that my soule may never forgett to blesse and prayse his name for the wonders of power and

goodnesse, wisdom and truth, which have bene manifested in this my time.

"The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and virtuous in their owne conversation, and carefull instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leizure and abillity, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honor due from me in such a gratefull memoriall, and to encrease my children's emprovement of the patterns they sett them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myselfe to summe up some few things for my owne use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthily expresse.

"My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 7 or 800*l.* a yeare, in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence att a place called Pulborough; the famely out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a towne where they had bene seated before the conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of sir Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other families. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country, I never knew much of, by reason of my youth, at the time of his death, and my education in farre distant places, only in generall I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had bene such a continu-
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ed custome for my ancestors to take wives att home, that there was not scarce a famely of any note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages neerely related ; but I was myselfe a stranger to them all, except my lord Goring, who living att court, I have sene with my father, and heard of him, because he was appoynted one of my father's executors, though he declin'd the trouble. My grandfather had seven sonns, of which my father was the youngest : to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest, according to the custome of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good famely, and by her had only one sonne, whose mother dying, my uncle married himselfe againe to one of his own maides, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the sonne of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a greate while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a yeare to the eldest of his halfe brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a piece to the 3 for their lives. He died before I was borne, but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our famely ; the rest of my father's brothers went into the warres in Ireland, and the Low Countries, and there remain'd none of them, nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanely, and their generations are worne out except two or three unregarded children. My father att the death of my grandfather, being but a youth att schoole had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies,

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but putt himselfe into present action, sold his annuitie, bought himselfe good clothes, put some mony in his purse, and came to London ; and by meanes of a relation att court, got a place in the household of queene Elizabeth, where he behav'd himselfe so that he won the love of many of the court ; but being young tooke an affection to gaming, and spent most of the mony he had in his purse. About that time the earle of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father that had a mind to quitt his idle court life, procur'd an employment from the victuallar of the navie, to goe allong with that fleete. In which voyage he demean'd himselfe with so much courage and prudence, that after his returne he was honor'd with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him, and he married her ; but she not living many yeares with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserv'd a fatherly kindness, and some of her grandchildren were brought up in his house after I was borne. He, by God's blessing, and his fidellity and industry, growing in estate and honor, receiv'd a knighthood from king James soone after his coming to the crowne, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood, I cannot perfectly sett downe. After that growing into a familiarity with sr. George Carew, made now by the king earle of Totnesse, a niece of this earl's, the daughter of sr. Peter Carew, who liv'd a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in

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love

love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procur'd a marriage betwene them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a sonne and daughter, surviv'd her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widowhood a very disconsolate life careful for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the sonne and daughter, the deare pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himselfe of his employments abroad, and procur'd himselfe the office of victualler of the navie, a place then both of credit and greate revenue. His friends, considering his solitude, had procur'd him a match of a very rich widdow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this designe he chanc'd to see my mother, att the house of sr. William St. John, who had married her elder sister, and though he went on his iourney, yett something in her person and behaviour, he carried along with him, which would not lett him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble famely, being the youngest daughter of sr. John St. John, of Lidlar Tregoz, in the county of Wiltz; her father and mother died when she was not above five yeares of age, and yet at her nurses, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honorable and excellent person, but married to a lady so iealous of him, and so ill-natured in her iealous fitts to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers: the rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters,

were disperst to severall places, where they grew up till my uncle sr. John St. John being married to the daughter of sr. Thomas Laten, they were all againe brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautifull women found in any famely as these, but my mother was by the most iudgements preferr'd before all her elder sisters, who, something envious att it us'd her unkindly, yett all the suiters that came to them, still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful-innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation then the rest, hapned to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discretely, that my mother could not but entertaine him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindnesse for her, perswaded her to remoove herselfe from her sister's envie, by going along with her to Isle of Jernsey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the towne, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learne the language, that minister having bene, by the persecution in France, driven to seeke his shelter there. Contracting a deare friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better then our more superstitious service, that she could have bene contented to have liv'd there, had not a powerfull passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her returne she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had professt so much love to her, in her absence had bene, by most vile pactises and treacheries, drawne out of his senses, and into the marriage of a per-

son, whom when he recover'd his reason he hated: but that serv'd only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only adde that my mother liv'd in my uncle's house, secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindnesse of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seem'd to have but one soule. And in this kindnesse she had some time a great sollace, till some mallicious persons had wrought some iealousies which were very groundlesse in my uncle, concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate iniur'd innocence, she was herselfe not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdraw herselfe into the island, where the good minister was, and there to weare out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixt upon it in her owne thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with sr. William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he perswaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholly made her conforme chearfully to that gravity of habitt and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person; who was then 48 yeares of age, and she not above 16. The 1st yeare of their marriage was crown'd with a sonne, call'd after my father's name, and borne at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's which

belong'd to my father's employment in the navie: the next year, they removed to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieftenant, and there had 2 sonns more before me, and 4 daughters, and two sonnes after: of all which only three sons and two daughters surviv'd him att the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third yeare of his age, after he had three yeares before languisht of a consumption that succeeded a fever which he gott in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhée.

“ He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewail'd by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never convers't with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficiall; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it wan him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envie and mallice it was his custome to overcome with obligations. He had greate naturall parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightning of them by study of dead writings, but in the living bookes of men's conversations he soone became so skillfull that he was never mistaken but where his owne good would not lett him give credit to the evill he discern'd in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but for all that deserv'd it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such compassionate kindnesse their restraint,

that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armes, and when through the ingratitude and vice of that age many of the wives and children of queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decay'd fortunes till he was dead: many of those valliant seamen he maintain'd in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshin'd the rest, it was the generous liberality of his mind, wherein goodness and greatnesse were so equally distributed that they mutually embellisht each other. Pride and coveteousnesse had not the least place in his brest. As he was in love with true honor, so he contemn'd vaine titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper yeares he refus'd a barondry, which the king offer'd him. He was severe in the regulating of his famely, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his rooffe. There was nothing he hated more then an insignificant gallant, that could only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust; love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his virtues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne, or succeeding times. The large estate he reapt

by his happie industry, he did many times over as freely resigne againe to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of itt at his death in the king's hands. All his virtues wanted not the crowne of all vertue, piety and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate famely could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty then he and my mother, who seem'd to be acted by the same soule, so little did she grutch any of his liberallities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindnesse to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married: which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she lay'd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Rawleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poore people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquir'd a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was

was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was fill'd with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children, was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekeday lectures, and a great lover and encourager of good ministers, and most dilligent in her private reading and devotions.

“When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herselfe his nurse, and cooke, and phisitian, and, through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserv'd him a greate while longer then the phisitians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length when the Lord tooke him to rest she shew'd as much humility and patience, under that greate change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentifull and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the yeare 1659. The priviledge of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often re-

volv'd with greate thankfullnesse for the mercy, and humilliation that I did no more emprove it. After my mother had had 3 sons she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the weomen at my birth told her I was one, she receiv'd me with a greate deale of ioy; and the nurse's fancying, because I had more complexion and favour then is usuall in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavour'd to nurse me. As soone as I was wean'd a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse, and I was taught to speake French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamt that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a starre came downe into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dreame signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vain prophecies, wrought as farre as it could its own accomplishment: for my father and mother fancying me then beautifull, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spar'd no cost to emprove me in my education, which procur'd me the admiration of those that flatter'd my parents. By that time I was foure yeares old I read English perfectly, and having a greate memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeate them so exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 yeares of age, I remember I had att one time 8

tutors in severall qualities, languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my booke, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it prejudic'd my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me then kept me back, and every moment I could steale from my play I would employ in any booke I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hower allow'd me to play, and then I would steale into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learne Latine, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers who were at schoole, although my father's chaplaine that was my tutor was a pittifull dull fellow. My brothers who had a greate deale of witt, had some emulation at the progresse I made in my learning, which very well pleas'd my father, tho' my mother would have bene contented, I had not so wholly addicted myselfe to that as to neglect my other qualities: as for musick and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsicords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertaine such as came to visitt me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions then their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myselfe with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house

with many persons that had a greate deale of witt; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing roome, I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter againe to greate admiration of many that tooke my memory and imitation for witt. It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myselfe to it, and to practise as I was taught: I us'd to exhort my mother's maides much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked, I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amoroussonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women, and there was none of them but had many lovers and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these I have† * * * * *—Any one mention'd him to me, I told them I had forgotten those extravagancies of my infancy, and knew now that he and I were not equall; but I could not for many yeares heare his name without several inward emotions * * * Five yeares

† At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

after me my mother had a daughter that she nurst at her owne brest, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my †

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[Great care being taken to follow the orthography of the writer, the reader need be under no apprehension as to the correctness of the print, though he should find the same word spelt differently even in the same line: as unperfect, imperfect; son, sonne, &c. The only deviation we have made from the MS. is in putting the U and V in their proper places; they being written promiscuously.]

We shall add to this her affectionate and impressive address to her children, concerning their father.

“Mrs. Hutchinson to her Children, Concerning their Father.”

“TO MY CHILDREN.”

“They who dote on mortall excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things fraile, their adored idolls are taken from them, may lett loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assay’d to such mourners, commonly all objects are remoov’d out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew their grieffe; and in time these remedies succeed, when obli-vions curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view’d together with that which

was most excellent: but I that am under a command not to grieve att the common rate of desolate woe-men, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more iust to your deare father nor consolatory to mysele then the preservation of his memory, which I need not guild with such flattrring commendations as the hired preachers doe equally give to the truly and titularly honourable; a naked undrest narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantiall glorie, then all the panegyricks the best pens could ever consecrate to the vertues of the best men.

“Indeed that resplendant body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick clowd, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world’s weake eies, which I feare hath but few people in it so vertuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could make so large a progresse in the race of piety, honor, and vertue: but I am almost stopt before I sett forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himsele more then my unperfect arithmetick can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskillfull pen can not describe. I feare to iniure that memory which I would honor, and

† This sentence appears to relate to some amour in which Mrs. H. was disappointed. Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

to disgrace his name with a poore monument! but when I have beforehand lay'd this necessary caution, and ingenuously confess'd that through my inabillity either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was entrusted with for the benefitt of all, and particularly his owne posterity, I must withhold a greate part from them, I hope I shall be pardon'd for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightfull lovelienesse in it.

"Let not excesse of love and delight in the streame make us forgett the fountaine, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flow'd back into their owne spring; there lett us seeke them, thither lett us hasten after him; there having found him, lett us cease to bewaile among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortall; his soule conversed with God so much when he was here, that it reioyces to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his vertues were recorded in heaven's annalls, and can never perish, by them he yett teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive: 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive againe, nor would wee have them; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquisht them: our coniunction, if wee had any with him, was undis-

soluble, if wee were knitt together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still, if wee were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodnesse, wee are so still; what is it then we waile in his remoove? the distance? faithlesse fooles! sorrow only makes it; let us but ascend to God in holy ioy for the greate grace given his poore servant, and he is there with us. He is only remoov'd from the mallice of his enemies, for which wee should not expresse love to him in being afflicted, wee may mourne for ourselves that wee come so tardily after him, that wee want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our teares did not putt out our eies wee should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of vertuous examples and precepts to light us through the darke world. It is time that I lett in to your knowledge that splendour which while it cheares and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glorie to God alone, who is the father and fountaine of all light and excellence.

"Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, vertuous, honorable life, I would put his picture in the front of his booke,* but my unskillfull hand will iniure him. Yet to such of you as have not seene him to remember his person, I leave this—

* The editor is happy to have it in his power to do this in a manner that will be gratifying to the lovers of the arts. The original pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, with their two children, were found by him in their house at Owthorpe, and are now deposited, along with the manuscript, at Messrs. Longman's and Co

HIS DESCRIPTION.

“ He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportion’d shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hayre of a light browne, very thick sett in his youth, softer then the finest silke, curling into loose greate rings att the ends, his eies of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thinne, his mouth well made, and his lipps very ruddy and gracefull, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yett it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mold of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was rays’d and sharpe, but withall he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and maiesty mixt with sweetnesse, that at the same time bespöke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feete excellently well made, he was quick in his pace and turnes, nimble and active and gracefull in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper yeares made any practise of it, he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman, he had a greate love to musick, and often diverted himselfe with a violl, on which he play’d masterly, he had an exact

care and iudgement in other musick, he shott excellently in bowes and gunns, and much us’d them for his exercise, he had greate iudgment in paintings,* graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of vallue in all kinds, he tooke greate delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the worke—he tooke much pleasure in emprovement of grounds, in planting groves and walkes, and fruite-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds;† of country recreations, he lov’d none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us’d it, but soone left it of; he was wonderful neate, cleanly and gentile in his habitt, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anie thing that was costly, yett in his plainest negligent habitt appear’d very much a gentleman; he had more addresse than force of body, yett the courage of his soule so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant for he was naturally chearfull, had a ready witt and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withall very rationally, so that he was seldome overcome, every thing that it was necessary for him to doe he did with delight, free and unconstrain’d, he hated ceremonious complement, but yett had a naturall civility and complaisance

* There remained some few of these at Owthorpe unspoiled, but many were spoiled by neglect, at the death of the last possessor.

† Many traces of his taste, judgment and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.

to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spiritt could undergo labours, watchings and iourneyes, as well as any of stronger compositions ; he was rheumatick, and had a long sicknesse and distemper occasion'd thereby two or three yeares after the warre ended, but elce for the latter halfe of his life was healthy tho' tender, in his youth, and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weaknesse and tooth akes, but then his spiritts carried him through them ; he was very patient under sicknesse or payne or any common accidints, but yet upon occasions, though never without iust ones, he would be very angrie, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outrageous in passion ; he had a very good facultie in perswading, and would speake very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his iudgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please

himselfe, but his invention was so ready and wisdom so habituall in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himselfe of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not talkative yett free of discourse, of a very spare diett, not much given to sleepe, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one elce soe, in all his naturall and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to vertue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description ; there was a life of spiritt and power in him that is not to be found in any copie drawne from him : to summe up therefore all that can be sayd of his outward frame and disposition wee must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnisht lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent vertues reign'd there awhile, till he was called back to the pallace of the universall emperor.*

* Is not here Plato's system pourtray'd in language worthy of that sublime and eloquent philosopher ?

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THE END.

